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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
EIGHTEENTH SESSION
ANNAMALAINAGAR
December 1955



Edited by :
R. RAMANUJACHARI
Dean, Faculty of Education and Convener, Committee of Local Secretaries

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THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE
18TH SESSION OF THE ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
ANNAMALAINAGAR
1958

Reception Committee

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Vice-chancellor

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Dr. A. C. Chettiar		
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All India Oriental Conference

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

I. Local Organization.

The Annamalai University extended its invitation to the All-India Oriental Conference to hold its XVIII Session at Annamalai-nagar, when Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer was Vice-Chancellor of the University. The invitation was accepted and thereafter arrangements for the Conference were taken on hand. A Reception Committee with Shri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, Vice-Chancellor, as Chairman was constituted. The Committee of Local Secretaries included Prof. R. Ramanujachari, Prof. L. P. KR. Ramanathan Chettiar, Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran and Dr. A. Chidambaranathan Chettiar. Prof. R. Ramanujachari was appointed Convener of the Committee of Secretaries.

Several meetings of the Committee of Local Secretaries were held to discuss arrangements regarding—

- (1) the raising and collection of Funds;
- (2) the enlisting of new life-members and ordinary members;
- (3) the boarding and lodging of members;
- (4) the holding of exhibitions;
- (5) entertainments and excursions;
- (6) Reception and transport;
- (7) decorations; and
- (8) volunteers, as well as other matters for successfully conducting the Conference.

Invitations to participate in the proceedings of the Conference were sent to individuals and institutions as well as State Governments. All the members who attended the last few sessions were also contacted. All the Universities in India, and also the Universities of Rangoon, Ceylon and Malaya were requested to send delegates. One of the novel features of the XVIII Session seems to be the invitation to all the foreign embassies and legations in India to depute representatives to participate in the Conference. The Local Secretaries record with deep satisfaction the ready response from the scholars in the field of Oriental Studies; and are glad to note that the record number of members has been enlisted for this

Session. Three bulletins containing information about the XVIII Session, for the use of previous and prospective members were issued (Appendix I). For the benefit of members who were expected from all over India, a table of Railway Timings to Chidambaram from Madras and Trichy and also important trains arriving and leaving Madras for Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, was prepared and copies sent along with the bulletins.

A programme of variety entertainment was also arranged for all the three days of the session. The main items of the programme included—

- (a) music by Prof. M. M. Dandapani Desikar and party;
- (b) concert pageant by Artistes of the Saraswathi Gana Nilayam (Madras) and others, guided by Prof. P. Sam-murthy; and
- (c) dance recital by Kumaris Vanamala and Malathi.

On the eve of the session the Committee of Local Secretaries issued for the use and guidance of the members, a guide to Chidambaram and other University environs, summaries of papers to be read at the Conference, a detailed programme and also badges for members. These were distributed free to all members on their arrival.

Arrangements to cater to the tastes of all members were made, in the matter of food. North Indian and South Indian dishes were provided throughout. Separate accommodation for ladies and for families were also arranged.

Sectional Secretaries were appointed to help the Presidents of the various sections in the conduct of the Conference (Appendix II).

The Trichinopoly Station of the All-India Radio was kind enough to broadcast Radio Reports of the Session, on 26th and 27th December, 1955.

The delegates were taken on excursion tours to Pondicherry and the Neyveli Lignite Project. A volunteer Corps including staff and student members was enlisted, to look after reception, accommodation, boarding, etc., and it is very gratifying to note that they won the praise of all the delegates, for their enthusiastic service.

The Committee is immensely grateful to the Government of India and the Government of Madras for their kind donations of Rs. 1,000 each towards the expenses of the Conference.

The Local Secretaries are very grateful to Dr. Rajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar, Pro-Chancellor for the great personal interest he took in the successful conduct of the Session and for his valuable suggestions in planning every aspect of the arrangements of the Conference. To Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, Vice-Chancellor, the Local Secretaries express their sincere thanks for his constant

guidance and direction. The tremendous success of the Annamalai-nagar Session of the Conference is due entirely to the guidance and encouragement received from the Pro-Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor.

The members of the staff who served on the various sub-committees and the student volunteers were of great help and to them the thanks of the committee of Local Secretaries is due. The Local Secretaries thank the Registrar of the University and his staff and other officers of the University for their willing and valuable help at all stages of the Conference.

The Secretaries also express their thanks to Sri D. I. Jesudoss and Janab Gulam Rasool, lecturers, and Sri R. Lakshmikantan and Sri T. J. Isaac, Research Scholars for their help in going through the proofs.

R. RAMANUJACHARIAR,
Convener.

APPENDIX I.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

(Registered under Act XXI of 1860).

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4 (India).

President:

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN,

Vice-President of the Indian Union, New Delhi.

Vice-President:

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR,

Patna University, Ranighat Quarters, Patna-6.

Treasurer:

PROF. V. V. MIRASHI,

Vishnusatthan, Dharampatth, Nagpur.

Chairman, Reception Committee:

DEWAN BAHADUR

T. M. NARAYANASWAMI PILLAI,

Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University.

General Secretaries:

DR. V. RAGAVAN,

Madras University, Madras.

DR. R. N. DANDEKAR,

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

Local Secretaries:

DR. A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR,

PROF. L. P. KR. RAMANATHAN CHETTIAR,

DR. C. S. VENKATESWARAN,

PROF. R. RAMANUJACHARI, *Convener,*

Annamalainagar P.O. (S. India).

BULLETIN NO. I.

It has been decided to hold the 18th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Annamalainagar from the 26th to the 28th

December, 1955 under the auspices of the Annamalai University. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Union, will preside over the Session.

The All-India Oriental Conference, which is the national forum of scholars interested in Orientology, comprises the following sections :

- (1) Vedic,
- (2) Iranian,
- (3) Classical Sanskrit,
- (4) Islamic Culture,
- (5) Arabic and Persian,
- (6) Pali and Buddhism,
- (7) Prakrit and Jainism,
- (8) History,
- (9) Archaeology,
- (10) Indian Linguistics,
- (11) Dravidian Culture,
- (12) Philosophy and Religion and
- (13) Technical Sciences and Fine Arts.

Information about additional Sections, if any, will be given in the next Bulletin.

The following scholars have been elected Presidents of the different Sections.

1. *Vedic* :

Prof. K. CHATTOPADHYAYA, Allahabad University,
Allahabad.

2. *Iranian* :

Dr. J. M. UNWALA, Parsi Students' Hostel, 8, Gandaria
Colony, Tardeo, Bombay.

3. *Classical Sanskrit* :

Prof. S. P. CHATURVEDI, "Saraswat" Dharampet, Nag-
pur.

4. and 5. *Islamic Culture and Arabic and Persian* :

Prof. YOGA DHYAN AHUJA, Doaba College, Jullundur
City.

6. *Pali and Buddhism:*

Rev. A. P. BUDDHADATTA, 'Aggarama Monastery,
Ambalangoda (Ceylon).

7. *Prakrit and Jainism:*

Dr. H. C. BHAYANI, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bom-
bay.

8. *History:*

Dr. A. D. PUSALKAR, "Usha", 118, Shivaji Park,
Bombay-28.

9. *Archaeology:*

Dr. B. SUBBARAO, Maharaja Sayajirao University of
Baroda, Baroda.

10. *Indian Linguistics:*

Dr. M. A. MEHENDALE, Deccan College, Research
Institute, Poona-6.

11. *Dravidian Culture:*

Prof. R. P. SETHU PILLAI, University Buildings,
Madras.

12. *Philosophy and Religion:*

Prof. R. D. KARMARKAR, "Damodar Villa", Poona-4.

13. *Technical Sciences and Fine Arts:*

Dr. C. C. DAS GUPTA, 5/18-a, Sevak Vaidya Street,
P.O. Rashbihari Avenue, Calcutta-28.

14. *Tamil:*

Shri T. P. MINAKSHISUNDARAM, M.A., B.O.L., B.L.,
Head of the Dept. of Tamil, Madras University,
Madras.

Besides Sectional meetings, a varied programme consisting of symposia, learned lectures, visits to places of antiquarian interest and entertainments is being arranged by the Local Committee.

It is hardly necessary to add that the success of a Session like this depends entirely on the active co-operation of Orientalists in this country. It is, therefore, earnestly requested that,

1. All persons interested in Oriental Learning and Research should immediately enrol themselves as members of the Conference (A membership form is enclosed);

2. Scholars working in different branches of Orientalology should prepare for the Session papers on subjects of their special study; and

3. Governments, Universities, Research Institutes and Colleges should nominate Delegates to the Session and make suitable grants towards its expenses.

Bonafide Members of the Conference will be entitled to Railway concession in respect of journeys to and back from Annamalainagar. Details regarding the full programme of the Session, Railway concession, lodging and boarding arrangements at Annamalainagar, etc., will be given in subsequent Bulletins.

Donations, Membership-fee, and papers intended to be read at the Session should be sent directly to one of the Local Secretaries as early as possible.

Papers should reach the local secretary before 15th November, 1955. Papers submitted should be original pieces of research and form a fresh contribution to the study of respective subjects; and they should be accompanied by summaries not exceeding a page in length.

R. RAMANUJACHARI—*Convener*
A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR
L. P. KR. RAMANATHAN CHETTIAR
C. S. VENKATESWARAN

Local Secretaries.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

18th Session, Annamalainagar.

26th, 27th and 28th December, 1955.

MEMBERSHIP FORM.

Reg. No.....

THE LOCAL SECRETARY,

Eighteenth Session, All-India Oriental Conference,

Annamalai University, Annamalainagar P.O., (S.I.).

Dear Sir,

I know the aims and objects' of the All-India Oriental Conference and I sympathize with them.

I desire to become² of the Conference and am sending herewith Rs. only, as my subscription. Kindly enrol me as such.

I have attended previous Session of the Conference, the last two being those that were held at.....and at..... and I submitted.....paper papers, which was/were accepted for the.....Session, and I am entitled to be a member of the Council¹

Yours truly.

Place.....

Date

Full Name

(In Block Letters)

.....

Academic Qualifications

Occupation

Full Address

.....

1. The Objects of the Conference shall be—

- (a) To bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of the various activities of Oriental Scholars in and outside India.
- (b) To facilitate co-operation in Oriental studies and research.
- (c) To afford opportunities to scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subjects, and to point out the difficulties experienced in the pursuit of their special branches of study.
- (d) To promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental scholars.
- (e) To encourage traditional learning.
- (f) To do such other acts as may be considered necessary to promote advancement in Oriental learning.

2. Mention one of the following classes:—

Patron: paying Rs. 3,000 or more.

Benefactor: paying Rs. 1,000 or more.

Life-Member: paying Rs. 100 in a lump sum or in not more than two instalments within one financial year.

Full-Member: paying Rs. 10 per Session.

Student-Member: paying Rs. 2 per Session. (Eligible to attend the public and sectional meetings only).

3. The Council shall consist of all Members who have attended three or more Sessions of the Conference (including the one taking place at the time) and have submitted a paper or papers that have been accepted at any one or more of these Sessions.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

Eighteenth Session.
Annamalai University.

ANNAMALAINAGAR,
25th October, 1955.

Bulletin No. 2.

As already notified, the Eighteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is to be held at Annamalainagar on the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1955, under the auspices of the Annamalai University. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Union, has kindly consented to preside. Sri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University, is the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

In addition to the Sections mentioned in the First Bulletin, there will be a Tamil Section, with Professor T. P. Minakshisundaram, M.A., B.L., M.O.L., Vidwan as its President.

Popular lectures by distinguished scholars, illustrated with lantern slides, and symposia on important topics will be arranged, details of which will be intimated later. An exhibition of rarecoins, manuscripts, paintings, etc., is being arranged. Besides, there will be an entertainment programme.

A copy of 'The University's Environs' dealing with the Annamalai University and the neighbouring town of Chidambaram, rich in its historical, religious and cultural traditions, will be supplied free of cost to all the delegates on arrival. The Reception Committee will provide facilities for delegates to visit the famous shrine of Lord Nataraja and Lord Govindaraja at Chidambaram.

You are cordially invited to get yourself enrolled as a full member and contribute a paper on your specialised subject, if you have not already done so. The paper, ordinarily not exceeding 10 typed pages, together with its summary (not exceeding 200 words) may be sent by the 1st December, 1955.

Delegates and members of the All-India Oriental Conference may avail themselves of the railway concession kindly allowed by the Railway Board. bona fide delegates and members of the Annamalainagar session can, therefore, make their journey to and from Annamalainagar (which is one mile east of Chidambaram, a station in the Southern Railway 152 miles south of Madras) by paying only *single fare*. Such delegates and members as have paid the membership fee will get signed certificates, on the production of which they will get the necessary concession from the Railway.

The members and Delegates attending the Annamalainagar session will be guests of the Reception Committee. They will be lodged in the University Hostels and will be served vegetarian meals.

Members and Delegates are specially requested to fill in the form attached herewith and send it so as to reach us before the 1st December, 1955.

Intimation regarding the date and time of arrival at Annamalainagar must reach the Local Secretaries at least ten days before the commencement of the session.

Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR,

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN,

General Secretaries.

Prof. R. RAMANUJACHARI, (*Convener*),
Dr. A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR,
Prof. L. P. KR. RAMANATHAN CHETTIAR,
Dr. C. S. VENKATESWARAN,

Local Secretaries.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

18th Session, Annamalai University,
Annamalainagar.

To

THE LOCAL SECRETARY,

18th All-India Oriental Conference,

Annamalai University,

Annamalainagar, (S. India).

Dear Sir,

I have received the Second Bulletin, and shall be able to attend the Conference.

I shall send a paper for the.....Section of the Conference, its title being..... The paper together with its summary will be sent before the.....

My receipt No.

Yours faithfully,

Date.....

Full Name

(In block letters)

Address.....

(In block letters)

THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

Eighteenth Session.

Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

1st December, 1955.

BULLETIN No. 3.

1. As already announced in the Second Bulletin the Eighteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Annamalainagar under the auspices of the Annamalai University on 26th, 27th and 28th of December, 1955. (Annamalainagar is one mile east of Chidambaram Ry. Station in the Southern Railway, 152 miles south of MADRAS-EGMORE Ry. STATION). You are cordially invited to attend and participate in the proceedings.

2. The inaugural meeting will be held in the Srinivasa Sastri Hall of the Annamalai University at 11 a.m. on Monday, the 26th Decceber. Sri S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India has kindly consented to open the proceedings. Members are requested to be in their seats half an hour earlier.

3. All Sectional meetings, symposium, public lectures with lantern slides, council meetings and the entertainment programmes will be held in the various halls of the University.

4. Arrangements for the Boarding and Lodging of the members, who have got themselves enrolled as members, will be made in the Hostels of the University.

5. Members will alight at Chidambaram Ry. Station for Annamalainagar. Members, are requested kindly to intimate to us the date and the train by which they intend to arrive, before the 10th of December at the latest. An abstract of train timings from MADRAS EGMORE to CHIDAMBARAM and back, as well as to other places of interest in South is enclosed for the benefit of members. Transport will be arranged for members from Chidambaram Ry. Station to Annamalainagar. Members are requested to bring light bedding with them.

[It will not be possible for members to secure suitable accommodation outside the University campus.]

6. Members are requested to write directly to he Station Master, Chidambaram Ry. Station, for reservation of their seats for their return journey at least 15 days earlier. They are also requested kindly to communicate to us the date on which they intend to commence their return journey, so that we might inform the Railway authorities accordingly.

7. Lady delegates desiring separate accommodation will be lodged in Women Students' Hostel of the University. These members are requested to intimate to us earlier.

8. Members of the Reception Committee, donors and local members of the Conference are requested to kindly arrange to get their packets containing a badge, a book of summaries, invitation cards and entertainment passes from the office of the Conference in the University campus, on 24th December between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. Members accommodated in the hostels will get their packets on arrival.

9 The Reception Committee will provide facilities for delegates to visit the famous shrine at Chidambaram.

R. RAMANUJACHARI

A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR

L. P. KR. RAMANATHAN CHETTIAR

C. S. VENKATESWARAN,

Local Secretaries.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY.

The Reception Committee of the 18th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference requests the pleasure of your company at the Inaugural Meeting of the Session at the Sastri Hall, Annamalai University on Monday, the 26th December, 1955 at 11 a.m. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, Indian Union, has kindly consented to preside over the session.

Prof. R. RAMANUJACHARI, *Convener.*

Dr. A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR,

Prof. L. P. KR. RAMANATHAN CHETTIAR,

Dr. C. S. VENKATESWARAN,

(Local Secretaries).

T. M. NARAYANASWAMI PILLAI,

Chairman,

Reception Committee.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY.

Annamalainagar.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

18th Session.

President:

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN,

Vice-President of India.

26th, 27th and 28th December, 1955.

PROGRAMME.

Monday, the 26th December, 1955.

Morning:

9-00 a.m.—Meeting of the retiring Executive Committee.

11-00 a.m.—Inaugural Function.

Formation of the Presidential procession.

The procession will enter the Sastri Hall.

Prayer.

Welcome address by Lt.-Col. Sri T. M. Narayana-swamy Pillai, Vice-Chancellor.

Reading of Messages by Local Secretary.

Presidential address by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India.

Announcement regarding the presentation of the felicitation volume to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee by General Secretary.

Speech by the Secretary of the Linguistic Society of India.

Presentation by the President.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's reply.

Resolution (General Secretary).

Announcements (General Secretary and Local Secretary).

National Anthem.

3-00 p.m.—Meeting of the Sectional Presidents and the Sectional Secretaries to fix up a detailed time-table for the sectional meetings.

5-30 p.m.—TEA at the Senate Hall.

8-30 p.m.—Music by Professor Isai Arasu M. M. Dandapani Desikar and Party.

Tuesday, the 27th December, 1955.

Morning:

- 8-30 a.m.—Sectional President's Addresses (in two halls) *Vide Note Below**
- 10-30 a.m.—Reading of papers in all the sections in the respective halls.
- 11-30 a.m.—Symposium (Sastri Hall).

Evening:

- 2-00 p.m.—Sectional Presidents' Addresses.
- 3-30 p.m.—Reading of papers in all the respective sections.
- 4-15 p.m.—TEA at the Senate Hall.
- 5-30 p.m.—Symposium in Hall No. 10.
- 8-30 p.m.—Concert Pageant by Artistes of the Saraswathi Gana Nilayam, Madras and others-Sastri Hall.

**Sectional Presidents' Addresses:*

Group A. Mathematics Hall No. 1.

- 8-30 to 9-00 a.m. (i) Vedic.
- 9-00 to 9-30 a.m. (ii) Classical Sanskrit.
- 9-30 to 10-00 a.m. (iii) History.
- 10-00 to 10-30 a.m. (iv) Religion and Philosophy.
- 2-00 to 2-30 p.m. (v) Linguistics.
- 2-30 to 3-00 p.m. (vi) Pali and Buddhism.
- 3-00 to 3-30 p.m. (vii) Prakrit & Jainism.

Group B. Room No. 10

- (i) Arabic and Persian.
- (ii) Islamic Culture.
- (iii) Iranian Culture.
- (iv) Technical Science and Fine Arts.
- (v) Archaeology.
- (vi) Dravidian Culture.
- (vii) Tamil.

Papers will be read in the several sections in the Halls indicated in the next page.

Wednesday, the 28th December 1955

Morning:

- 8-30 a.m.—Sectional meetings and reading of papers.
- 10-30 a.m.—Meeting of the Council.

2-30 p.m.—Sectional meetings-Meeting of the executive Committee.

5-00 p.m.—TEA at the Senate Hall.

5-30 p.m.—Concluding session at the Sastri Hall.

8-00 p.m.—Dance-Sastri Hall.

EXHIBITION: In the Library Hall (Upstairs) open between 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. on all the days of the conference.

Sectional Meetings for Reading of Papers:

Vedic.—Room No. 27

Classical Sanskrit.—Room No. 26

History.—Room No. 16

Religion and philosophy.—Mathematics Hall No. 5

Linguistics.—Botany Hall

Pali and Buddhism.—Room No. 24

Prakirit and Jainism.—Room No. 31

Arabic and Persian.—Room No. 23

Islamic Culture.—Room No. 22

Iranian Culture.—Room No. 21

Technical Sciences and Fine Arts.—Room No. 33

Archaeology.—Room No. 18

Dravidian Culture.—Mathematics Hall No. 1

Tamil.—Room No. 10.

Daily routine for delegates

7-00 a.m.—Breakfast (in the Dinning Halls)

1-00 p.m.—Lunch "

7-00 p.m.—Dinner

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

18TH SESSION

Anaamalai University

Entertainment

Concert Pageant:

27th December 1955, 8-30 p.m. to 10-30 p.m.

Participants:

Artistes of the Saraswathi Gana Nilayam, Madras and others.

Note:—India, in the course of her long cultural history, has evolved many types of concerts. There are concerts belonging to the realms of art music, sacred music, dance music, folk music and

martial music, besides operas and dance dramas. In to-day's programme the different types of concerts are presented approximately in the order of their evolution.

Folk music is the earliest; next comes devotional music and still later art music in all its ramified forms.

PROGRAMME

1. Invocatory Song.
2. Folk music and folk dance: Kummi, Kolattam and Pinnal Kolattam.
3. Vedic music: Rig and Saman chants.
4. Tevaram: Tirugnana Sambandar -(7th cen. A.D.) singing a hymn extempore in front of a temple.
5. Jayadeva (11th cen.) singing an ashtapadi hymn and his wife Padmavathi dancing to it.
6. Arunagirinathar (15th cent.) singing a Tiruppugazh song.
7. A scene from the Telugu opera: Pallaki Seva Prabandham of Shahaji Maharaja (1684-1710).
8. A scene from a Kuravanji Nataka—folk dance drama.
9. Divayanama Sankirtanam: Bhajana as an institution and as a form of group worship comes into existence with all its ritualistic details in the early 18th century.
10. Kalakshepam (19th cent. Kirtan). An episode from the story of Kuchela.
11. Bharatanatyam—Tillana.
12. An item of Martial music (Veera gitam)—a victorious army being welcomed with music and dance.
13. A scene from the Telugu opera: Nowkacharitam of Thyagaraja.
14. Sangita Rangavalli—musical kolam.
15. A modern concert with full accompaniments.
16. Latest developments—Seven stringed Violin—a solo item.

MANGALAM.

APPENDIX II

List of Section Secretaries and Presidents

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>President</i>
1.	Vedic	Sri K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastriar	Prof. K. K. Chattopadhyaya
2.	Iranian	Janab Gulam Rasool	Dr. J. M. Unwala
3.	Classical Sanskrit	Sri P. Panchapagesa Sastri	Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi
4.	Islamic Culture	Janab Gulam Rasool	Prof. Yoga Dhyan Abuja
5.	Arabic & Persian		
6.	Pali & Buddhism	Sri P. K. S. Raja	Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta
7.	Prakrit & Jainism	Sri M. Natarajan	Dr. H. C. Bhayani
8.	History	Sri A. Krishnaswamy Pillai	Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
9.	Archæology ; •	Sri D. Balasubramanian	Dr. B. Subbarao
10.	Indian Linguistics	Sri M. Shanmugham	Dr. M. A. Mehendale
11.	Dravidian Culture	Sri A. Ramaswamy Pillai	Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai
12.	Philosophy & Religion	Sri D. I. Jesudoss	Prof. R. D. Karnarkar
13.	Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	Sri V. Sachithanandam & M. Vajravelu Mudaliar	Dr. C. C. Das Gupta
14.	Tamil	Sri M. Annamalai	Prof. T. P. Minashisundaram

APPENDIX III

List of Donors:

	Rs.
1. Government of India:	1,000/-
2. Government of Madras:	1,000/-
3. Shri M. A. Chidambaram Chettiar:	250/-
4. Thiruvaduthurai Athinam:	200/-
5. Shri Karumuthu Thyagaraja Chettiar:	50/-
6. Shri D. P. Karmarkar:	10/-

LIST OF LIFE-MEMBERS OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL
CONFERENCE.

1. Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., D.Litt., Angre's Wadi, Girgaon, Bombay.
2. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Esqr., Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad-Deccan.
3. H. H. Maharaja Sri Vibhutinaraian Singh Bahadur, B. A., Fort, Ramnagar, Banars State, U.P.
4. Mahanta Sri Shivacharan Bharati Shastri, Mathadhish, Dularpur Math, P.O. Teghara, Dist. Monghyr (Bihar).
5. Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.
6. Kumar Sri Taranand Sinha, B.A., M.L.A., Zamindar, Chauri Kolhi, Bhagalpur.
7. Sir Hargovind Misra, Kt., O.B.E., Misra Hosiery, Kanpur, (U.P.)
8. Dr. Nilakantha Dutt, B.L., Ph.D. D.Litt., Post Graduate Dept. of Pali and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 39, Ramanand, Chatterji Street Calcutta.
9. Sri Gangananda Sinha, M.A., M.L.C., 'Sachiva Sadan', Darbhanga.
10. Kumar Sri Krishnananda Singji, Krishnagarh Estate, Sultangunj, P.O. Bhagalpur.
11. Dewan Bahadur Sri Kameshwar Narain Singh ji, Narahan Estate, P.O. Narahan, Darbhanga.
12. H. E. Sri M. S. Aney, M.A., LL.B., Governor of Bihar, Patna.
13. Sri Awadh Bihari Prasad, Banglagarh, Darbhanga.
14. Sri Chhogmal Chopra, President Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
15. Sri Lakshman Prasad Singh ji, Rai Sahib Ki Deorhi, Darbhanga.
16. Sri Jyoti Prasad Singh, Mubbi, Darbhanga.
17. Sri Umesa Mishra, Kaithar Estate, Katihar, Dist. Purnea.
18. Sri Ram Prasad Singh ji, Anandabhavan, Darbhanga.
19. B. Sri Padmanabha Prasad ji, Padma Kutir, Darbhanga.
20. Sri Jagdish Nandan Singh ji, Madhubani Estate, Madhubani, Darbhanga.

21. Sri N. Mallikarjuna Sastri, M.A., Principal, Srichandra Rajendra Veda Maha-Pathashala, Cherajput, Bangalore.
22. Sri Jagannath Mishra, Dilkhushbagh, Palace, Darbhanga.
23. Sir C. P. N. Singh, Kt., Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, Patna.
24. Kumar Shri Baidyanath Chaudhury, B.A., Durgaganj, Purnea.
25. Sri Jugeshwar Singh Saheb, Mubi Deorhi, Darbhanga.
26. Sri Rukamanda Bairoliya, Bara Bazar, Darbhanga.
27. Sri Kaladhari Singhji, Raghapur Deorhi, P.O. Sakri, District Darbhanga.
28. Sri N. P. Daruka, Gulloo Bara, Darbhanga.
29. Raja Bahadur Sriman Visheshwar Singhji, Bela Palace, Darbhanga.
30. Sriman Chandradhari Singhji, Chandranagar Deorhi, Ranti, Ranti, P.O. Madhubani, District Darbhanga.
31. Dr. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.R.S.L., Sahityavidyavachaspati, Maya, George Town, Allahabad.
32. Sri Mantradhari Singh, Madhubani Estate, Madhubani, Darbhanga.
33. Sri Ramachandra Narayan Natu, M.A., 689, Sadashiv Peth, Natu Bag, Poona-2.
34. Shrimant Shamji Kheta, Congress Nagar, Nagpur.
35. Lala Jai Naram, Mohan Nagar, Nagpur.
36. Seth Gopaldas Mohta, Temple Road, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
37. Shrimant D. C. Sutaria, Proprietor, Bombay Cycle Stores, Mahal, Nagpur.
38. Shrimant B. J. Buty, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
39. Shrimant G. G. Buty, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
40. Shrimant K. G. Buty, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
41. Shrimant M. G. Chitnavis, Chitnavispura, Nagpur.
42. Shrimant P. G. Buty, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
43. Shrimant K. S. Chitnavis, Landlord, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
44. Shrimant D. K. Desmukh, Jahagirdar of Parwa, Dist. Yeotmal.
45. Shrimant L. S. Desmukh, Mahal, Nagpur.
45. Shrimant L. S. Desmukh, Mahal, Nagpur.
46. Shrimant M. N. Ghatate, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
47. Sri Iyengar, Pt. Krishnaswami Nagappa's Block Shrirampur, Bangalore.

48. Prof. M. A. Kazi, Retired Professor, Sayaji^f Ganj, Baroda.
 49. Prof. D. D. Kosambi, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-4.
 50. Sri Hussan Lal Nayar, Ry. Clearng Account Office, S.T.E.P. Section, Delhi.
 51. Sri V. R. Pandit, 8, Setalvad Road, Napean Sea Road, Bombay.
 52. Prof. Visva Bandhu Shastri, Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur, E. Punjab.
 53. Dr. Raghu Vira, Old Assembly Rest House, Nagpur.
 54. Sri K. J. Gopal Shastri, Pantuluvar, Upstairs, Masulipatam, S. India.
 55. Sri Hira Lal Amrit Lal, Bombay.
 56. Dr. (Srimati) Kalyani Malik, Calcutta.
 57. Surya Kant, Jullandhar.
 58. Sri A. N. Jani, Baroda.
 59. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Poona.
 60. Sri S. N. Pandia, Lucknow.
 61. Shri S. S. Malwad, Dharwar.
 62. Shri Bansheer Bhat.
 63. Dr. Irach Jahangir Taraporewala, Bombay.
-

C. LIST OF ORDINARY MEMBERS.

1. Sri Acharya, G. S., Rajahmundry.
2. Sri Acharya, P., Bhuvaneswar.
3. Shri Hams Raj Aggrawal, Ludhiana.
4. Shri Surendra Mohan Aggrawal, Ludhiana.
5. Dr. Y. P. Aggarwal, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Department of Hindi, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
6. Prof. Jagannatha Agrawal, Jullundur City.
7. Shri R. C. Agrawala, Jodhpur.
8. Yog Dhyani Ahuja, M.A., Ph.D., Doaba College, Jullundur City.
9. P. Alalasundaram Chettiar, "Sivanagam" Professors' Colony, Tambaram.
10. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Patna University, Ranighat Quarters, Patna-6.
11. Sri Amarchand, Ujjain.
12. C. Amritaganesan, 12, Monteith Road, Madras-8.
13. Shri Anantalal Thakur.
14. H. S. Ananthanarayana, Research Fellow, Deccan College, Poona-6.
15. Sri V. Anjaneya Sarma, Presidency College, Madras.
16. Shri M. Annamalai, M.A., Department of Tamil, Annamalaiagar.
17. Sri Kesiraju Venkata Narasimha Appa Rao, Principal, S.V.J.V. Sanskrit-College, Kovvur, West Godavari District, Andhra State.
18. Sri P. S. R. Appa Rao, 46, Dr. Besant Road, Madras-14.
16. Sri K. R. Applachari, Principal, Teachers' College, Tuticorin.
20. Vinayak Mahadev Apte, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab). Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Saugar, Saugar (M.P.)
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22. Sri Abraham Arulappan, Palayamcottah.
23. Sri K. Arumugham, Madurai.

24. Prof. S. Arumuga Mudaliyar, Principal, /V.T. College, Tiruparoyturai, Trichi Dt.
25. Sri S. K.. Arunachalam.
26. Sri Ronald Eaton Asher, c/o, Mr. M. K. Dharmeswaran, B.A. B.T., Sivan Koil Street, Chengam N.A. Dt.
27. Dr. B. L. Atreya, Banaras University, Banaras.
28. Audi Lakshmi, Govt. of India Research* Scholar, Telugu Dept. University of Madras. Madras-5.
29. Shri D. Balasubramanian, Dept. of History, Annamalai-nagar
30. Sri M. D. Balasubrahmanyam, Professor, Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai, Ceylon.
31. Dr. Jagban K. Balbir, Prof. and Head of the Sanskrit Dept. K.N. Govt. College, Gyampur (Banaras) U.P.
32. Dr. Banerjee, A.C., Lucknow.
33. Mrs. Roma Banerjee, Lucknow .
34. Biswanath Banerjee, Vidya Bhavana, Santiniketan, West Bengal.
35. Sri M. R. Banerjee.
36. Sri Satya Rangan Banerjee, 5F, Nebubagan Lane, Calcutta-3
37. Bapat Purushottam Vishvanatha, Svadhyaaya, 772, Shivaji-nagar, Poona-4.
38. Sri K. R. Barman, Gauhati.
39. Dwijendra Nath Basu, 33, Abinash Sashmal Lane, Calcutta-10.
40. Mrs. Iva Basu, 23, Abinash Sashmal Lane, Calcutta-10.
41. Mrs. Belvalkar.
42. Ernest Bender, Room No. 419, Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay.
43. Smt. Bhagirahbai. T, Wai City.
44. Gopalakrishna Bhat. K. Teacher, Mahjana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal P.O.S. Kanara.
45. Govinda Bhat. V. Teacher, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal, PP.O.S. Kanara.
46. Govind Keshav Bhat. 360, Gujarat College Road, Ahmedabad-6.
47. Sri Krishna Bhat K. Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal, P.O.S. Kanara.
48. Sri Mahabala Bhat D. Teacher, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal. P.O.S. Kanara.

49. Mahalinga Bhat. P. Teacher, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal. P.O.S. Kanara.
50. Mahalinga Bhat. U. Teacher, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal. P.O.S. Kanara.
51. Shankaranarayana Bhat. Teacher, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal. P.O.S. Kanara.
52. Subraya • Bhat. A. Teacher, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal. P.O.S. Kanara.
53. B. M. Subraya Bhat, Teacher, Mahajana Sanskrit College, High School, Perdala, Nirchal P.O.S. Kanara.
54. Banseedher Bhat, M.A., 58, Pritamnagar, Ellis-Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.
55. Bhatt, Govindlal Hargovind, Shakuntal, Kharivan Road, Boroda.
56. Purushottam Nanalal Bhatt, 7, Avchal Liladhar Buildings. Sanghani-Estate, Agra Road, Ghatkopar (Bombay-39).
57. Narayana Bhatt.D. Professor, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Nirchal P.O., S. Kanara.
58. Bhatbatosh Bhattacharya, Bhatpara, Dt. 24 Parganas, West Bengal.
59. Bhattacharyya Durgamohan, 42a, Jibankrishna Mitra Road, Calcutta-37.
60. Shri, Mohinikumar Bhattacharya, Calcutta.
61. Mohini Mohan Battacherje, 72, Ballygunj place.
62. Madhav Bhuvan, Raopura, Boroda.
63. S. S. Bhawe, Madhav Bhuran, Roapura, Boroda.
64. Shri H. C. Bhayani, Ph.D., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
65. (Miss) Bhise Usha Ramachandra, c-19/20, Ganesh Prasad, Sleater Road, Bombay-7.
66. Shri Brahmadata Gignasu, Banaras.
67. Elizabeth Bright, 3-A, Sampangy Tank Road, Bangalore-1.
68. Bright William, 3-A, Sampangy Tank Road, Bangalore-1.
69. A. P. Buddhadata, Ambalangoda, Ceylon.
70. Sri Buddha Prakash, Farukhabad.
71. Sri Bulcke, Cambille, St. Xavier's College, Ranchi.
72. Sri E. H. Canteenwala, 85, Hazratganj, Lucknow. U.P.
73. Sri Chintaharan Chakravarti, 28/3 B, Sahanagar Road, Calcutta-26.
74. Shri Chaman Lall, Simla.

75. Sri S. G. Chandorkar, Poona.
76. Sri R. Chandramauli Eswar, Senior Lecturer in History & Politics, National College, 12/89, Sivalayam Street Chennanagiripet, Masulipatam. Andhra State.
77. Chatterji, Suniti Kumar, "Sudharma", 16, Hindustan Park, Calcutta-29.
78. Chattopadhyaya, Kshetresachandra, 172, Allenganj, Allahabad-2 (U.P.).
79. Prof. Chattopadhyaya Sudhakar, Shantiniketan.
80. Sri O. N. Chaturvedi, Arrah.
81. Sri S. P. Chaturvedi, "Saraswat", Dharampeth, Nagpur.
82. Shrimathi R. Chaturvedi, Nagpur.
83. H. Chennakesava Iyengar, M.O.L., 2861/1 Saraswatipuram, Mysore.
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429. Sri Ranganatha Sarma. C., Coimbatore.
430. Satyendranath Sarma, Gauhati University, Gauhati.
431. Sri Sundara Sarma, V., Tanjore.
432. M. Upendrasarma, Hindu College, Guntur.
433. Sri P. S. Sastri, Ph.D., University, Saugor. (M.P.)
434. Sri Acharya Vaidyanath Sastri, Rajwadi.
435. Sri R. Guruswamy Sastri, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
436. Sri G. Harihara Sastri, Madras-18.
437. Korada Mahadeva Sastri, 33, Singarachari Street, Madras-5.
438. Sri V. L. Narayana Sastri, Madras-5.
439. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar, Madras.
440. Sri P. Panchapagesa Sastriar, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
441. Sri Pattabhiram Sastry, P. N., Calcutta-26.
442. Sri S. Ramachandra Sastry, Nanjangud.
443. Sri R. Sathianatha Iyer, Professor of History, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
444. Sri Satyanarayan Raja Guru, Bhuvaneshwar.
445. Sri Sivarama Sastri. N. Mysore.
446. Sri K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastri, Lecture in Sanskrit, Annamalainagar P.O.

447. Sri P. R. Sivasubramania Sastri.
448. Dr. P. S. Subramania Sastri, Trichinopolly.
449. Smt. Savitri Bai, Ramakrishna, Wai City.
450. M. J. Mohamed Sayeed, Principal, Jamal Mohamed College, Trichy.
451. Dr. Amulya Chandra Sen, Editor, Pataudi House, New Delhi-1.
452. Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, 40, Dr. Sarat Banerjee Road, Calcutta-29.
453. Smt. Jyothi Kana Sen, Calcutta-5.
454. Sri P. R. Sen, Calcutta.
455. Mr. Pratibha Sen, Calcutta.
456. Sen Ramendra K. 37/5, Russa Road, Calcutta-26.
457. Sen Sukumar, 27, Goabagan Lane, Calcutta-6.
458. Miss Sunanda Sen, 27, Goabagan Lane, Calcutta-6.
459. Mrs. Sen, Sunila, 27, Goabagan Lane, Calcutta-6.
460. Sengupta Bratindra Kumar, 28/1, Sreemohan Lane, Calcutta-26.
461. Sri K. Seshadri, Senior Lecturer in Philosophy, University College, Trivandrum.
462. Dr. M. Seshadri, Asst. Director of Archaeology & Assist. Prof. of Indology, Mysore.
463. Sri V. K. Seshadria Charya, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar P.O. Bombay-1.
464. Shah Hiralal Amritlal, 69, Marine Drive, 4th Floor, Bombay-1.
465. Shah, Khimchand Ghampshi, Vaghavadi Road, Bhavnagar, Saurashtra.
466. Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah, Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
467. Shah Umakant Premanand, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
468. Mrs. Shahane.
469. Shankar Prem, Lucknow Christian College, Lucknow.
470. Dr. S. D. Shankar, Bombay.
471. M. Shanmugam Pillai, Lecturer in Tamil, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.
472. Aryendra Shorma, Sanskrit Deptt. Osmania University, Hyderabad. Dn.
473. Prof. Dr. B. R. Sharma Mithila Institute, Darbhanga.
474. Pyare Lal Sharma, Doaba College, Jullundur City.

475. Sri Ram Sharma.
476. Sri Ramkaran Sharma, Muzaffarpur.
477. Sri Shiv Kumar Sharma, Bombay.
478. Pt. R. M. Shastri Vidyabhushana, 590, Colonelganj, Allahabad-2.
479. Shiva Dutta Sharma, 150D, Kamalanagar, Delhi.
480. Shanti Bhikshu Shastri, Santiniketan.
481. Sri Vedanta Shastri.
482. Shiva Nath, Hindi-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan. P.O.
483. Sri M. Shriramulu, Kovvur.
484. Miss J. H. Shroff, Bombay-4.
485. Shukla Dwijendra Nath Faizabad Road, Lucknow.
486. Mrs. Kamalini Shukla, Lucknow.
487. Shukla Kishor Kant, Desai Street, Bhavnagar.
488. Shri N. N. Shukla, Ahmedabad.
489. Miss. Siaure, Poona.
490. Silva Severine, Hillside, Karwar.
491. Singh Lakshman Prasad, Raisahib's Deodhy, Darbhanga.
492. Sri Vishnu Pratap Singh, Chattarpur.
493. Sushanta Kumar Sinha, 2, Mohendra Sreemany Street, Calcutta.
494. N. Sinivassane, Head Master, Govt. School, Ambagarattur P.O. Karikal.
495. Dr. D. C. Sirkar Epigraphist, Govt. of India, Ootacamund.
496. Sri G. Sitaramaiah, Mysore.
497. Sri K. Sivaraman, Lecturer in Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras-5.
498. Sri J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Annamalainagar.
499. Sri Sovamraj, Madras.
500. Sri M. Sreedharan, Lecturer, Govt. Victorial College, Palghat.
501. Srikumar Ray, Calcutta.
502. Dr. P. Srinivasachari, Hyderabad.
503. Sri Srinivasachari. K. Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
504. Sri K. R. Srinivasan, Madras-9.
505. Sri P. R. Srinivasan, Curator, Museum, Madras.

506. Sri P. V. Srinivasan, Lecturer, Dr. Alagappa Chettiar Training College, 6, Teppa Kulam South Street, Sekkalai P.O. Ramnad Dt.
507. Sri S. Srinivasan.
508. Sri A. Srinivasa Raghavan, Principal, V.O.C. College, Tuticorin.
509. Dr. Ludwick Sternback, C/O Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Poona-4.
510. Sri Subba Rao, Baroda.
511. Sri K. V. Subba Rao, Lecturer, S.R.R. & C.V.R. College, Vijayawada-2.
512. Sri V. Subbiah Pillai, Madras-1
513. Sri Subrahmanya Iyer, A.C., Reader in English, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.
514. Sri K. A. Subramania Iyer, Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
515. Sri E. M. Subramania Pillai.
516. Sudhirbala Debi, 72, Ballygunj place, Calcutta.
517. Sukumar Ray. M.A., D.Phil.. 2-B, Lake Temple Road, Calcutta-29.
518. Mrs. Sulekhagan, 27, Gobagan Lane, Calcutta-6.
519. Sri C. S. Sundaram, Research Assistant, Sanskrit Deptt. University of Madras.
520. Sri M. Sundaram, Madurai.
521. P. M. Sundaram, 62, Jeera Compound, Secunderabad.
522. Supdt. Archealogy and Museum, Jodhpur.
523. Prof. N. G. Suru, Poona-4.
524. Dr. (Miss) Madhumalathi Suru, Poona-4.
525. Sri M. K. Suryanaraya Rao, Mysore.
526. Mrs. Susama Devi, Calcutta.
527. Sri M. K. Suryanarayana Rao, C/O G. Sitaramiah, M.A., Maharaja's College, Mysore.
528. Sri C. R. Swaminathan, Govt. Arts College, Madras-2.
529. Sri V. Swaminathan, Madras.
530. Tagare Ganesh Vasudeo, 596, Edyard, Shahupuri, Kolhapur.
531. Jikido Takasaki, C/O Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, Poona-4.
532. V. R. Talvalkar, 18, Jyoti Sa-Dan, Mhim, Bombay-16.
533. Sri J. C. Tarpore, Bombay.
534. Tarlekar Ganesh Hari, M. J. College, Jalgaon (E.K.) Bombay.
535. Tarlekar Nalini Ganesh, M.J. College, Jalgaon, Bombay.

536. Sri Tej Narayan Lal, Vijayawada.
537. Sri S. Thirugnanasambandan, Deptt. of History, Annamalai-nagar.
538. Sri T. Tirumalachari, Triplicane, Madras.
539. Dr. Udai Narain Tivari M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Allahabad University. Allahabad.
540. Tripathi Hari Shanker, Pro. Hindi, Sānskrit Deptt. St. Xavier's College, Ranchi.
541. Tripathi Kunja Bihari, Sagadiasahi, Cuttack-3.
542. Dr. Yogendra J. Tripathi, Baroda.
543. Harihar Vitthal Trivedi, Asst. Director of Archaeology & Curator, Museum, Indore.
544. Dr. J. M. Unwala, Parsi Students' Hostel, Ganadia Colony, Tardeo, Bombay.
545. Upadhyaya Suresh Ambalal, Kishore Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
546. Prof. Upadhye Adinath Neminath, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
547. H. S. Ursekar, Bombay.
548. Vader, Vishnu Hari, Advocate, Chavt Lane, Belgaum, Bombay.
549. Mrs. Vaidya Kamalabai, Mithila Institute, Darbhanga.
550. Sri Meukunda Vinayak Joshi Vaidya, Wai City.
551. Vaidya Narayan Vithal, Fergusson College, Poona-4.
552. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Mithila Institute, Darbhanga.
553. Sri R. Vajreswari, 17, Crescent Part Street Madras-17.
554. Sri C. G. Valimbe, Indore.
555. Smt. Annapurna Walimbe, Poona.
556. Smt. Radha Bai Govind Valimbe, Indore.
557. Mrs. Shailaja Devi Valimbe, Indore.
558. Sri P. Vanchinathan, M.A., Deptt. of Hindi, American College, Madurai.
559. Sri K. C. Varadachari, M.A., Ph.D., Sri Rajagrha, 8, G, Car Street, Tirupati.
560. Sri M. G. Varadarajan, M.B., B.S., Radiologist, R.M. Hospital, Tanjore.
561. Sri Brinda Varadarajan, 103, East Main Street, Tanjore.
562. Sri Kalidond Mohana Varma, Vidya Bhavan, Santiniketan.
563. Sri Veeraraghavachar, Prof. of Vishishtadwaitha, Sri Chama-Rajendra Samskrith College, Bangalore-2.

564. Sri Veerasivasubramaniam, Madras.
565. Velankar Hari Damodar, 10/2, Shastri Hall, Bombay-7.
566. Sri V. Venkatachalam, Prof. of Sanskrit, Mogre Building, Madhav Nagar, Ujjain.
567. Sri T. Venkatacharya, 85, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta-26.
568. The Koenig Science Institute, 71, Diwan Bhadur Road, R.S. Puram P.O. Coimbatore.
569. Sri V. S. Venkataraghavachari, 45, Baroda Street, Madras-17.
570. Sri Venkataraman, K.R., Madras-7.
571. Nidathavolu Venkata Rao, Head of the Deptt. of Telugu, University of Madras.
572. Sri S. Venkataswamy, Rajahmundri.
573. Sri S. Venkateswaralu, Madras.
574. Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, Head of the Deptt. of Sanskrit, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
575. Sri N. Venkateswaran, Galle, Ceylon.
576. Sri T. K. Venkateswaran, No. 8, III Canal Cross Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.
577. Sri S. Venkitasubramanian Iyer, 476, Dewan Street, Karamanai, Trivandrum-2.
578. Sri Venugopalan.
579. Sri Chakravarthi Venugopal Rao, Hyderabad.
580. Sri Yeshwant Rangnath Vipradas, 32, Narayan Bag, Indore City.
581. Venkata Viraraghavacharya, Prof. & Head of the Deptt. of Indian Languages, P Raja's Govt. College, Kakinada.
582. Sri K. Visvanathan, 2, Promenade Road, Cantonment, Trichy.
583. Sri N. K. Viswanath, Teacher, M.S. College, Perdel.
584. Smt. J. A. Vithal, Bombay.
585. Sri Vithalacharya, Narayanguda.
586. Vishno Shridhar Wakankar, Bharati Kale Bhawan, Madhav Nagar, Ujjain.
587. Mrs. Welankar Padma Narayan, 10/2, Sastri Hall, Bombay-7.
588. Sri O. H. De Alwis Wijesekhara, Ceylon.
589. Yajnik Amritlal Bhagwanji, R.R. College, Matunga, Bombay-19.
590. Sri M. Yamunacharya, Asst. Professor of Philosophy, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
591. Sri J. Yogendra, Bombay.

STUDENT MEMBERS

1. N. Arumugam, Madras-1.
2. Sri M. Balasubramanian, Annamalainagar.
3. Bedekar Viswanath Atmaram, Deccan College-Post Graduate & Research Institute, Poona-6.
4. Sri K. K. Behal.
5. Das Gupta Asok Kumar, 58, Maharaja Tagore Road, Dhakuria P.O., Calcutta-31.
6. Sri S. Ganesan, 252, Goods Shed Road, Madurai.
7. N. Gangadharan, 25, Karaneeswarar Koil Street, Saidapet, Madras-15.
8. Sri K. Gopalakrishnaiya, Madras-5.
9. V. Gopalakrishnan, 18, B. Kasim Ali Lane, Triplicane Madras-5.
10. Kumari M. Indirani, Annamalainagar.
11. Kumari Indu Bala, Annamalainagar.
12. Sri K. Jayaraman, Annamalainagar.
13. Jeyakumari, Presidency College Ladies Hostel, Saidapet, Madras.
14. Sri R. Katoch.
15. Sri M. Krishnamurthi, Annamalainagar.
16. Sri Kulbushan.
17. Sri P. Lakshmipathi, Guntur.
18. Sri T. S. Madhavan, 105, Big Street, Triplicane, Madras.
19. Sri K. P. Madhava Rao, 18 B, Kasim Ali Lane, Madras-5.
20. Kumari K. M. Meenakshi, Annamalainagar.
21. Misra Gopal Chandra, Lecturer in Oriya Department, Raven Shaw College, Cuttack-3.
22. Sri V. Nagabhushanam, Guntur.
23. Miss Namita Das, Gauhati.
24. Sri H. Narayanan, Annamalainagar.
25. Sri V. Narayanan, Annamalainagar.
26. Sri K. Natesan, Annamalainagar.
27. Miss S. Padmavathy, Annamalainagar.

28. Sri Viðvan Pichumani, Madras-1.
29. Sri Pitchamuthu, Annamalainagar.
30. Sri R. Ponnuraj, Annamalainagar.
31. Sri N. G. Prasad Rao, Madras.
32. Sri Prasanna Sehgal. K.M. Lucknow.
33. Sri Purohit, Radheshyam, Viswa Bharathi.
34. Rajam Velayudham, Presidency College Ladies Hostel, Madras.
35. Sri A. V. Rajaram, Annamalainagar.
36. Sri Rajendra Mehra.
37. Sri G. Ramkrishnamurthy, Madras-5.
38. V. Raman, 4, Syed Ahmed Hussain Street, Mylapore, Madras-14.
39. Sri T. Rama Rao, Guntur.
40. Sri K. Rangamani, Annamalainagar.
41. Sri S. Ranganathan, Annamalainagar.
42. Sri Anjaneya Sarma. V. Madras-5.
43. Sri Satyendra Sarma, Lucknow.
44. Sri J. Prabhakara Sastry, 26, Muthugramani St., Santhome, Madras.
45. Kumari V. Savitri, Annamalainagar.
46. Miss. R. Seetha Bai, Madras.
47. Smt. Subhadra Kumar Sen,
48. Sri R. Sethumadhavan, Salem.
49. Miss Shakuntalal Arya, Lucknow.
50. Mr. Lalit Kumar Shukla, Lucknow.
51. Sri Srinivasadesikan. V.N. C/O Sri Seshadri Acharya, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalainagar.
52. Sri A. Srinivasan, Annamalainagar.
53. Sri G. Srinivasan, Annamalainagar.
54. Sri J. Srinivasa Rao, Gudur.
55. Mrs. Stephen Hay, Santineketan.
56. Sri R. V. N. Subba Rao, Guntur.
57. Sri K. Subramanian, Annamalainagar.
58. Sri V. Subrahmaniam, Vailthacaud, Trivandrum-1.
59. Miss Pushpa Thapar, Lucknow.

60. Sri D. Thirugnanashanmugham, Annamalainagar.
 61. S. Thirupurasundari, Ladies Hostel, Presidency College,
Madras.
 62. Sri Udyā Shankar, Annamalainagar.
 63. Miss Usha Seth, Lucknow.
 64. Sri S. Vaidyanathan, Annamalainaga:.
 65. Sri V. A. Vasudevaraju, Annamalainagar.
 66. Sri K. Venkatraman, Annamalainagar.
 67. Sri M. S. Vimalanandam, Manambuchavady.
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ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference held at 9 A.M. on Monday, the 26th December 1955, in the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, Annamalai-nagar. The following members were present:—

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Shri P. C. Divanji, Pro. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Prof. H. D. Velankar, Prof. R. Ramanujachari, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

In the absence of the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, Dr. A. S. Altekar, was in the Chair.

- (1) The minutes of the meetings of the Executive Committee held at Ahmedabad on the 30th October 1953 and the 1st November 1953 were confirmed.
- (2) The following resolution of condolence proposed by the Chairman was passed, all members standing:—

Resolution 1: “Resolved that the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise of Dr. H. L. Hariyappa, of the Mysore University, who was elected a member of the Executive Committee in November 193.”

- (3) Dr. R. N. Dandekar submitted the audited accounts of the Conference for the years 1953 and 1954. On a motion moved by Dr. P. L. Vaidya and seconded by Pro. H. D. Velankar the following resolution was passed:—

Resolution 2: “Resolved that the audited accounts of the Conference for the years 1953 and 1954, as submitted by the General Secretary, be and are hereby passed.”

(For the audited accounts, see appendix I of this report).

- (4) On a motion moved by A. N. Upadhye and seconded by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, the following resolution regarding the appointment of auditor was passed:—

Resolution 3:—Resolved that Messrs G. M. Oka and Co., Poona, be and are hereby appointed Auditors of the Conference for the

years 1956 and 1957; resolved further that the Auditors be paid an honorarium of Rs. 25/- for each of these years."

At this stage, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan arrived and took the Chair.

(5) Dr. R. N. Dandekar made a statement on the action taken by him on the resolutions passed by the Executive Committee at Ahmedabad:—

(a) Dr. R. N. Dandekar informed the Committee that he had written to Dr. Amarnath Jha drawing his attention to the failure of the Local Secretary of the Darbhanga Session to submit to the Executive Committee the audited accounts of that Session and requesting him to look into the matter. He read out Dr. Jha's reply in which he had promised to do the needful. However, in view of Dr. Jha's sad demise, the Committee, while reiterating its disapproval of the Local Secretary's action, decided not to pursue the matter further.

(b) Dr. R. N. Dandekar informed the Committee that he had communicated to the Government of India the resolution passed by the Conference urging Government to take early steps in the matter of starting a Central Institute of Indology and that Government had acknowledge the receipt of his communication. He further informed the Committee that it was generally known that Government were taking active steps in the matter.

(c) Dr. R. N. Dandekar informed the Committee that some definite steps were expected to be taken by the new Executive Committee in connection with the preparation and publication by the Conference of a biennial Bibliography of Indology.

(6) Dr. R. N. Dandekar reported to the committee that Vol. 2 of the Proceedings of the Lucknow Session was ready and was being dispatched to the Members of that Session. He further reported that the printing of the volume of the Proceedings of the Ahmedabad Session was nearly completed and that the volume would be dispatched to Members of that Session by the end of January 1956. On his recommendation the following resolution was passed in this connection:—

Resolution 4: "Resolved that volume 2 of the Proceedings of the Lucknow Session of the Conference be priced at Rs. 8/- per copy; resolved further that the General Secretaries be authorised to fix up the price of the Proceedings of the Ahmedabad Session of the Conference."

- (7) On a motion moved by Professor Ramanujachari and seconded by Dr. R. N. Dandekar the following resolution was passed:—

Resolution 5: Resolved that it be recommended to the Council of the Conference that the following ten persons be coopted on the Council on behalf of the Local Committee (as per Rule 10 (b) (i): (1) Shri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, (2) Prof. R. Ramanujachari, (3) Prof. L. P. K. R. Ramanathan Chettiar, (4) Prof. G. Subramania Pillai, (5) Pro. Avasu M. M. Dandapani Desikar, (6) Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, (7) Shri M. P. Damodaram (8) Shri S. Ramaswami Naidu, (9) Shri Meenashisundaram, and (10) Shri L. Lakshman Chettiar ”

- (8) Dr. R. N. Dandekar reported that Pro. A. Siddiqui, President of the Islamic Culture Section, was unable to attend the Session owing to indisposition. On his recommendation, the following resolution was passed in this connection:—

Resolution 6: “Resolved that the Islamic Culture Section and the Arabic and Persian Section be combined and that Dr. Yoga Dhyana Ahuja, the President of the Arabic and Persian Section, be requested to preside over the joint Section.”

After a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting was dissolved.

R. DANDEKAR
General Secretary.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN
Chairman.

18-1-1956.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA-4.

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ending 31st December, 1954.

Receipts:

	RS.	A.	P.
With Treasurer including two 10 year 3½ per cent Certificates ...	16,131	3	8
With Poona Central Co-operative Bank S/B. Account ...	6,733	13	4
In Cash ...	321	7	9
...	23,186	8	9
Interest on Deposit of two 10 Year 3½ per cent Treasury Certificates ...	420	0	0
Interest on S.B. Account ...	94	4	0
Subscription for Membership from Lady Wilson Museum, Dharampur (Annamalainagar) ...	10	0	0
Miscellaneous ...	0	8	0
	23,711	4	0

Payments:

	RS.	A.	P.
By Printing of Note-papers, etc. ...	18	15	9
Postage and Stationery ...	48	2	0
Remuneration to Auditor for 1953 ...	25	0	0
C. S. Deshpande ...	250	0	0
Pro. L. Hambis, International Union of Orientalists, Paris ...	69	13	0
Dr. Umesh Misra for books packing, etc. ...	8	3	0
Miscellaneous ...	43	7	6
Total Expenditure ...	463	9	3
Balance on 1—1—1955 ...	23,247	11	6
...	23,711	4	9

Balance :

	RS.	A.	P.
1. With Treasurer including two ten year 3½ per cent Certificates ...	16,131	3	8
2. With Poona Central Co-operative Bank S/B. Account ...	6,949	4	7
3. In Cash on Hand ...	167	3	3
...	23,247	11	6

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

(Sd.) R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary.

(Sd.) G. M. OKA & C^{ll}.,
Chartered Accountants.

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ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA-4.

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ending 31st December, 1954.

Receipts:

To Balance at commencement:

	RS.	A.	P.
With Treasurer at Nagpur ...	4,131	3	8
Treasury Savings Deposit two Certificates ...	12,000	0	0
With Dr. A. S. Altekar ...	5	0	0
With Poona Central Co-operative Bank S/B. Account ...	5,889	8	7
Cash on hand ...	344	3	0
...	22,369	15	3
Subscription for Memberships ...	860	0	0
Interest on S.B. Account ...	499	7	0
...	23,729	6	3

Payments:

	RS.	A.	P.
Remuneration to G. S. Deshpande ...	250	0	0
Printing of Note-papers, etc. ...	54	1	6
Postage and Stationery ...	111	15	0
Railway Freight and carting ...	95	8	0
Audit fees for 1952 ...	25	0	0
Miscellaneous ...	6	5	0
Total Expenditure ...	542	13	6
Balance on 1—1—1954 ...	23,186	8	9
...	23,729	6	3

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

(Sd.) R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary..

(Sd.) G. M. OKE & Co.,
Chartered Accounts.

	RS.	A.	P.
Balance:			
1. With Treasurer including two ten year 3½ per cent Certificates	...	16,131	3 8
2. With Poona Central Co-operative Bank S/B. Acct.	...	6,733	13 4
3. In cash on hand	...	321	7 9
	...	23,186	8 9

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Council.

A meeting of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at 10-30 a.m. on Wednesday, the 28th December 1955, in the Zoology Hall of the Annamalai University. The following members registered their attendance:

A. S. Altekar, K. A. Nilakanta Satsri, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, P. C. Divanji, Yoga Dhyana Ahuja, K. Chattopadhyaya, Sukumar Sen, Aryendra Sharma, R. M. Shastri, S. K. Belvalkar, D. D. Kapadia, M. S. Irani, J. M. Unvala, C. C. Das Gupta, D. G. Mahajan, R. P. Kangle, K. R. Potdar, S. S. Bhawe, V. M. Apte, C. G. Kashikar, R. G. Harshe, R. R. Deshpande, C. B. Gupta, V. G. Rahurkar, S. Y. Dhonde, M. D. Paradkar, M. M. Patkar, T. G. Mainkar, R. N. Sardesai, E. D. Kulkarni, M. V. Mahashabde, G. V. Devasthali, Yogendra Moti, H. C. Iyengar, K. T. Pandurangi, P. V. Bapat, Kamalabai Deshpande, R. P. Sethu Pillai, G. K. Bhat, M. Krishnaswami Iyer, Miss. P. U. Kaikini, T. M. Narayanaswami, L. Lakshman Chettiar, Chintaharan Chakravarti, S. P. Chaturvedi, H. D. Velankar, A. N. Upadhye, H. L. Jain, A. G. Mangrulkar, A. S. V. Pant, Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, G. H. Godbole, A. L. Thakur, T. A. V. Dikshitar, S. Ranganatha Sarma, H. R. Aggarwala, S. L. Katre, E. V. V. Raghavacharya, H. R. Rangacharya Iyengar, N. Sivarama Sastry, M. A. Mehendale, U. P. Shah, J. S. Jetty, C. S. Venkata Krishna, R. Ramanujachari, M. Upendra Sarma, S. Ramaswami Naidu, T. D. Meenakshisundaram, L. P. K. R. Ramanathan Chettiar, K. Venkateswara Sarma, K. Ramakrishna Aiyer, A. C. Chettiar, S. Venkatasubramania Iyer, V. P. Rao, P. Samba Sivarao, J. M. Somasundaram, V. Raghavan, R. N. Dandekar.

In the absence of the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, Dr. A. S. Altekar, took the Chair.

1. The minutes of the meeting of the Council held at Ahmedabad on the 1st November, 1953 were confirmed.

2. On a motion moved by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the following resolution was passed:—

Resolution 1: "Resolved that, as recommended by the Executive Committee, the following ten persons be coopted on the Council as per Rule 10 (b) i:

1. Shri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, 2. Prof. R. Ramanujachari, 3. Prof. L. R. K. R. Ramanathan Chettiar, 4. Prof. G. Subramania Pillai, 5. Prof. Isai Arasu M. M. Dandapani Desikar, 6. Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, 7. Shri M. P. Damodaran, 8. Shri S. Rama-

swami Naidu, 9. Shri T. D. Meenakshisundaram and 10. Shri L. Lakshman Chettiar."

3. Dr. R. N. Dandekar reported that the following persons were duly nominated in connection with the election of eighteen members to the new Executive Committee of the Conference:

1. Aggarwal, H. R., 2. Agrawala, V. S., 3. Aiyaswami Sastri, 4. Altekar, A. S., 5. Balasubramanya Aiyar, 6. Bapat, P. V., 7. Belvalkar, S. K., 8. Bhawe, S. S., 9. Chakravarti Chintaharan, 10. Chakravarthi, N. P., 11. Chatterji, S. K., 12. Chattopadhyaya, K. C., 13. Chaturvedi, S. P., 14. Chhabra, B. C., 15. Dandekar, R. N., 16. Das, Har Mohan, 17. Dave, J. H., 18. De, S. K., 19. Deshpande, R. R., 20. Devasthali, H. V., 21. Divanji, P. C., 22. Divekar, R. R., 23. Gupta, C. B., 24. Harshe, R. G., 25. Jagan Nath, 26. Jain, H. L., 27. Kane, P. V., 28. Karmarkar, R. D., 29. Katre, S. M., 30. Mahajan, D. G., 31. Mehendale, M. A., 32. Mirashi, V. V., 33. Nilakantha Sastri, 34. Panchamukhi, R. S., 35. Pandey, K. C., 36. Parekh, R. C., 37. Pusalkar, A. D., 38. Radhakrishnan, S., 39. Raghavan, V., 40. Ramachandran, T. N., 41. Ramaswami Sastri, V. A., 42. Sarma, Aryendra, 43. Sarma, M. Upendra, 44. Sen Sukumar, 45. Sethupillai, R. P., 46. Shivaram Shastri, 47. Sirkar, D. C., 48. Srinivasachari, P., 49. Srinivasan, K. R., 50. Subramanya Aiyar, 51. Taraporavala, I. J. S., 52. Tripathi, K. B., 53. Trivedi, H. V., 54. Upadhye, A. N., 55. Vaidya, P. L., 56. Velankar, H. D., 57. Venkateswaran, C. S.

The Council then proceeded to elect eighteen members to the new Executive Committee. The President nominated Dr. M. M. Patkar, Dr. S. L. Katre, Prof. A. L. Thakur, and Shri K. V. Sharma to act as scrutineers for the election.

4. The Chairman then moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously:—

Resolution 2: "This Eighteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference learns with satisfaction that active steps are being taken by Government of India for establishing a Central Institute of Indology and hopes that it will be possible for Government to bring this Institute into being without any further delay."

5. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri moved and Dr. R. N. Dandekar seconded the following resolution which was passed unanimously:—

Resolution 4: "This Eighteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference welcomes the steps taken by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, and the Ministry of Education, Government of India, to reorganise the machinery and programme of work in connection with the "New Sanskrit Dictionary" undertaken by the Institute, with a view to speeding up and improving the work. This Conference expresses its thanks to the Central Ministry of Education, States, and other official and non-official bodies, which have so far patronised the work with financial aid; it further desires to draw the attention of all State Governments

and Universities in the country to the importance of this great national literary undertaking and appeals to them to come forward to render to it liberal financial help."

6. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji moved and Dr. Yoga Dhyan Ahuja seconded the following resolution. Principal S. P. Chaturvedi, Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri participated in the discussion which followed. Eventually the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

Resolution 4: "This Eighteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference appeals to the authorities of the Annamalai University that, with a view of making Tamil Literature more widely read and more critically and scientifically studied by scholars all over the world, they bring out a Corpus of the Sangam Literature, with text in Tamil script and Roman transliteration and an English translation."

7. The Chairman moved the following resolution which was passed unanimously:—

Resolution 5: "This Eighteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference expresses its appreciation of the action of the Madras University in sponsoring the tour of European Libraries by Dr. V. Raghavan for the purpose of cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts and hopes that the University will soon publish the Survey prepared by him of nearly 20,000 manuscripts, for which no printed catalogues are so far available."

After a vote of thanks to Chair the meeting terminated.

A. S. ALTEKAR,
Chairman.
26—1—1956.

R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary.
18—1—1956.



ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

Minutes of the meeting of the New Executive Committee.

A meeting of the new Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at 3 p.m. on Wednesday, the 28th December, 1955, in the Zoology Hall of the Annamalai University. The following members were present:

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. G. V. Devasthali, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. M. A. Mehendale, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Dr. C. S. Venkatewaran, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. R. R. Deshpande, Dr. C. B. Gupta, and Dr. S. S. Bhawe.

Dr. A. S. Altekar was voted to the Chair.

1. *Election of the President:*

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar proposed and Dr. S. K. Chatterji seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

Resolution 1: "Resolved that Dr. A. S. Altekar be elected General President of the All-India Oriental Conference."

2. *Election of the Vice-President:*

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri proposed and Dr. R. N. Dandekar seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Resolution 2: "Resolved that Dr. P. C. Bagchi be elected Vice-President of the All-India Oriental Conference."

3. *Election of the Treasurer:*

Dr. R. N. Dandekar proposed and Dr. V. Raghavan seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

Resolution 3: "Resolved that Prof. V. V. Mirashi be elected Treasurer of the All-India Oriental Conference."

4. *Election of the General Secretaries:*

Dr. A. S. Altekar proposed and Dr. S. K. Chatterji seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

Resolution 4: "Resolved that Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. V. Raghavan be elected General Secretaries of the All-India Oriental Conference."

5. Dr. R. N. Dandekar proposed and Dr. V. Raghavan seconded the following resolution which was carried unanimously:

Resolution 5: "Resolved that Dr. J. M. Unvala, Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai, and Prof. A. Siddiqui be coopted as members of the Executive Committee in the vacancies caused by the election of Dr. A. S. Altekar as President, and of Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. V. Raghavan as General Secretaries."

The new office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference will be as follows:

President—Dr. A. S. Altekar.

Vice-President—Dr. P. C. Bagchi.

Treasurer—Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

General Secretaries—Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

Dr. V. Raghavan.

Other members of the Committee:

1. S. K. Belvalkar.
2. Dr. S. S. Bhawe.
3. Dr. S. K. Chatterji.
4. Prof. R. R. Deshpande.
5. Dr. G. V. Devasthali.
6. Dr. C. B. Gupta.
7. Dr. P. V. Kane.
8. Dr. S. M. Katre.
9. Dr. M. A. Mehendale.
10. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
11. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.
12. Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai.
13. Dr. A. Siddiqui.
14. Dr. J. M. Unvala.
15. Dr. A. N. Upadhye.
16. Dr. P. L. Vaidya.
17. Prof. H. D. Velankar.
18. Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran.

6. Dr. R. N. Dandekar then reported to the Executive Committee that letters were received from—1. the Delhi University, 2. the Visva Bharati University, 3. the Allahabad University inviting the All-India Oriental Conference to hold its next, that is the nineteenth, Session under their auspices. After some discussion, on a motion proposed by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and seconded by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

Resolution 6: “Resolved that the invitation received by the All-India Oriental Conference from the Delhi University requesting the Conference to hold its 19th Session, under its auspices at Delhi, in 1957, be thankfully accepted.”

Resolution 7: “Resolved that the best thanks of the Conference be conveyed to the Visva Bharati University and the Allahabad University for their invitations”.

7. Dr. R. N. Dandekar proposed and Dr. V. Raghavan seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

Resolution No. 8: “Resolved that an Editorial Committee consisting of Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, and Dr. V. Raghavan be appointed to organise the compilation and publication, under the auspices of the All-India Oriental Conference, of a Bibliography of Indology for the years 1955 and 1956. (The Bibliography is expected to be published in 1957 at the next Session of the Conference.) Resolved further that a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,200 out of the

General Fund of the Conference be made available to the Committee for the preparation of the Bibliography,"

8. Dr. V. Raghavan proposed and Dr. R. N. Dandekar seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

Resolution 9: "Resolved that the General Secretaries be authorised to print and publish the index of papers submitted to sessions 13-17 of the Conference, which is prepared by Shri K. V. Sarma, the necessary expenses for this purpose being incurred out of the General Fund of the Conference."

9. A joint meeting of the Executive Committee and the Sectional Presidents of the current Session and such Sectional Presidents of the past Sessions as were present at Annamalaiagar was held to elect the Sectional Presidents for the next Session. The following result of the election was declared by the General Secretary:

1. Vedic	... Dr. V. M. Apte.
2. Iranian	... Dr. Hormazdiyar Mirza
3. Classical Sanskrit	... Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti.
4. Islamic Culture	... Prof. Humayun Kabir.
5. Arabic and Persian	... Dr. Mahdi Husan.
6. Pali and Buddhism	... Dr. Aiyaswami Sastri.
7. Prakrit and Jainism	... Prof. Dalsukh Malvania.
8. History	... Dr. D. C. Sircar.
9. Archaeology	... Dr. P. Srinivasachar.
10. Indian Linguistics	... Dr. Aryendra Sarma.
11. Dravidian Culture	... Prof. T. N. Srikantia.
12. Philosophy and Religion	... Dr. K. C. Pandey.
13. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	... Dr. V. Raghavan.

After a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting terminated.

A. S. ALTEKAR,
Chairman.

26—1—1956.

R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary.
18—1—1956.

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE PASSED DURING THE INAUGURAL SESSION.

Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference, meeting for its eighteenth Session at Annamalainagar on the 26th of December, 1955, places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the sad deaths of the following scholars, which have occurred since the last Session of the Conference held at Ahmedabad in October, 1953:—

1. Prof. J. J. L. Duyvendak—Holland.
 2. Prof. Oldrid Fris—Czechoslovakia.
 3. Prof. H. Deydier—France.
 4. Spalding.
 5. Swami Kevalananda Sarasvati—Wai.
 6. Dr. Amar Nath Jha.
 7. Pandita Ksama Rao—Bombay.
 8. Dr. H. L. Hariyappa—Mysore.
 9. Prof. R. V. Pathak—Ahmedabad.
 10. Dr. Saileswar Sen—Andhra and Annamalai Universities.
 11. Rev. Father Heras—Bombay.
 12. Pandit Madho Swarup Vats—Delhi.
 13. Dr. Sundar Lal Hora—Delhi.
 14. Shri Ratnamanirao Jhot—Ahmedabad.
 15. Shri R. Narayan Iyer—Madras, and
 16. Dr. K. V. Ramaswamy, Vice-Consul, Indian Legation, Vienna.
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WELCOME ADDRESS DELIVERED BY SRI T. M. NARAYANA-SWAMY PILLAI, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., VICE-CHANCELLOR, ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of this University and the Reception Committee, it is my proud privilege to welcome you all to this Conference and to this city of hallowed and hoary antiquity. It was Dr. Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, my illustrious predecessor, who invited the Conference to this place. It is a matter of great regret to all of us that he could not participate in this Conference. If he had been here he would have shed a lustre on this Conference all his own; but his presence at Banaras today is imperative and it looks as though we have to enact Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Though we do not have the benefit of his inspiring guidance we have his blessings and good wishes.

On behalf of this University and on behalf of all assembled here, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you, Sir, the President-elect of this Conference. You have conferred on us a signal honour by agreeing to preside over this Conference. You are a world-renowned teacher, philosopher, statesman and ambassador; verily you are the "Rathna of Bharat," radiating the light of knowledge and wisdom wherever you go. We are proud that only a few days ago you were invested with the insignia of the "Order of Pour Le Merit" of Germany—a rare and signal honour bestowed on great thinkers like Voltarie, Darwin and Carlyle who have changed the thinking of the world. I am an humble student who studied at your feet in the Intermediate class and I am sure there must be many here like me. To all those who have had the privilege of having been your students, your presence here is a source of unutterable pleasure and pride.

To you, delegates, scholars and savants hailing from all parts of this great country, I have great pleasure in offering a cordial welcome; and to those delegates from foreign countries, whose love of oriental languages has brought them here, I am particularly grateful and offer a special welcome. All the people of this great land of ours acknowledge with grateful thanks the good and valuable work that has been done during the last thirty years and more by Oriental Scholars in India and abroad, in bringing to light the hidden treasures of our languages, literatures and histories; and it is their fervent hope that in free and independent India there will be still greater scope for the continuance and progress of this great work in future. I cannot think of any other kind of service which is calculated to instil in the minds of the youth of our country greater love and devotion to the motherland; and such a high-souled endeavour is a necessary co-rective in these days of materialistic and utilitarian approach to the pursuit of knowledge. Here let us pay our homage to the memory of the great scholar and savant, the late

Dr. R. Bhandarkar, a scholar of unsurpassed eminence, who represented a synthesis of the old orthodox method of ensuring solidity of study with the modern scientific and critical approach. His pioneering efforts have been a source of inspiration to scholars in this land. The services of Dr. Vogel, who was in fact the originator of the idea of the Oriental Conference as far back as 1911, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee and Sri Kuppaswami Sastrigal have all to be remembered with gratitude.

Here I have to refer with great sorrow to the very recent and sudden demise of Father Heras whom we had hoped to meet here in this Conference; he had even paid the delegate's fee. Father Heras was an outstanding Historian and Archaeologist and by his researches had added considerably to our knowledge of ancient Indian culture and had thereby laid us under a deep debt of obligation and gratitude.

I feel so happy that our Pro-Chancellor Dr. Rajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad is here with us today. He has been the patron, friend and guide of the reception committee in all their deliberations and actions. His interest in the welfare of this University and in the conduct of this conference is unbounded. He is the worthy son of a great and worthy father who, with foresight and wisdom, founded this great institution, one of the principal aims of which is to encourage oriental studies. Even before the founding of this University he had established two institutions one for the study of Tamil and the other for the study of Sanskrit, and these two colleges flourished under his patronage and attracted some of the most eminent scholars in these two languages like Mahamahopadyaya Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer and Ponnu Othuvai in Tamil and Mahamahopadyaya Dandapaniswami Dikshitar in Sanskrit.

As regards the study of languages, the aim of this University has been, in the words of its great Founder, 'to give to the world the value of Tamil learning, literature and culture'. Every effort has been made by this University to promote the study of Tamil and research in Tamil and Tamil Isai with a view to making this Institution the rallying point for the study of Tamil in all its aspects, literature, history, archaeology, philology, philosophy, religion, art, etc., and thereby to fulfil the aspirations of all lovers of Tamil. At the same time this University has given due importance to the study of and research in Sanskrit. In the view of eminent scholars all the languages spoken in India today may be said to be derived from two ancient, independent parent languages, Sanskrit and Tamil, of which Sanskrit has ceased to be a spoken language, but Tamil has had an unbroken history and continues to this day to be the spoken language of Tamilnad. The Indian culture which is our rich heritage owes a great deal to these two parent languages. In South India, however, it has expressed itself for ages and reached the heart of the masses through the medium of Tamil and its cognate languages Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Hence the importance given to the study of Tamil in the South. But at the same time this University has given due importance to the study of the sister stream through which Indian culture has

flourished through the ages, namely, the Sanskrit language. The University has already published many research works in Sanskrit and only the other day brought out a Tamil translation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* by one of its eminent scholars, the late Mahamahopadaya Panditamani Kathiresan Chettiar.

Here, I may, with your leave, refer to the view expressed at the last meeting of the Sanskrit Parishad that Sanskrit should be made a subject of compulsory study in High Schools and Colleges, a view which has gained the support of some eminent scholars in India for whom I have the greatest respect. But in all humility I must say that I do not agree with this view. In my opinion this is neither necessary nor desirable. To recognise the importance of the study of Sanskrit as an ancient language which underlies our culture is one thing; but to advocate its compulsory study in High Schools and Colleges is quite a different thing. If the object is to instil in the minds of the Indian youth the "unifying force and the oneness" of Indian culture, I think it is best served by promoting the compulsory study of the various regional languages in High Schools and Colleges in their respective regions, along with providing facilities for the optional study of Sanskrit by those who have an aptitude for it or who desire to study it. Most of these languages are derived from ancient Sanskrit and their literatures are full of the same philosophical and religious content.

Now as regards Tamilnad. I am afraid that the inclusion of the compulsory study of another language in the school curriculum will prove a needless burden on the young students, because Sanskrit is different, especially in grammatical structure from Tamil and Tamil is not derived from Sanskrit. This measure will prove especially detrimental in the case of the backward classes here, who only recently have begun to enjoy the benefits of education at the High School and College levels.

The Vaishnavites and their Acharyas realised the value of the study of Tamil and Tamil Scriptures; and realising the complementary nature of the study of these two great languages they advocated an integrated study of both. The history of South India reveals a synthesis of culture to which both these languages have contributed. The Saivite Nayanmars and the Vaishnavite Alvars have recognised these languages to be different ones but both contributing to the same unified philosophy and religion which forms the basis of Indian culture. I am certain, therefore, that a study of Tamil or its cognate languages alone is bound to yield the same desirable results as the study of Sanskrit, as far as the preservation of the unity of Indian culture is concerned.

I am of the view that national unity or culture will never be impaired by the development of the regional languages in India. Nor will the imposition of Sanskrit as a compulsory subject of study by itself bring about this unity. On the contrary this policy will certainly retard the growth of the regional languages and may perhaps end by doing a disservice to the cause of Sanskrit ultimately. Research Institutes like the Deccan College, Poona, and the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, affording facilities for research

studies in Sanskrit at the highest level have, in my opinion, done more service to the cause of Sanskrit than the compulsory study of Sanskrit in Schools and Colleges can ever hope to do.

This University desires to do for Tamil what the Deccan College and the Bhandarkar Institute are doing at Poona for Sanskrit. You may be glad to know that with the help of the Union Government, to which we are very grateful this University, in commemoration of its Silver Jubilee, has created a Chair for Dravidian Philology, and the compilation of a new Etymological Dictionary. As Sir William Hunter has observed, "the perfect understanding of the structure of the Dravidian Languages will revolutionise our knowledge in regard to linguistics in general". With the help of the Union and State Governments it is proposed to develop this into an Institute of Research in and the study of Comparative Dravidian Philology. In this connection I am glad I shall have the opportunity of consulting the Director of the Deccan College, Poona, and other scholars present here now.

Our National Government has rightly addressed itself to the task of developing all the national languages mentioned in the Constitution. I do believe that one of the results of our independence and freedom must be to develop all our national languages. The creation of regimented unity by imposing one language throughout this sub-continent is likely to do more harm than good. In the history of our land the tradition has always been to encourage the development of all our languages. I am proud of the Tamil language as people in the north are proud of their own regional languages, such as Gujarati, Bengali, Marathi, Hindi, etc. But our pride in each of our languages does not mean that we do not take pride in our Nation as a whole, and in those ancient languages like Sanskrit and Tamil which underly the culture of our country. There has always been an underlying unity notwithstanding the difference of languages; and so, our national unity, far from being weakened, will be strengthened and our national culture will be made better and fuller by a deeper and truer study of these languages. This has been stressed more than once by our illustrious Prime Minister and others. Our culture is varied and variegated. It has unity, diversity and variety. Our culture is not the culture of one language, one race or one religion and, therefore, we are thankful to the Union Government for encouraging and promoting the study of all our languages.

The Sahitya Akademi has now undertaken the task of the publication of our National Bibliography and the History of Literature of each of these national languages. We are glad to mention that in our University Professor L. P. KR. Ramanathan Chettiar is doing that valuable work in Tamil. We are also glad that the Union Government has been recognising the works of eminent scholars and we are happy that Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, one of the former professors of this University, has been given the prize for eminence in Tamil writing. Again, the cause of the languages will be advanced by intercourse between scholars here and scholars in England and America. In this connection, we are

glad that the British Council has been inviting scholars from the East to visit English Universities. Dr. A. C. Chettiar from this University was invited last year, and this year Sri Batt, Professor of Canarese of Madras University, has been invited. Previously one of our eminent scholars in Sanskrit, my friend Dr. V. Raghavan, of Madras University, had been invited. The Rockefeller Foundation has been doing signal service by helping the Deccan College, Poona, to hold schools of linguistics twice a year. I am glad that the Director of the Deccan College, Dr. S. M. Katre, a distinguished scholar and organiser who has formulated a scientific study of languages, is with us here.

I am not a scholar and I do not like to make any observation with regard to the important subjects you will be called upon to discuss. I may, however, say that this Conference should urge upon the Government the duty of paying more attention to excavations and to the study and publication of inscriptions. There are many places in South India, where excavations are likely to yield good results. I should like to mention in particular Kaverippoom-pattinam, now submerged in the sea, but once the flourishing capital of a great Kingdom, a place associated with two of the great Tamil classics, Silappathikaram and Manimekalai. Marine Archaeology has proved very valuable in the Mediterranean Region. The publication of inscriptions, so far made, is not enough and indicates possibly a want of proper appreciation of its importance.

I shall close by saying a few words about Chidambaram. A booklet is being placed in your hands and it deals with Chidambaram in detail. The Nataraja shrine at Chidambaram is specially sacred to the Hindus and more particularly to the Saivaites whose literature refers to it as "*The Koil—Temple par excellence.*" The worship of Lord Siva in the form of Nataraja, the cosmic dancer bestowing grace on erring souls, the symbol of harmony and equipoise, has captivated our sages and saints and Nayanmars, viz., Vyagrapadar and Patanjali of 2nd Century B.C., Thirumular of Thirumantiram perhaps of the 5th Century A.D., Thirugnana-sambandar, Appar, Sundarar of the 7th to the 9th Centuries A.D., Manickavasagar belonging to a still later date and several others after them. Also it is sacred to the Vaishnavaites as the abode of Lord Govindaraja, who has been celebrated in the songs of Thirumangai Alwar and Kulasekara Alwar of the 8th and 9th centuries.

This temple has been worshipped by devotees throughout the country and has claimed among its votaries a great many kings—Pallava, Chola, Pandya, Chera, Vijayanagara, etc. The four gopurams of the temple have been built in four different epochs by kings belonging to the four different kingdoms of the South.

There is no saint in Tamilnad who has not been captivated by this temple and who has not poured out his heart in exquisite songs; and all these songs deserve a very high place as classics in Tamil Literature. Thirugnanasambandar, Appar and Sundarar have sung nine pathigams in praise of the Lord here. Manickavasagar has

devoted twenty-six out of sixty-one decades of his *Thiruvachagam* to the praise of Lord Nataraja. The entire work of *Thirukkovaigar* is in praise of the Lord here. Sixteen out of twenty-five psalms in *Thiruvisaippa* relate to this temple. The tenth *Thirumurai-Thirumantiram*—by Thirumular refers to this temple as Chidambaram for the first time. Pattinattar, the embodiment of renunciation, has sung his immortal *Nanmanimalai* in praise of Lord Nataraja. The immortal work *Periapuranam* by Sekkilar was written and expounded by him in this temple. No account of the history of the devotees connected with Chidambaram can be complete without mention of the great modern devotee, Ramalinga Swamikal, the Manikkavasagar of the modern age, who has given to the masses the essence of Hindu religion and philosophy in the form of easy and soul-stirring songs in his *Thiruvavurupta*. Umapatisivam, the author of seven of the fourteen *Saiva Siddhanta* Sastras was a great devotee of Nataraja. His *Koyil Puranam* relates entirely to this temple. His Samadhi is at a distance of a few yards from this Hall. The Chidambaram temple stands for a synthesis of vedic and agamic rites. It is a synthesis of Sanskrit and Tamil traditions.

This temple is also a store-house of art, and you will find all the poses of Bharata Natya engraved on the pillars in the Gopurams. Lovers of this art have been greatly captivated by these sculptural representations and they have found them very instructive.

This ancient shrine is situated in what are ordinarily considered as rural surroundings. This town may not provide the comforts and conveniences available in some of the cities; but scholars like you are sure to be delighted by the temple, which is a treasure-house of religion, history, literature and art. The Reception Committee are aware that they have not been able to make you as comfortable here as they would like to, but I request you to bear with any shortcomings in the arrangements made by us. Once again, I have great pleasure in welcoming you all here.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

BHARATA RATNA DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Vice-President of India

INDIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND MODERN CIVILIZATION

I

I am greatly honoured by the invitation to preside over this session of the Oriental Conference. I received it with a certain surprise for I have not taken an active part in the deliberations of the Oriental Conference. I attended the Oriental Conference which was held in Calcutta in 1922 and had the honour of welcoming the Conference at Banaras in 1943. So it is extremely kind of you to have thought of me for this exalted position.

You will be disappointed if you expect from me any broad survey of the work done in Oriental studies since the Conference last met. I have neither the knowledge nor the competence to undertake such a survey. My remarks will be limited to the subject of Indian philosophy and religion and even there to one or two points of contemporary interest.

The constructive ideas on which civilization is built are conventionally traced to this or that country, Greece or Rome, China or India. There is an old Talmudic saying—The Rabbis ask, why was the Law given in the wilderness, and the answer is given: In order that no one country could claim proprietary rights over it. This is true of all ideas. They are by nature universal. They may arise in individuals and may develop their power through communities. But we cannot speak of them as belonging to this person or that community. This would be to violate their character as ideas. Ideas are not dead things. They have hands and feet. They are alive and challenging. They are charged with power. Their action is unpredictable.

II

Perhaps in this great religious centre, I may be forgiven if I refer to the fundamental spiritual values of the Indian tradition which may be helpful for fostering world unity. I must, however, caution that this brief and general discussion should not be taken as a complete or even an adequate account of the different religious traditions.

The problem of religion arises from the realization of the imperfect condition of man. Life is not merely a physical phenomenon or a biological process. Who shall save me from the body

of this death, from the snares and dangers of this world? The need for redemption implies the presence of conditions and circumstances from which we seek escape or liberation.

The fundamental concepts of Indian religious life may be briefly indicated. The goal of life is communion with the Supreme. It is a life of realization, a *gnosis*, an inner intuitive vision of God, which achieves absolute freedom and escapes from the blind servitude to ordinary experience. It is a subtle interwovenness with the realities of the spiritual world. It is not knowledge or the recognition of universal ideas through a dialectical process or analysis of empirical data. It is analogous to Plato's vision of an irresistible harmony with the deepest reality of the world inspired and sustained by the spiritual in us.

*asti brahmeti ced veda parokṣam jñānam eva tat ;
asmi (aham) brahmeti ced veda aparokṣam tat tu kathyate.*

This brings out the distinction between intellectual recognition and spiritual realization. We can free ourselves from the shackles of the body and in a split second we can see the truth and be overcome by it. We see God so intensely that the soul is more certain and more possessed by the sight of God than the bodily eye by the light of day.

*tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam
sadā paśyanti surayaḥ, divīva cakṣur ātatam.*

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* tells us that through *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*, we have to attain *ātma-darśana*¹: *ātma-darśanam uddīśya vedānta śravaṇa manana nididhyāsanam kartavyam ity arthaḥ*. The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* says :

*praṇavo dhanuḥ śaro hy ātmā brahmā tal lakṣyam ucyate ;
aprāmattena vaddhavyam śaravat tanmayo bhavet..²
vedāham etam puruṣam mahāntam ādityavarṇam tamāsah
parastāt.³ anubhūtim vinā mūḍho vṛthā brahmaṇi modate.⁴*

Intuition is not emotion but the claim to certain knowledge. It gives us a sense of divine reality as a thing immediately certain and directly known. The sense of God penetrates the seer's consciousness, but it does not come like the light of day, something external, something out there in space. The barrier that separates the seer from the divine life is broken down. It is the aim of the seer to live in the light and inspiration of this experience, to be one with God in an abiding union.

The records of these experiences are the Vedas, 'ever the same yet changing ever'. The Vedas which constitute the essential foundation of the entire spiritual tradition of India are based on integral

¹ IV. 4-5

² II, 2-4

³ See *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, III. 8; see also III. 21

⁴ *Maitreyopaniṣad*, 2

experience. The term Veda, derived from the root *vid*, refers to a doctrine based not on faith or revelation but on a higher knowledge attained through a process of intuition or seeing. The Vedas are seen by the *ṛṣis*, the seers of the earliest times. The Vedas do not give us theories or theologies. The hymns contain reflection of a consciousness that is in communion with metaphysical reality. The gods themselves are not mere images but projections of the experience of significance, of forces directly perceived in man, in nature or beyond. The Vedas are neither infallible nor all-inclusive. Spiritual truth is a far greater thing than the scriptures. We recognize the truth and value of much that has been proclaimed by non-Vedic prophets and we are led equally to perceive the insight of many religious teachers in later centuries. The Veda is a record of inspired wisdom and deep inner experience.⁵

The second factor is the emphasis on the divine possibilities of man. The great text, *tat tvam asi*, stresses this truth. The Supreme is in the soul of man. For the Upaniṣads, as for Plato⁶ and Philo,⁷ man is a celestial plant.

Godhead can be described and approached in various ways. The Hindu thinkers were conscious of the immensity, the infinity, the inexhaustibility and the mysteriousness of the Supreme Spirit. A negative theology develops. Brahman is a reality which transcends space and time and so is greater than human understanding can grasp. *śanto'yaṁ ātmā*. Brahman is silence. Yet Brahman is the continuing power which pervades and upholds the world. He is the real of the real, the foundation on which the world rests. He is essential freedom. His different functions of creation, preservation and perfection are personalized in the forms of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The individual deities are affiliated to one or the other. When approaching the different conceptions and representations of the Supreme, the Hindu has a sense of humility, a deep awareness of human frailty. Even if religions claim to be the results of divine revelation, the forms and contents are necessarily the products of the human mind.

*eṣa devo viśvakarmā mahātmanā sadā janānām hṛdaye sanniviṣṭaḥ
hṛdā manāḥ mānasābhikṛpto ya etad vidur amṛtāḥ te bhavanti."*

Religion reflects both God and man. As religion is a life to be lived, not a theory to be accepted or a belief to be adhered to, it allows scope and validity to varied approaches to the Divine. There may be different revelations of the Divine but they are all forms of the Supreme. If we surround our souls with a shell, national pride, racial superiority, frozen articles of faith and empty presumption of castes and classes, we stifle and suppress the breath of the spirit. The Upaniṣads are clear that the flame is the same even though the types of fuel used may vary. Though cows are of many colours, their milk is of one colour; the truth is one like the

5 *tad vacanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam.*—Vaiṣeṣika Sūtra

6 Timaeus. 90

7 De plantatione, see. 17; cf. Seneca: 'The place which God occupies in this world is filled by the spirit in man.'

8 Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad. IV, 17

milk while the forms used are many like the cows.⁹ Again, the *Bhāgavata* says even as the several senses discern the different qualities of one object, so also the different scriptures indicate the many aspects of the one Supreme.¹⁰

In the Upanisads we find a four-fold status of the Supreme Reality—*ātmā catuṣpāt*, Brahman, *Īśvara*, *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Virāj*. While the world is the form of the divine, *visvadrūpa*, the cause is three-fold.

*pādo'sy asarvā bhūtāni tripādasyāmṛtaṁ divi.*¹¹

The problem facing man is the conflict between the divine and the undivine in him. *Yogasatrabhāṣya* says that the stream of mind flows in two directions, the one leading to virtue, the other to vice: *cittaṁ nadiḥ nama abhayaṁ vāhinī, vāhati kalyāṇāya, vāhati capāpāya.*¹² To overcome the conflict and integrate the personality is the aim of religion. This problem has no meaning for beasts and gods as Aristotle says. It concerns the human predicament.¹³

There are different recognized pathways by which the duality is overcome and perfection reached. In order to see in the world of spiritual reality, we must close our eyes to the world of nature. The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* says that man is turned outward by his senses and so loses contact with his own deepest self. His soul has become immersed in outer things, in power and possessions. It must turn round to find its right direction and find the meanings and realities it has missed.¹⁴ To hear the melodies of spirit, we must shut off the noise of the world. This is not to renounce the powers of sight, hearing and speech. It is to open the inner eye to spiritual realities, capture the sounds that come from the world of spirit, sing in silence the hymn of praise to the Supreme Being.

True religious life must express itself in love and aim at the unity of mankind. Bead, necklaces, rosaries, triple paint on forehead, or putting on ashes, pilgrimages, baths in holy rivers, meditation, or image worship do not purify a man as service of fellow-creatures does.¹⁵ The Hindu dreamed of universal peace and clothed his dreams in imperishable language.

9 *gaviṁ aneka-varmāṇāṁ kṣīraśyāsty eka-varṇataḥ
kṣīravat paśyate jñānam liṅgaṁ tu gavāṁ yathā.*

10 *yathendriyair prthag dvāraih artho bahu-guṇāśrayaḥ
eko nana īyate tadvat bhagavaṁ śāstra-varmabhilāḥ.*

11 *Rg Veda*

12 *I. 12*

13 *dvau eva cintayā muktāu paramānande āplutau
yo vimuḍho jado bālo yo guṇebhyaḥ param gataḥ,*

Two are free from care and steeped in bliss: the child intent and ignorant and he who goes beyond the (three-fold) attributes.

Cf. Śaṅkara: *nistraiguṇye pathi vicaratām ko vidhiḥ ko niṣedhaḥ.*

14 *I. 1*

15 *rudrākṣam, tulasī-kāṣṭham, tripundram, bhasma-dhūraṇam
yātrāḥ snānāni homāś ca japā va deva-darśanam
na ete punanti manuṣjam yathā bhūta-hite ratih.*

mātā cā pārvatī devī pitā devo maheśvaraḥ
 bāṇdhavāḥ śivābhaktāś ca svadeśo bhuvana-trayam.
 udāra-caritānām tu vaśudhaiva kuṭumbakam
 vārāṇasī medinī.

The goal of world unity is to be achieved by *ahimsa* which is insisted on by Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

The fact that the Tamil classic *Tirukkural* is claimed by different religious sects indicates its catholicity. Its emphasis on *ahimsa* or non-violence in its varied applications, ethical, economic and social, shows the importance which ancient Tamil culture gave to it. *Tirukkural* is used by the Buddhists and the Jains, the Saivites and the Vaiṣṇavites. It is called *podumuraī* or common scripture.

The other two works of Tamil literature *Silappathikaram* and *Manimekhalai*, exalt the virtues of chastity and renunciation.

Even Manu intended the message of India to be of universal application.

etad deśa-prasūtasya sakāśād agrajanmanaḥ
 svam svam cāritraṁ śikṣeraṁ pṛthivyām sarvamānavūḥ.

All the people of the world would learn from the leaders of this country the lessons for their behaviour.

There is a persistent misunderstanding that we look upon the world as an illusion and this view is attributed to Śaṅkara. The *Brahma Sūtra* clearly makes out that the world is not non-existent, *nābhāva upalabdheḥ*, that it is not a mental aberration, *na svapnūdirat*. Of course Śaṅkara affirms that the world is not Brahman. As the manifestation of Brahman it is real only in a secondary sense; it has what is called *vyāvahārika sattā*. By no means is it to be dismissed as utterly unreal. It is different from *prātibhāsika sattā* or illusory existence. Śaṅkara makes out that the world is a progressive manifestation of the Supreme:

ekasyāpi kūtasthasya citta-tāratamyāt jñānaśvaryaṇām abhivyaktiḥ
 pareṇa pareṇa bhūyasī bhavati.

In this sacred centre, I may mention the following verse:

jagat trayam sūmbhava-nartana sthālī
 naṭādhirāja'tra paraḥ śivaḥ svayam
 sabhā naṭo raṅga iti vyavasthitiḥ
 svarūpataḥ śakti-yutāt prapañcitā.

The three worlds are but the dancing hall of God Śiva. The king of dancers is the Supreme God himself. The audience, actors

and the stage are evolved and ordered by the Lord from his own self in association with his *Śakti*.¹⁶

Though there was no missionary motive, no attempt to convert others to the Hindu faith, its influence extended to other regions like Java, Bali, where we still have a Hindu colony, and other parts of the East. Greek leaders like Heliodorus became devotees of the Hindu faith. While missionary religions carry out propaganda and are interested in the increase of the number of their followers, Hindu religion was not what we call a proselytizing religion, though in its great days it had no objection to foreigners accepting the Hindu faith.

III

Buddhism which arose in India was an attempt to achieve a purer Hinduism. It may be called a heresy of Hinduism or a reform within Hinduism. The formative years of Buddhism were spent in the Hindu religious environment. It shares in a large measure the basic presuppositions of Hinduism. It is a product of the Hindu religious ethos. But soon it established itself as a distinctive religious tradition. It split early into two branches, though the nature of its thought and teaching is common to its different expressions. The Hinayana is the southern, Pali or Theravada Buddhism; the Mahayana is the northern, mainly Sanskrit Buddhism. Both groups claim that they are loyal to the teachings of the Buddha. The former is more monastic than the latter. Mahayana has been more sensitive to the religious yearnings of the people. While Hinayana places its emphasis on individual attainment of salvation, the Mahayana emphasizes the grace of the Divine. It is sometimes contended that the Mahayana Buddhism reveals a stage of truth greater than that which the Buddha gave to his followers in the Pali scriptures as they were not spiritually mature to receive the higher stage of truth.

The name Buddha means the Awakened One from the root *budh* to awaken. The Buddha is one who attained spiritual realization. He gives us a way based on clear knowledge, on awakening. Buddhism is a system of spiritual realization. So in Buddhism personal realization is the starting point. The religious experience of the Buddha is the fundamental source of the religious knowledge of the Buddhists. *Udānu* says that he who attains final knowledge fulfils the vow of celibacy, he is the Brahmana who has the right to declare the truth.¹⁷

From his experience of enlightenment, *badhi*, the Buddha derived his doctrines. The four-fold truth, the nature of man and the character of the world, the cause of this predicament, the way by which man may rise above it and the state of enlightenment or release from subjection to time are the results of his own experience of truth. The Buddha shared with men those aspects of his

¹⁶ Soma-stava-rāja, verse 40. Cf. also Sriharṣa: tad eva rūpam ramanīyatāyāḥ kṣaṇe kṣaṇe yan navatam vidhatte: That beautiful form appears fresh and different every moment.—Naiśadha

¹⁷ vedānta-gū vuṣita-brahma-cariyo, dharmeṇa sa brahmavādam vadeyya.

experience which can be expressed in words. The state of enlightenment is beyond definition or description. The Buddha refused to speculate on the nature of transcendent reality. Each of us has to follow in the footsteps of the Buddha who blazed the path. Each individual has to attain the experience by his own individual effort. Only when the individual himself experiences enlightenment, he is said to know the truth or be enlightened. He is then freed from the shackles of earth-bound existence and becomes divine. The scriptures, the Pali *Tripitakas*, are the sources for the knowledge of truth, since they record the Buddha's teachings. They are *Buddha-vacana*. The seekers of the past and the masters of the present attained salvation by devotion to the path revealed by the Buddha and placing their trust in him.

The Buddha stresses the possibility and need for each individual attaining the truth. Hinayana holds that the experience of enlightenment which was realized by the Buddha is attainable by other human individuals if they follow the path in his footsteps. Every individual has in him the possibility of becoming an *arhat*, who is superior to time and has conquered the world. The Mahayana adopts the ideal of *Bodhisattva* who, though he has attained release, out of concern and love for mankind lived in the world where he may serve men by bestowing hope and guiding their steps. It preaches universal salvation. In Hinayana the founder of Buddhism is worshipped as the Divine. The other deities worshipped by men pay homage to the Buddha. He is said to be the instructor not only of men but of gods. He is to be adored as the saviour of men through the truth which he exemplified in his life. In the Mahayana, the earthly Buddha is the eternal Buddha who reveals himself in all worlds. Gautama Sakyamuni is an earthly incarnation of the Eternal Buddha who exists in countless worlds. All things are subject to him. All existences are the results of his creation. The nature of God-head which has developed in the Mahayana is analogous to the Hindu conception. According to the doctrine of the *Trikaya*, the *Dharmakaya* or the body of Dharma is the ultimate first principle, the Divine from which all things proceed and to which they all return. It is the ultimate Godhead completely transcendent to the world. The next category of the Divine is the *Sambhogakaya*, the body of bliss or enlightenment. This answers to the personal God, who is the creator and preserver of the universe. He is the deity worshipped by man. *Nirmanakaya* is the manifestation of the Divine on earth. It is the Divine incarnate in human life and history for the purpose of making the Divine known to man. Mahayana Buddhism has scope for the gracious saving power of the Divine. It is not merely by human effort but by divine grace that man attains salvation.

The Buddha recognizes diverse ways to reach the truth. But when the truth is attained, the way falls away. One need not insist that it is the only way to reach the truth. The Buddha gives us the parable of the raft. Any person who wishes to cross a dangerous river having built a raft for this purpose would indeed be a fool if, when he had crossed, he were to put the raft on his shoulders

and take it with him on his journey.¹⁸ In China when the followers of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism meet and exalt their own religion, they conclude with the chorus: 'Religions are many, reason is one; we are all brothers.'¹⁹ Prince Shotuko of Japan (seventh century A.D.) reconciled Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism:

Shinto is the source and root of the Way, and shot up with the sky and the earth, teaches man the Primal Way; Confucianism is the branch and foliage of the Way, and bursting forth with man, it teaches him the Middle Way; Buddhism is the flower and fruit of the Way, and appearing after man's mental powers matured, teaches him the Final Way. Hence to love one in preference to another, only shows man's selfish passion...indeed each new creed enlightens the old.²⁰

According to the Buddha's Four-fold Truth, the nature of human existence is said to be of a fugitive and fragile character. This did not mean for the Buddha a world-negating creed with no concern for temporal affairs. The Buddha is not only the discoverer of truth but also its revealer to mankind. He shares with men the truth which he has attained. He shows men the way by which truth may be found. The middle path of religious realization is not only the end of religion but also the means by which truth is attained. The means of attaining the goal participates in the nature of the goal itself. The ethical means and the spiritual end cannot be separated. The end of enlightenment enters into the means. It is impossible for a people who despise the world to produce the art and culture which enriches our world. Buddhism does not cause men to turn from the pursuits and endeavours of human life.

Buddhism purports to be a universal religion applicable to all mankind. In the Mahayana, not only one's personal salvation but that of all creatures is stressed. Through their infinite love for struggling humanity, the *Bodhisattvas* elect to post-pone the final bliss of nirvana to which they are entitled so that they may continue the unending labour of saving the souls of all since all are destined for Buddhahood.

The Buddha entrusted to his followers the propagation of his doctrine. Under the patronage of Asoka who became a convert to Buddhism, repenting bitterly the carnage involved in the conquest of Kalinga, Buddhism became widespread in India. Asoka ordered to be carved in stone columns and rocks the precepts of Buddhism. He enjoined his 'children', i.e. his people, to love one another, to be kind to animals, to respect all religions. This zealous Emperor

18 Majjhima Nikāya, XXII. Cf. the Upaniṣad.
śāstrāṇy abhyasya medhāvī jñāna-vijñāna tat paraḥ
palālam iva dhānyārthī tyajet granthān aśeṣataḥ.

The wise one studies the scriptures intent on understanding their significance and (having found it) throws away the books as he who seeks the grain throws away the chaff.

19 J. Estlin Carpenter: The Place of Christianity in the Religions of the World, p. 60
20 Inazo Nitobe: Japan (1931): p. 370

'beloved of the gods', *devānāmpriya*, had relations with the countries of the Mediterranean and West Asia. He sent abroad missionaries to spread the Buddhist gospel. Tradition has it that his own son carried the doctrine to Ceylon. It has spread to many other lands from Afghanistan to Japan. It is a supra-regional religion. In the process of its expansion Buddhism absorbed into itself the traditions and cultures of the different areas which have accepted its message. While accepting the beliefs and practices of the native peoples, it has helped to refine them.

IV

According to Jainism, a Tirthankara is one who provides the ship to cross the world of *samsāra*. The ship is the dharma. The Tirthankara is the *arhat*, the object of worship. Such a person revitalizes the dharma of the world. By destroying the four karmas, he attains the four eminent qualities of *ananta-jñāna*, infinite knowledge, *ananta-darśana* or infinite perception, *ananta-vīrya* or infinite power, *ananta-sukha* or infinite bliss. Endowed with these qualities he becomes an omniscient being who spends the rest of his life in the world for the good of mankind. When the self realizes its true nature it is freed from subjection to time or as it is said, it is released from rebirth. He becomes *siddha paramartha*, the perfect being. The *siddha* is worshipped because he represents the final spiritual perfection. The *arhat*, the *siddha*, the sangha and the dharma are the four objects of supreme value worthy of adoration. Jainism emphasizes the potential divine stature of man and its teaching claims to be of universal application.

In Zoroastrianism there is a dualism, an open struggle between two forces. Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu are the two warring principles and in their struggle is grounded the drama of cosmic life and human history. The one is the principle of light, justice and the good; the other is the principle of darkness, injustice and evil. The battle between these two is decided by the victory of the good. Before the triumph of light over darkness is complete, the universe and mankind must pass through endless cycles of exhausting torment and untiring strife. Man in the world is confronted by the choice between the two principles. Since the conflict between the two principles is universal as to space and time, the choice which man must make is not differentiated and delimited by empirical boundary stones. As a matter of course, those who are called to be followers of Ahura Mazda form among themselves bonds of spiritual solidarity, having nothing to do with empirical relations between them, relations derived from considerations of race, political allegiance and racial groups. The doctrine is a universalist one. The *Avesta* says:

• The souls of the faithful of both sexes in the Aryan Countries, the Turanian countries, the Sarmatian countries, the

Syrian countries, the Dacian countries, in all countries—all these do we venerate.²¹

Here we have an explicit definition of a universal religious community which supersedes all distinctions of race, caste and nationality. A believer, wheresoever he be found, is an object of veneration. In the Zoroastrian sense, a believer is one who, irrespective of his political allegiance and earthly origin, becomes a follower of Ahura Mazda in the pursuit of justice and peace.

Zarathustra teaches: 'And we worship the former religions of the world devoted to righteousness.'²²

VI

Persia, though defeated at Marathon and Salamis, exerted a powerful influence on the post-exilic Hebrew prophets and the Hellenic world. Immediately after the two great Athenian victories over the army and the navy of the Persians, a vast transformation is apparent in Hellenic religious life, due to the penetration of Indian and Zoroastrian ideas. Professor Flinders Petrie, the great Egyptologist, in his excavation of Memphis, the capital of ancient Egypt, discovered in the Persian strata of the city, pottery, beads and figures of Indian type. Commenting on it, he writes: "The importance of the Indian colony in Memphis under the Persian empire lies in its bearing on its importation of Indian thought and the rise of the ascetic movement before Christ which culminated in western monachism." Reverend Frank Knight writes: 'Monasteries or groups of ascetic devotees living together in a communal form and ordering their lives on rules laid down by Indians were established in Egypt by 340 B.C. It is in many ways probable that Greek Stoicism was not an indigenous Hellenic product, but merely infiltration *via* Egypt of beliefs derived from the Buddhist priests of India.'²³ According to Plato, Socrates says:

When the soul returning into itself reflects, it goes straight to what is pure, everlasting and impartial and like unto itself and being related to this cleaves unto it when the soul is alone and is not hindered. And then the soul rests from its mistakes and is like unto itself even as the Eternal is with whom the soul is now in touch.

This state of the soul is called 'wisdom', what we call *jñāna*. Dionysius who plays a relatively minor role in the epics of Homer now appears among the Olympian gods on the friezes of the Parthenon. Between the two dates the incursion of the Dionysius mysteries and the transformation of Greek religious life must be placed. This introduces a new mystical element into the traditional religion of the Hellenic world.

The dualism of the Zoroastrian philosophy underlies the Orphic attitude. The empirical world, the world of sense, of existence, is confused and tormented. Through music, contemplation,

21 Yašt XIII, 143, 144

22 Yasna XVI, 3

23 Quoted in G. S. Ghurye: Indian Sādhya (1953), p. 11

love, man can liberate himself from the sphere of sensory experience and earn spiritual immortality even now. Thus the religious world of the Greeks became familiar with the concept of spiritual community. The *ecclesia spiritualis* has been a historical reality throughout the centuries. Communities of men who recognize a solidarity unrelated to race, nation, blood, politics, class, or caste, who are bound by a common belief in transcendental values and participation in divine grace sprang up. Heraclitus calls every man a barbarian who heeds only the testimony of his senses to the exclusion of the spiritual harmonies which remain inaccessible to the corporeal ear. The Stoic thinkers declare that all men are brothers by an inescapable law of nature.

VII

The Jewish Bible does not begin with Jews. It starts with the story of Adam which in Hebrew means man, *adam*. *Genesis* (V. I) says: 'This is the book of the generations of man.' It does not speak of the Levite, the priest, or the Jew but of men. The children of earth are viewed as one family. They have one ancestor who is the father of all. Distinctions of caste and class differentiation by blood or descent do not supersede the primary fact of human equality. 'Why was man created one?' ask the Rabbis and answer: 'In order that no man should say to another, "My father was greater than time."'

Though the Jews are said to lay great stress on ceremonial piety, there is also stress on a different attitude to life. Man is made in the image of God. In this ultimate nature man partakes of the divine essence. The *Proverbs* describe the spirit of man as the candle of the Lord, a candle which has to be lit with a divine flame.

Though man is made in the 'image of God', 'the Fall of man' represents the lapse from the state of close relationship with God. Now, man possesses the image of God only potentially and not actually. To conform to the will of the Supreme, personal sanctification is essential. The flame of spirit must be kindled in each human soul. 'Thus saith the Lord God. I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them an heart of flesh.'²⁴ 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.' It is the aim of the Jews to create a broken and a contrite heart for God will not despise it.

For creating a new man and a new world, a 'turning of the soul' is essential. The soul of man is seen as 'the lamp of God, searching out all the recesses of the inward parts.' God said to Moses, according to *Exodus*: 'Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live.' When the Covenant of God is written in the heart of man, the transcendent will become completely immanent. 'I have said, ye are gods and all of you are children of the Most High.' (*Psalms*)

²⁴ Ezekiel, II, 16, 19

The Hebrew Bible will not compromise with idolatry. 'Thou shalt have no other gods but me.' Tacitus says: 'The Jews condemn as impious all who, with perishable materials wrought into the human shape, form representations of the deity. That Being, they say, is above all and eternal, given neither to change or decay,'²⁵ Philo quotes a letter written to Caligula by king Agrippa of Judaea in which it is said:

"O my Lord and master, Gaius, this temple has never, from the time of its original foundation till now, admitted any form made by hands, because it has been the abode of God. Now pictures and images are only imitations of those gods who are perceptible to the outward senses; but it was not considered by our ancestors to be consistent with the reverence due to God to make any image or representation of the Invisible God."²⁶

The Jews do not admit into their temple any image or representation made by hands, no visible likeness of him who is Invisible Spirit. They stress the transcendence of God.

The great Commandment of the Jews is to 'love thy neighbour as thyself.' In *Leviticus* XIX, where we find a commentary on this principle, it is said:

Let there be no hate in your heart for your brother; but you may make a protest to your neighbour so that he may be stopped from doing evil. Do not make attempts to get equal with one who has done you wrong, or keep hard feelings against the children of your people, but have love for your neighbour as for yourself. I am the Lord.

This principle applies not only to one's brothers or kinsmen or neighbours but to all. 'And if a man from another country is living in your land with you, do not make life hard for him; let him be to you as one of your countrymen and have love for him as for yourself; for you were living in a strange land, in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God.' Micah asks: 'What doth the Lord require of thee, but to act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God.' Moses uttered the prayer: 'Would that all God's people were prophets.' Isaiah says: 'He shall judge between the nations and they shall beat their swords to ploughshares. . . . Neither shall they learn war any more.' The weapons of war should be turned to the service of peace. The nations form one family and they are inter-responsible.

VIII

Christianity is the religion based on the life and experience of Jesus. The Cross becomes significant only when we make it our own, when we undergo crucifixion. Jesus bids us to walk the

²⁵ Hist., V, 5

²⁶ Quoted by Leon Roth: *Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization* (1955), p. 25

path which he trod, that we may share the union with God which he attained. 'Seek and ye shall find.' Each one must seek for himself if he is to find. The truth latent in every soul must become manifest in the awakened spiritual consciousness. It is Jesus 'risen in the hearts of men'. Then shall we be able to 'work in the newness of life'. All things are then made new. Those who raise themselves above their unregenerate condition are the god-men who are the manifestations of the new creation, the promise and pledge of the destiny in store for humanity. There is no one way by which spiritual rebornness is attained. 'Marvel not that I have said unto thee, ye must be born again. . . The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit.'²⁷ In the same spirit it is said: 'All Scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work.'²⁸

St. Paul says: 'Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you.'²⁹ 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you.'³⁰ 'Ye are the temple of the living God.'³¹ For Origen, there is a blood-relationship between God and man. Though God is the source of our being, everlasting, transcendent, he is also close to our hearts, the universal Father in whom we live, move and have our being. 'Be ye therefore perfect even as your heavenly Father is perfect.'³² Paul, in his *Epistle to the Philippians*, says: 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who works in you, both to will and to do his good pleasure.'³³ 'Be assured of this as a certain truth, that, corrupt and earthly as human nature is, there is nevertheless in the soul of every man the fire, light, and love of God.' (William Law). 'He who inwardly enters and intimately penetrates into himself gets above and beyond himself and truly mounts up to God.' The vital thing for us is not to hold the creed but to enter into the experience out of which it was developed. Man is an unfinished creation. He is left to seek an dachieve completion. 'For this purpose the Son of God appeared that he might destroy the works of the devil.' It is a war that shakes the whole cosmos: it is waged in the innermost soul of man. Love of God is the easiest way to reach salvation. John says: 'If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' This love is a new birth, being begotten of God. Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin because His seed abideth in him and he cannot sin because he is begotten of God,' says John. Love conquers the world, all its fears and anxieties. The practice of love is the natural result of awareness of God. Jesus looks upon the least of God's children as oneself. 'And all ye are brethren.'

²⁷ John, III

²⁸ II Timothy, III, 16-17

²⁹ I Corinthians, VI, 19

³⁰ Ibid, III, 16

³¹ II Corinthians, VI, 16

³² Matthew, V, 48

³³ II, 12-13

³⁴ I John, III, 8

'If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes and the vain glory of life, is not of the Father, but of the world.' We must love even our enemies. 'He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone.'

The Cross means physical suffering, earthly defeat but spiritual victory. Through suffering lies the way to liberation. Pascal says that Jesus struggles with death until the end of the world. In this boundless Gethsemane which is the life of the universe, we have to struggle on unto death wherever a tear falls, wherever a heart is seized with despair, wherever an injustice or an act of violence is committed. 'Hast thou seen thy brother? Then thou hast seen God.' This was the motto which the early Christians had, as reported by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. The message is of universal applicability. 'God that made the world and all things therein. . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. For in Him we live, we move and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, for we are all His offspring.' (St. Paul).

Existentialism first used by Kirkegaard in the technical sense is the doctrine which stresses subjectivity. He holds that subjectivity is truth. It is a protest against Hegelianism which holds that we can reason our way to truth. The riddles of existence cannot be solved by speculative means. For Kirkegaard, truth can be found only by passionate search, by the existential commitment of the whole personality. Truth is inwardness. Kirkegaard says in his *Journals*: 'The purpose of this life is...to be brought to the highest pitch of world-weariness.' Heidegger asks us to pass from unauthentic existence to authentic existence, from *samsara* to *moksa* or nirvana. For Marcel the goal is self-knowledge. It is not a problem to be solved but a mystery to be entered upon reverently.

IX •

Islam affirms that the spread of materialism brings about the downfall of great nations. The decline of the Greeks and of the Persians is ascribed to the spread of godless materialism. Theological controversies divided Christendom, and problems of social justice and brotherhood were neglected. Muhammad affirms the unity of God and the brotherhood of man. The Muslim feels deeply man's insignificance, the uncertainty of his fate, and the supremacy of God. Their poets, prophets and preachers enlarged on the abyss between the Creator and the creature. Though Allah is a being without form and without parts, without beginning or end and without equal, He must be described partially at least if He is to be apprehended by man. He is viewed as a personal being, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent and compassionate.

If one has to live a truly human life, i.e., a religious life he must surrender his thoughts and actions to God.

O man, Thou must strive to attain to thy Lord a hard striving until thou meet Him.

They are losers indeed who reject the meeting of Allah.

They will perish indeed who call the meeting of Allah to be a lie.

He regulates the affairs, making clear the sign that you may be certain of meeting your Lord.

The Quran says: 'Whomsoever He willeth, Allah sendeth astray, and whomsoever he willeth He setteth on a straight path.' His transforming grace is essential for our effort to draw near to God.

The domestication of foreign elements has been in process throughout the history of Islam. While the barbarians relegated Greek thought to a few monasteries, Muslim schools translated Greek classics, absorbed Greek thought and transmitted it later to the West where, in the twelfth century, it produced a great intellectual revival. We generally say that the European mind is made by three elements: Greek culture with its contribution of science, art and literature; Roman civilization with its code of political conduct, law and institutions; and Christianity. The first two are common to Islam and Christianity and Islam believes that it has perfected and completed Christianity.

Muhammad recognized the fact that each religious teacher has faith in his own mission, and his vision and experience fulfil the needs of his people.

There is not a people but a warner has gone among them
And every nation had a messenger.

And every nation had a guide.

And certainly We raised in every nation a messenger,
saying Serve Allah and shun the devil.

To every nation we appointed acts of devotion which they observe.

For every one of you did We appoint a Law and a way.

X

If there are similarities in the religious experience of mankind, it only means that a common humanity reacts in more or less similar ways to man's encounter with the Divine. The common points to be found in the different manifestations of religion should not lead us to think that they are organized in each religion in the same way. The manner in which these beliefs are correlated varies from one religion to another. Each religion is a living organization of doctrine, worship and practice, has an uniqueness and indi-

viduality of its own and changes as a whole in response to the needs of the age. While therefore we indicate the area of agreement, the distinctive arrangement of the basic presuppositions gives the quality to different religions. For our present purpose, it is not necessary to stress the differences which are important and fundamental in some points. Even though each sect of a religion claims to be the true representative of its specific religious message, yet all the followers of all the sects feel that they are bound together in a unity. As we are trying to overcome the conflict within each religion where every organized group claims to possess the truth by the recognition of the unity of religion, even so conflicts among religions require to be reconciled, if religion itself is not to be defeated.

The world has bled and suffered from the disease of dogmatism, of conformity, of intolerance. People conscious of a mission to bring humanity to their own way of life, whether in religion or politics, have been aggressive towards other ways of life. The crusading spirit has spoiled the records of religions.

In future there can be only one civilization in the world for it is no more possible for different civilizations to live in ignorance of one another. The scientific discoveries which have penetrated all parts of the earth are making the world one though the different civilizations live by and cherish their distinctive principles of life. If the world is to be united on a religious basis, it will be not on the basis of this or that religion but by a co-operation among the different religions of the world. If the different religions strive to achieve their common ideals and seek to understand the differences in a sympathetic spirit, the world will be relieved of the misery and fear which now engulf it. The tradition of opposition to one another should yield to co-operation. The conviction of superiority which is natural should not prevent appreciation of other faiths and fruitful interchange among them. Erasmus delivered the great dictum: 'Wherever you encounter truth, look upon it as Christianity.' We must remember the spirit of this advice when we are wandering in the obscurity of the future. If the message of religions is to be articulated in relation to the problems of our age, we must give up the view that any one religion contains the final, absolute and whole truth, and adopt the Eastern attitude that the faith is realized in historical patterns, though no one of these patterns should regard itself as the sole and exclusive truth for all. We must be on our guard against the enemies of truth, men of fixed ideas and fanaticisms.

Between the believers in the different historical patterns, there exists a hidden common substratum. If we overlook this, we will not be able to overcome nihilism, lack of faith and irreligion.

If we seek for a joyous reconciliation of the members of the human family, we will discern that even heretics have divined some aspect of Godhead. Just as God lets his sun shine on good and evil, He pours forth His loving kindness on all the children of mankind. The witness of the different major religions strengthens the view that religion is the hope of man and can sustain the new world.

*bahu-dvārasya dharmasya nehāsti viphalā kriyā*³⁷

Religion has many doors; the observance of its duties can never be useless. This view makes for the appreciation of religious knowledge, of the beliefs and practices of other peoples. This understanding makes for spiritual fellowship. With this fellowship, each religion will have scope for full expression. Religious reflection will be stimulated by the knowledge and friendship of others of different religions. We will also have universal ethical standards. Even as the interplay of Jewish, Christian and Muslim in the West has enriched the experience of the West, that of Hindu, Buddhist and Confucian has enriched the experience in the East, so the cross-fertilization of ideas among the living faiths of the world will tend to foster and enrich spiritual life. The sign of hope is the perpetual youth of religions, the way in which they renew themselves as the world changes.

Arnold Toynbee says:

As I have gone on, Religion has come to take a more and more prominent place, till in the end it stands in the centre of the picture.....I have come back to a belief that Religion holds the key to the mystery of existence; but I have not come back to the belief that this key is in the hands of my ancestral Religion exclusively..... The Indian religions are not exclusive-minded. They are ready to allow that there may be alternative approaches to the mystery. I feel sure that in this they are right, and that this catholic-minded Indian religious spirit is the way of salvation for all religions in an age in which we have to learn to live as a single family if we are not to destroy ourselves.³⁸

The choice before humanity is either co-operation in a spirit of freedom and understanding or conflict in an atmosphere of fear, suspicion and jealousy. The future of religion and mankind will depend on the choice we make. Concord, not discord, will contribute to the establishment of spiritual values in the life of mankind. Concord alone is meritorious, said Aśoka: *Samavāya eva sādhuḥ*.

37 *Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, 174, 2*

38 When the controversy was raised about Professor Arnold Toynbee's aversion to the exclusiveness of Christianity, he affirmed that he sided 'with Synmachus as against St. Ambrose, with Manglic (who said that "Even as God has given several fingers to the hand, so has he given Man several ways") as against William of Rubruck and with Radhakrishnan as against Karl Adam, Jean Danielou and Hendrik Kraemer.' *A study of History. Vol. X, p. 238*

IRANIAN SECTION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

DR. J. M. UNVALA, Ph.D. (Heidelberg)

I have to thank the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour done to me by appointing me President of the Iranian Section of its XVIII Session which is being held in this city. Prof. Dinshah D. Kapadia, who has after his retirement from Iranian Government Education Service taken up again the study of Indian languages after decades, and who has compiled and published a *Glossary of Pahlavī Vendīdād* with that meticulous precision with which another mathematician, Hermann Grassmann, had compiled his famous *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, would have done greater honour to this post than myself. When the rank of Parsi scholars of Iranian languages, particularly of the Zoroastrian sacred literature, is gradually thinning through the passing away from our midst of indefatigable students like Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, Ervad Bomanji Dhabhar and Dr. Jehangir C. Tavadia, it is really heartening to have among us silent workers like Prof. Dinshah Kapadia, Dastur Dr. Hormazdyar Mirza and Ervad Maneck Kanga who have already done important work in the field of Pahlavi. The tragic and untimely demise of Prof. J. C. Tavadia which occurred a few months ago in Hamburg has caused a great loss to Parsi scholarship. His work on the Pahlavi Rivāyat called *Soyast-nr̥ Šoyast* shows the soundness of his scholarship. His *Iranian Studies*, I and II, contain learned articles on some portions of difficult Pahlavi texts and on a new interpretation of some chapters of the Gāthās of Zarathushtra. We hope that his manuscript notes on Gathic and later Avestan texts, as well as on some Pahlavi texts, will be published by his pupils. Dr. Tavadia had reviewed in English works on Iranian and allied subjects published in Europe and America for a number of years in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* of Bombay and also in German in the *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung* published in Leipzig. The publication of a collection of these reviews and articles contributed to other learned journals of Europe would be very welcome to Parsi students, as most of these books and journals are not available in libraries of Bombay. Prof. E. Benveniste was the first to discover a metrical composition in the Pahlavi treatise *Draxt ī Asurik* as early as in 1923. Since then W. B. Henning has found a *Pahlavi Poem* in this same text and in *Ayādgar ī Zarērān* (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. XIII. 1949-50, pp. 641-648), and H. W. Bailey and J. C. Tavadia have found such other metrical compositions in the extant Pahlavi literature, e. g. in some portions of *Hēm u Xrat ī Farrox Mart*. The main feature of these compositions consists in rhymed lines of eight syllables. Before these finds were made, the Pahlavi translations of the Christian Psalms found among the Turfan Fragments and published by Kaj Barr, under the title *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Uebersetzung der Psalmen* von F. C. Andreas. aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Kaj Barr, Berlin 1933, remained the unique specimens of Pahlavi metrical composition.

It is customary to mention in brief at this conference the work done in the field of Iranian research in recent years in India and in the West. Ervad Dhabhar's critical edition of the *Pahlavī Yasna and Visperad with a Glossary*

of *Select Terms*, Bombay 1949, has proved of great help to students of Pahlavi. The publication of his *Zand i Khūrtak Avistāk*, translation, transcription and notes, is undertaken by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. Its printing has well advanced. When completed, it will make a very useful contribution to a Pahlavi Dictionary, as copious detailed notes with references to other Pahlavi texts, often quoting passages in the original with their translations, show that Ervad Dhabhar had made a good use of the immense preparatory materials which he had collected for a Pahlavi Dictionary. While going through the proof-sheets of this work, I cannot but wonder at his perfect grasp of the whole range of the Zoroastrian literature written in Avesta, Pahlavi, Pazand and Modern Persian. In recent years, scholars have been attracted, it seems, by the Gāthās of Zarathushtra. We have four translations of the Gāthās done by Parsis and published in Bombay, viz. 1. Behramgore Anklesaria (his work is published nine years after his death), 2. F. A. Bode and Piloo Nanavaty, 3. Ardeshir Khabardar, and 4. Dr. Irach Taraporevala. Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin of Liege has published his French translation of the Gathas at the end of his *Zoroastre, Etude critique avec une traduction commentée des Gāthā*, Paris 1948. Several stanzas of the Gathas are translated and commented on by Herzfeld in his *Zoroaster and His World*, Vols. I and II, Berlin 1947. All these learned translators were influenced more or less by their preconceived opinions as regards the personality of Zarathushtra and the state of culture in ancient Iran of his time. The time-limit prescribed for this address will not permit me to discuss this point at length. Suffice it to say that the Gathas should be interpreted quite objectively, keeping a constant glance at the historic and cultural background, and also on the traditional interpretation, as found in their Pahlavi version. A scholar like Prof. Taraporevala who believes firmly in reincarnation, a concept entirely foreign to Zoroastrianism throughout its whole history, has seen it in Yasna 49, 11, but at the same time he had to admit that it is nowhere to be found in the Zoroastrian scriptures.

It would not be considered out of place, if I were to mention that the following works of the late Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria exist only in a couple of printed copies, which could not be published, as he had not completed their introduction before his death, and as his manuscript-notes for the same are missing: 1. Pahlavi text of *Vicrtakihū i Zādsparn*, 2. Pahlavi text of *Zand-i Vahuman Yašt*, with transcription and translation. 3. *Zand Akāsih*, being the transcription and translation of the Great Bundahishn, 4. Pahlavi Rivāyat of *Hēmāt-i Akavahistān*, a critical edition of the text with transcription, translation, notes and glossary; this work is ready for the press. It is very desirable that the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and Properties undertake the publication of these important works. It is to be regretted that the manuscript of Mr. Anklesaria's work on the genealogy of the Dasturs of Iran from Ādarbād Mārespand to Dastur Tīrandāz of Yazd who died only a couple of years ago, which embodied much original research, is now untraceable.

I have not chosen a particular subject for my address of to-day. I would rather express my views on a few points of Iranian studies on which opinions of scholars still differ.

Parsi tradition as embodied in the *Kisse Sanjān* states that after the fall of the Sassanian empire, the Zoroastrian population dwindled continuously before the onslaught of the triumphant Islam through voluntary, if not

in all cases forcible, conversions, and that a considerable number of Zoroastrians lived for one hundred and fifty years in hardships in Kūhistān, and finally left it for Hormuz, from where by sea-route they landed at Diu on the Kathiawad coast, and after a stay of nineteen years there, finally settled in Sanjan on the west coast of India, thanks to the refuge given to them by a Hindu king called Jādī Rānā. The date of the arrival of these Zoroastrians at Sanjan who called themselves Parsis is given in the margin of a manuscript of the Bodleian Library of Oxford, Ouseley 121, and in the margin of another manuscript of the late Ervad Maneckji Jinvala's collection as Samvat 772, Friday, the 9th of the bright half of the month Śrāvaṇ. I do not want to enter into a discussion either on the merits or demerits of the *Kisse Sanjin* or on the exact correspondance of this Samvat 772 with the Christian date or on the identity of that Jādī Rānā. These points have been ably discussed by the late Mr. Shapurji H. Hodivala in *Studies in Parsi History*, Bombay 1920, and by Dr. Maneckji B. Davar in his *વરસેલેલી ૫ ચાલેલી*

પહેલા મહિના ૫૩૧ ? - ૩૦૪૪ ૧૯૦૭ ૫૧ ૪૯ I may only mention here that Dr. Davar puts the date of the landing of the Parsis at Sanjan at 850 A. D., taking 772 Samvat not as that of the Vikrama but of the Śaka era. Now, we know from the history of Tabaristān by Ibn Isfandiyyār and Zahiraddin, and from the coins of Tabaristān, that immediately after the assassination of Yazdagarad III, the last Sassanian ruler, the Ispāhbads of Tabaristān, who were princes of the royal Sassanian blood, declared their independence on 12th June 652 A. D., and it is probable that they struck their coins immediately, although the first known coin of the Tabaristan series is that of Farrox, dated 60 A. Tab., corresponding to 712 A. D. It was only in 110 A. Tab. on the death of Khurshīd, Ispāhbad of Tabaristān, that the province came under the Arab rule, the first known coin struck by the Arab governors being that of Khālid bin Barmak, dated 116 A. Tab. The first anonymous coin of this series bears the date 129 a. Tab. which would correspond to the date of the revolt of Vindā Hormīz bin Qārīn. The issue of the coins of Arab governors from 129 to 143 A. Tab., contemporaneous with the issue of the anonymous coins, suggests that the Ispāhbads ruled in the mountainous regions, the Kūhistān, and the Arabs held their sway only in the plain, as even Khalīf Hārūn ar-Rashīd had to make such a concession in favour of the Ispāhbad Vindā Hormīz. Only after the execution of Māziyār and the conversion of his brother Kuhiyār to Islam in 839 A.D., Zoroastrianism lost definitely its ground in this province to the new faith of Islam. It was then that a batch of Zoroastrians from this Kūhistān or mountainous region of Khorasan thought of migrating to India. Thus the date 850 A.D. for the landing of the Parsis at Sanjan as suggested by Dr. Davar seems to be very plausible and acceptable. The tragic account of the hardships which the Zoroastrians had to experience at the hands of the conquering Arabs for one hundred and fifty years was perhaps applicable to other provinces of Iran but not to, Tabaristān.

It is true that we have hardly any record of the early history of the Parsis in India. This might well be due to the apathy of the Parsis for writing history. In about the middle of the XI or XII century A.D., a learned Parsi priest, Neryosang Dhaval, transcribed several Pahlavi treatises in the Avesta alphabet, producing thus the so called Pāzand texts, and translated them into Sanskrit. This fact proves undoubtedly that the knowledge of the sacred Avesta scriptures and of their Pahlavi translations was still kept up by the Parsi priests after their coming to India. Now, we know from colophons of manuscripts pertaining to Zoroastrianism and allied

subjects and from ancient lists of priestly families—*nāmgarans*, Skr. *nāma-grahana*—the names of the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Neryosang, viz. Dhaval, Shāpūr and Shahriyār. Thus counting roughly a generation of thirty years, we can place this ancestor of the Parsi priests, Shahriyār in about the X or the XI century A.D. It is well known that from Neryosang Dhaval and his cousin Hormazdiyār Rāmiyār all priestly families are descended. Thus there is only a small gap of about two hundred years in the history, rather in the records of the Parsis, and not of four hundred or more years as it is generally supposed.

Now, what concerns the knowledge of the sacred Avesta scriptures, we have reasons to believe that it was acquired through the Pahlavi translations done in the Sassanian times, which were interspersed with glosses and commentaries of the Dasturs of later times. This is evident from the Sanskrit translations of the Avesta scriptures by Neryosang who follows the Pahlavi version very closely. This scholastic tradition must have been kept up upto the time of Dastur Darab of Surat, who was the teacher of Anquetil Duperron, and still much later, as we shall see presently. There is no wonder then that Anquetil's translation of the Avesta scriptures follows the Pahlavi version very closely. Since the time of Eugène Burnouf the method of the comparative study of languages was applied for the interpretation of the Avesta scriptures. It was introduced among the Parsis students by the late Mr. Kharshedji Rustamji Cama in 1861 A. D. It is well known that the attacks of Rev. Wilson on the Vendidad, so ably refuted by the Dasturs of the time, particularly by Mr. Dosabhai Munshi, gave an impetus to the study of the Avesta scriptures. In 1823-25, a Parsi priest of Surat, Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi translated for Seth Framji Cawasji Banaji of Bombay the Avesta Vandidad with its reading and translation in Gujarati, which was published by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in two volumes in 1842. This translation follows the Pahlavi version faithfully, even the Pahlavi commentaries are also translated into Gujarati. Framji was hesitating whether he should translate the Vandidad and thus expose its contents to the general Parsi public. He wrote, therefore, the Gujarati version in a sort of a secret alphabet, invented by himself with an ingenious mixture of Avesta, Pahlavi, and Modern Persian characters, and the vowel marks used in the Gujarati alphabet. His original manuscript of this Gujarati translation is in the library of Dr. Maneckji Davar of Bombay. My article on the same is published in *B. B. J. R. A. S.*, Vol 29, Part I, October 1954, pp. 42-50. Framji has also translated the Yasna and Visparad, and the Khorda Avesta into Gujarati. Among European scholars, Darmesteter has given preference to the Pahlavi version in his *Zend-Avesta*. Bartholomae, a Vedic scholar and a philologist, interprets the Avesta words in the light of their Vedic equivalents, though taking recourse often to the Pahlavi version in the interpretation of difficult passages e.g. Yasn, 51.12 and in Vandidād, 7.12 where the Pahlavi glosses explain the Avesta words.

It is to be regretted that there is still a lack of uniformity of the reading of Pahlavi among Parsi scholars. I am firmly of opinion that our Dasturs used to read the Aramaic ideograms occurring in Pahlavi as Iranian words. It is for this reason that we have often in one and the same sentence an ideogram and its Iranian equivalent. This is due to the negligence of the copyist. But the Dasturs had most probably lost the tradition of the correct pronunciation of the Aramaic word

concealed in an ideogram, as it will be proved by throwing a glance at the *Pahlavi-Pazund Glossary*. Since the discovery of the Turfan documents, European savants have decided in favour of the Iranian reading of the ideograms. In the big Pahlavi inscription of Shāpūr I of Kāabe Zardusht and in that of Narse at Paikuli, which are bilingual, i.e. written in Parthian or North-Western and in Sassanian or south-Western dialects of Pahlavi, we find among others the conjunction *ut* and the preposition *pad* in the Parthian and *u* and *pa* in the Sassanian dialect. But the European savants have generalised the transcription *ut* and *pad* (*t*) even in the Book-Pahlavi dating from the third to the ninth century A.D. for the sake of simplicity, and some Parsi scholars follow in their footsteps. It is to be noted, however, that Nyberg reads *u* and *pat*.

In recent years, many important articles were contributed to the study of the trilingual—Greek, Parthian, and Sassanian inscription of Shāpūr I of Kaabe Zardusht by Sprengling, Benveniste and Henning. The most recent publications on this inscription are *Recherches sur les Res Geste Divi Saports* by Ernst Honigmann and André Marieq, Bruxelles 1953, and *Third Century Iran* by Sprengling, Chicago 1953. In the *Recherches* etc., the Greek text is published with its translation and the Pahlavik and Pārsik texts are commented upon, chiefly from the stand point of topography of the campaign of Shāpūr I against Valerian. Sprengling has reproduced in his book the Pahlavik and the Parsik texts with translations and comments. The new inscription of Kartir, also found on the Kaabe Zardusht in 1939, furnishes us further details on the political and religious influence which this high priest exercised during the reigns of Shāpūr I, Hormizd and Bahrām I. Before this discovery, he was known only through his inscription at Naqshe Rājab, published with its translation by Herzfeld in *Paikuli*, Berlin 1924. Besides the Avroman document, dated the second half of the first century A.D., inscriptions of the Parthian period are very rare. A bas relief representing Artabanus V presenting the diadem-ring or crown to the satrap of Susa has a Pahlavik inscription engraved on it. It was discovered accidentally on the east side of the ruins of the Royal City. It is dated year 462 of the Arsacid era.

I may mention here three silver drachms of Shāpūr II, which I had the good fortune to acquire, one in Kabul in 1947, the other in Kandahar and the third in Herat in 1949. They are like the ordinary drachms of the thick variety of Shāpūr II. But they bear on the reverse a fire-altar flanked by an attendant on either side and a Farohar, facing to right, in the flame, on the shaft of the altar there is the legend *rāst* in Pahlavi, meaning "true, correct", on left, between the shaft and the attendant the mint S K S T N, i. e. Sakastan or Seistan. Two of these coins have on the obverse on right an illegible Pahlavi legend giving probably the name of a satrap. These coins are important for the early Sassanian history, as they show that Seistan was brought back under the Sassanian rule by Shāpūr II, perhaps immediately after getting the full control of the regal power, as his portrait on the coins depict him as a very young man. Thus the advantage which the Śaka Kṣatrapas and princes, enumerated in the last passage of the Paikuli inscription, took of the civil war between Bahrām III and Narseh to declare themselves as independent sovereigns in 293 A. D. was wrested from them by Shāpūr II. We have, of course no record of this event as of the unrecorded invasion of Sakastān by Ardashīr I, as V. A. Smith remarks in *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 273.

As to the date of Zarathushtra, I have spoken about it at length, giving the opinions of scholars in my presidential address of the Iranian Section at the XII Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Benaras in 1943. I have placed it tentatively between the fifteenth and eleventh century B. C. on archaeological grounds. I may add that Prof. Carmoy of Liège places it with Bartholomae not later than nine hundred B. C., whereas Prof. Henning fixes it categorically at 588 B. C. (see *Zorouster* by W. B. Henning, Oxford 1951, p. 41), taking the traditional date in the neighbourhood of 600 B. C. According to the Syriac writer Theodore bar Qōnī, Zarathushtra lived 628 years and seven months before Christ. About the linguistic objections against the traditional date, Prof. Henning says: "The two principal dialects of the Avesta are neither pronouncedly Western Iranian nor markedly eastern Iranian, that in fact they occupy an intermediary position. This would agree with the assumption that the Gāthās were composed in the neighbourhood of Marv and Herat, and the later Avestan texts for the greater part in Seistan; but as we know nothing of the languages that were spoken in those regions in later times, and as no dialects have survived there to the present day, we cannot count on definite proof" (*ibid.*, p. 44).

Then he draws our attention to the Khwarezmian language material which "although it is of very late date—the earliest from the eleventh century, the bulk from the thirteenth—it preserves features of the ancient language" (*ibid.* 44).

Gentlemen, I have tried to show in brief the progress done in the field of Iranian studies in the West and in India in recent years in the short time that is allotted to me, and to express my views on certain other points of interest to students of Iranistics, on which opinions of scholars still differ.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

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Principal, Nagpur Maha-Vidyalyaya,

NAGPUR

I have to express my thanks for the kind honour done to me by the Oriental Conference authorities in asking me to preside over the Classical Sanskrit section. I am sure the choice has fallen on me for no other reason than that a Chairman is an indispensable necessity in such sectional meetings and any fellow-worker would do the job according to अशोकवानिकान्याय

Unlike other sections of this Conference, the Classical Sanskrit Section is an omnibus section, and all the topics of Sanskrit literature which do not come directly under Vedic, History, Philosophy and religion, Architecture and technical sciences can be included in it. Some of the problems to be discussed in this section are essentially the problems of Sanskrit studies in general. It should therefore be quite justifiable, if, in the course of this address, certain general topics are touched or discussed.

Before I make a general survey of the works published during the last two years I may be permitted to say a few words about the research work as carried on in classical Sanskrit these days. As all of us know, there appears to be a sort of stalemate gradually coming over in the research activities of Sanskrit scholars. Oriental scholarship of the West has turned round the corner and is now following up a new direction of either narrow regional studies or wider trans-Indian studies. The interest of Western Orientalists does not seem to be focussed on Sanskrit literature as such, as was the case a few decades before. The reason for the lack of their interest is obvious. Besides their own pre-occupations caused by the post-war problems and attainment of Independence by India, another important contributory factor is the absence of new well-planned organized efforts for unearthing fresh materials for research work. We know that in the past, the search for, and collection of old manuscripts was financed by the Centre and the states. Also, we should not lose sight of the fact that it is not every

day that a कौटिल्य or a मास is discovered, or a new evidence for fixing the date of Kālidāsa or for deciding the relative priority of Daṇḍin or Bhāmaha is brought forth to cause a sensation among the Sanskritists.

Even after conceding the above reasons, it should not be presumed that we have come to a point of exhausting the available material. There is a lot of material available, buried in manuscript collections and catalogues of manuscripts. The truth is that Sanskrit Scholarship should give up its inertia and proceed ahead without looking now for the guidance from the West. The Western Orientalists have rendered in the past invaluable services to the cause of Sanskrit studies. Their scientific and impersonal approach, enviable thoroughness, and critical method are unfailing guides to us and should be strictly followed.

To me it appears that there are two weaknesses we have to guard against. The first is the temptation of a short cut to cheap popularity. Many of us, prompted by irrepressible लोभक्षणा, are keen to get a credit as early as possible, for having 'contributed' to the research output, without caring for the quality of our product and thus go on adding to the bewildering mass of new contributions. Every-body is keen to write something. Few care to read what is already written before. There is, therefore, no surprise if much of what is written and produced is just incomplete, unassimilated and therefore trash. The second weakness is a corollary of the first, viz. averseness to the new fields and branches of studies in the research work.

Here again the chief reason is the dislike for serious work, absence of perseverance and determination. Consequently, the scholars hover round and round the same old topics and do not cut new ground. Even in the available stock of Sanskrit literature, there is much which requires close investigation. In fact, with the impact of modern age, the traditional intensiveness in study is fast disappearing and is yielding place to पल्लवप्रवाहिन scholarship. The subtle reasoning, penetrative inquisitiveness and unassailable argumentativeness, as exhibited in the works of post-Kaiyaṭa grammarians, rhetoricians and Navya-Naiyāyikas are a taboo to the young scholars. They are mostly concerned with the बहिरङ्ग-परीक्षण of such works and not with their अन्तरङ्ग-परीक्षण. It is often forgotten that for the intellectual discipline and accuracy of thinking, a close study of the

contents of the standard shastric works of the medieval period is not less important. Really speaking, the scholastic literature of the medieval period is a great heritage of the past. Except in the sphere of Mathematics, no such intellectual eminence has been reached in the past by any nation in the world. Like scientists of modern times, we should apply ourselves to a close study or none-the-easy and abstruse texts of scholastic writers. We should remember the famous saying of Patanjali, व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् । that is, a thing does not cease to be (desired) simply because we cannot easily understand it.

It is not only about the works of speculative thought that probing deep into a work is necessary. The same is equally true of literary and descriptive works also. We all know how this method of diving deep into the contents of the यशस्तिलकचम्पू by K. K. Handique has shown the utility of such a study. V. S. Agrawal of Banaras has demonstrated the same in his study of Baṇā's Harṣacharita and Kālidāsa's Meghaduta. Similar studies of other great works also should be undertaken. The need of the time is that each great work should be subjected to a close study in the light of the knowledge gleaned from contemporary literary and architectural records, for bringing to light interesting items of valuable information. Another desideratum is the preparation of word indices of important authors and standard works. Sporadic efforts have been made in this direction e.g. A sherpe (Paris) has published the अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल basic text (Vol. I, to be followed by its lexicon in Vol. II, T. K. Ramachandra Iyer (Madras) has published a Volume on concordance of Kālidāsa's Poems. But what is necessary is that the work of index and concordance making should be systematically planned and carried out in coordination with different Oriental Research Institutes in the country. In fact, it should be a part of the Oriental Conference activities to chalk out a plan and get it executed by the different Universities and institutes in a ten year plan, with the financial help from the Centre and States. Otherwise the purpose in view will not be fully achieved. The former work on Kālidāsa lexicon is to be based on the basic text which is proposed to take into account the printed texts only. It would be much better if this Shākuntala-lexicon were based on the critical text proposed to be published by the Central Government after a systematic collection of all available text-material, printed as well as in manuscripts. The latter work, 'Concordance of Kālidāsa's Poems' published by

Madras University is in Roman script and of poems only ; and thus it falls short of our exact requirements. Hence the need for a scientific planning of a comprehensive nature on an all-India basis.

Before attempting a rapid survey of the work done during the last 2-3 years in classical Sanskrit, I have to seek your क्षमापण for the अल्पकृताकृतदोष, that is, the faults of incomplete commission and omission. Taking into account the vast scope of the subject I am sure I can crave your indulgence in the matter. To begin with big schemes and plans first, it is a matter of great delight that the critical edition of Mahābhārata by Bhandarkar Research Institute is now nearing completion. It fills one with a sense of pride to see that the biggest plan of Indian Scholarship will be completed within a few years. True to its own traditions, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute commenced last year another stupendous work of preparing a critical edition of Harivaṃśa the epilogue of महाभारत. The indefatigable energy of the institute authorities indicates the truth of the saying : क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नातां विवर्ते. Another commendable feat of Indian scholarship is the planning of a five volume publication of the History of Dharmashastra literature, which is also almost complete. With the publication of its fifth volume in the near future its author M. M. P. V. Kane will have the immense satisfaction of having completed single-handed a great plan undertaken by him. Similar is our satisfaction on seeing the progress in the editing of the voluminous work कृत्यकल्पतरु of Lakshmidhar by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

The Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library journal and the Adyar Library Bulletin have continued their valuable services by publishing for the first time many Sanskrit Kāvyaas with or without old Sanskrit Commentaries. Some of the Kāvyaas are, विष्णुविलास and श्रीराम पञ्चशती by Rāma Paṇipāde, त्रिपुरदहन (a यमक काव्य) by वासुदेव. The मंडलीक महाकाव्यम् of Gaṅgādhara (edited by H. D. Velankar) published in Bhāratīya Vidyā (XV-1-2) & प्रताप विलास (नाटक) described in Baroda Oriental Institute Journal (IV-2-3) are new additions to the Historical literary works in Sanskrit. N. A. Gore has edited a very interesting लघुकाव्य named जारजात शतम् of Kavinilakaṇṭha in which 110 stanzas excel one another in abusing (गालिप्रदान) one who dared to accuse the author with stealing poetic thoughts and phrases of others.

Among the dramas published in the last few years, भीमपराक्रम (a व्यायोग) by the son of Shatanand, मदनकेतुचरित (a प्रहसन)

by Ram Panipade, आनन्द सुन्दरी a सट्टक of Ghanshyam (edited by A. N. Upadhye) are worth mentioning. A Champu work named नृगमोक्षप्रबन्ध of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, उवापरिणय-प्रबन्ध (being published serially) are notable works. Among newly published commentaries of well known Sanskrit works, one may mention the टीका by Pūrṇa Saraswati on मालती माधव in Travancore Manuscript Library Journal, that of Arunagirinātha on रघुवंश and the टीका of Rāghavananda on भागवत (published serially in Sanskrit College Magazine, Trippuri there) are useful additions. V. Raghavan's edition of उत्तररत्नावली (Madras O. R. Mss. Lit. Series) of Jaya Senāpati is another commendable publication.

The Travancore Oriental Manuscripts Library Journal and Adyar Library Bulletins have published many newly discovered original works and commentaries. Other manuscript libraries also should do the same. The Deccan College Research Institute has published as preparatory preliminaries for its gigantic scheme of the "Sanskrit Thesaurus on historical lines," नानार्थमंजरी of Rāghava (edited by Krishnamurti Sharma), नानार्थरत्नमाला of Dandadhīnath (Ed. Ramachandra Sharma), एकार्थरत्नमाला and व्यक्षर रत्नमाला of Saubhari (edited by E. D. Kulkarni) and कविकल्पद्रुम of बोपदेव (Edited by G. P. Palsule). On rhetoric, may be mentioned the publication of अलंकारकौस्तुभ of Karpapūra with Vishwanāth Chakravarti's Commentary (from Vrindāvana) and the third volume of the नाट्यशास्त्र of Bharata with the commentary of Abhinavagupta (edited by M. R. Kavi and published by Baroda Oriental Institute). The edition of अवलि सुन्दरी of Daṇḍin (edited by V. S. Mahadeo Shastri) though still having many a lacuna, is a welcome publication, as it satisfies to some extent the curiosity aroused in 1924 by R. K. Kavi's very fragmentary edition of its initial part only. Another interesting work brought to light is वाक्चातुर्थ र्यतरंगिणी of Viṣṇukānta Shastri which aims to teaching Arabic and Persian through Sanskrit. The दानसागर of Ballalasena has been edited by भवतोषमहाचार्य in J. Beng. R. A. S. The edition of old Javanese Ramayan Kakawin with special reference to the problem of interpolations in Kakawin by C. Hooykaas confirms the earlier theory put forth by H. B. Sarkar and M. M. Ghosh that the grammatical महाकाव्य भट्टिकाव्य, exercised a great influence on the literary activities of Java. Pandit Rāmājñā Pandey has, in his व्याकरणदर्शनभूमिका (published in Sanskrit Bhavan Series, Banaras) attempted to bring together with his own bold criticism the ideas partly philosophical and partly linguistic found scattered in grammatical literature. In his शब्दापशब्दविवेक

published by Bhārtiya Sanskrit Bhavan, Jalandhar, Chāru-datt Shastri has critically examined and discussed the correctness or otherwise of various forms and phrases from the grammatical point of view with reference to Pāṇinian system. The Pāṇiniya-Sūtra-Vyākhyā (Madras) of Vira Rāghava (edited by T. Chandrashekharan) and a concordance of Sanskrit Dhātu-Pāṭhas with an index of meanings (Poona) by G. P. Palsule are other useful publications. The latter marks a distinct improvement on Liebig's lists published as an appendix to his edition of क्षीरतरंगिणी, for it takes into account all the available Dhātupāṭhas besides giving an index of meanings also. "*India as known to Panini*" (Lucknow) is a remarkable product of the patient labours of V. S. Agrawal in ransacking the Paninian literature for presenting to us the India as was known to Pāṇini; '*Geographical aspects of Kalidasa's Works*' (Calcutta) by B. C. Law, '*Love in the poems and plays of Kalidasa*' (Bangalore) by V. Raghvan, '*The Vidūṣhaka—its theory and Practice*' and '*Humour in Sanskrit Literature*' by I. T. Parikh, '*Art Experience*' (Mysore) by M. Hiriyanna are notable recent critical studies. The publication of the various learned papers of P. K. Gode in the two volumes of "Studies of Indian literary History" is a welcome publication and we expect, in its remaining volumes, his other learned papers also. Wide range of topics and thoroughness in their treatment are well-known characteristics of Shri P. K. Gode. The conferment of honorary Ph.D. on him by the International Academy of France is a well-merited tribute to his scholarship. '*Khsemendra Studies*' (Poona) by Suryakanta, '*Kalidasa*' in Hindi by Chandrabali Pandey (Banaras), '*Sanskrit literature*' (P. E. N. publication) by K. Chandrashekar and V. H. S. Shastri, '*Psychological Studies in Rasa*', by Rakesh Gupta (Banaras), '*The Indian Theatre*' by C. B. Gupta (Delhi) are valuable additions to the respective branches of Sanskrit literature.

It is not possible to allude to various research articles published during the period under review. A few of them are noted here. '*Bhavabhūti and the Veda*' and '*Kalidāsa and Smṛiti*' (in J. B. B. R. A. S.), '*Studies in the Rāmāyana*' (B.O.L. Institute Journal) by S. N. Vyasa, '*Laughter as a Rasa—a Psychological reorientation*' (Poona University Journal) by K. N. Watve, '*Two Nyāyas in relation to Dhvani creed*' (Baroda Institute Journal) by S. R. Bhattacharya, "*The Arya metre—A peep into its origin and varieties in early literature* (ibid)" by Anjali Mukhopadhyaya, 'A note on

Paribhāṣā works' (J. Bhand O.R.S. XXXVI) by K. V. Abhyankar. Ramshankar Bhattacharya (Banaras) and K. C. Chatterji (Calcutta) have been pursuing their critical studies on Sanskrit Grammar and have contributed many learned articles on Pāṇinian and allied systems. G. C. Jhela has discussed '*The problem of yaājñaphalam*' (in J. Bom, B.R.A.S. 29-1) and has conclusively shown that its ascription to Bhasa is untenable.

With the advent of independence, the interest in Sanskrit studies has naturally increased and many schemes are being planned by official and non-official bodies. His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras is said to have planned critical editions of Purāṇas. The Sāhitya Academy founded by the Central Government has undertaken the work of publishing critical editions of Kālidasa's works and also an anthology of Sanskrit literature in several volumes. Recently the Central Government had called a conference of Sanskrit Professors to consider the place of Sanskrit in all stages of education and to recommend suitable measures for giving due recognition to Sanskrit studies. All these activities augur well for the future of classical Sanskrit. We may therefore conclude with Kālidasa, सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम् ।

ISLAMIC CULTURE SECTION
&
ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

DR YOG DHYAN AHUJA, M.A. (Hindi & Persian), M.O.L., Ph.D.

I am grateful to the members of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference for the great honour they have done me by electing me as President of the Arabic and Persian Section of this august body. In all consciousness of my limitations I felt diffident while accepting this exalted office which, in previous years, was held by scholars of such eminence as Professor Khuda Bakhsh, Dr. Sir Mohd Iqbal, Agha Pouré-Davoud and my own revered teacher late Dr. Mohd Iqbal. On being here, in the absence of my worthy friend, Dr. A. Siddiqui, the Executive Committee have entrusted to me the responsibility of conducting the proceedings of the Islamic Culture Section also. While they have thus repeatedly honoured me, I find myself still more unable to express my gratitude to the authorities.

I have come in obedience to the call of duty and, have come only to learn from you and derive benefit from your scholarly deliberations.

There is a growing need for the promotion of studies and research in Arabic and Persian with all the richness of their literature and the historical and cultural value of these languages. They have made an outstanding contribution in the domain of linguistics, literature, philosophy, medicine, art and culture of India.

These languages are not new to us.

Back in obscure antiquity the people in Airiyana spoke a language akin to the speech of the people of Aryavarta in those times. Distance of space now separates these two branches of the Aryan people. All the same, in spite of the passage of time and the succession of generations, the language of Iran still maintains some very peculiar affinity with Sanskrit. While the Modern Indian Languages have, through Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, continued to draw upon the common original Indo-European reservoir, the Iranian language, although coming from the same source, inclined more and more towards Arabic for enriching its vocabulary, more particularly after the change of its script to Arabic and the conversion of Iranians to the Muhammedan faith. In spite of having borrowed liberally from the Arabic sources, the basic structure of the Iranian language has remained essentially Aryan.

Hindi and Persian have followed different paths of development. However in certain respects the language of Iran is nearer Sanskrit than even Hindi is. Not to quote a multitude of other words it will

suffice to give some examples from verbs and numerals. Some cardinal numbers are as follows:—

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Persian</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
एक	یک	एक
द्वय	دو	दू :
तिस्र	سه	तीस
चत्वार	چهار	चार

Some of the examples of ordinal numbers are:

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Persian</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
प्रथम	پہلے	प्राथमिक
द्वितीय	دوم	आठवा
तृतीय	سوم	दसवा
चतुर्विंशति	بست و چهارم	इक सोसवा

In Verbs:—

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Persian</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
अस्ति	است	है
वर्तते	است	है
अस्मि	ہم	हैं
भवति	ہو	होना है

Contacts between Arabia and India have been existing since the pre-Islamic times. There is a long list of Arabic words which became a part of the vocabulary of Marathi language. With the advent of Islam, India came in closer contact with Arabic and Persian and, particularly with the rise of the Mughals, the influence of these languages on the languages of this land increased. Numberless Persian words and many Arabic words current in Persian, became a part and parcel of various Indian languages like Sindhi, Panjabi, Gujarati and Bengali. In the case of Panjabi, besides the various Arabic and Persian words current in their original form and meaning, there are many words which have been adopted in a modified form. To quote a few examples, in certain cases some long vowel sounds of *آ* and *او* in the initial letters have been reduced to short sounds of *ا* and *و* respectively, for instance:

کامران	is used for	کان
بہار	for	بازار
بیمار	for	بہار
ہوا	for	فوار

Persian and Arabic words are being used in Panjabi along with their synonyms derived from Sanskrit.

सहस्रवर = هزار Arabic and वस्त्र modification of the sanskrit word वस्त्र

शोभनग = शोष Persian and वस्त्र from Sanskrit वस्त्र

From شين and زبرد in Persian have come the infinitives शर्मना and कर्मना respectively in Panjabi. In Urdu their respective forms are شرم and کرم.

Arabic and Persian words are being freely used in Hindi. There are certain Arabic and Persian words which have become as indispensable for every day use as small coins. The usage है / in the sentences:

उम ने मुझे बताया कि ...

and

has been taken from Persian. Similar is the case with the particle है for प्रति in Sanskrit. Persian suffixes and prefixes are being used with Hindi words like the prefix बे in बेसाम and बेवर and दार in सामदार and बादर. The Arabic word बाँध binding of a book is being used with Sanskrit prefixes. A book bound is बाँध and unbound बाँध .

Arabic and Persian words are sometimes combined with their synonyms in Hindi as in:—

प्रीति-रिवाज
अन मान
दुख-दर्द

Prithvi Raj Raso, inspite of the element of interpolation, is considered to be the oldest epic in Hindi. The language of this work contains many Arabic and Persian words. In the following line of Chand Bardai the word Quran appears to stand for Arabic and Persian vocabulary:

यह बाषा पुराण च कुरान कथितं मया ।

Sundar Das was by far the most learned of all the poets belonging to the Hindi Nirgun school. Although he had devoted a major part of his life to the study of Sanskrit, we find a considerable mixture of Arabic and Persian words in his writings. Under the headings of Pir Murid Ashtak, the Bandagi ko Amg and the like, he makes a free use of Arabic and Persian vocabulary. A study of the Arabic and Persian words as used by the learned Hindi poets like Tulsi Das and Sundar Das and other writers will form an interesting and useful part of a survey of the influence of these languages on Hindi.

Besides, there is in Persian script, a vast amount of Hindi literature produced by the Sufi or Prem Margi poets.

These may form some of the various fields in which further research and study is bound to be very interesting and fruitful.

It is encouraging to note that research in Arabic and Persian is being zealously pursued. The output at various centres of learning in India has been very valuable indeed. The work done by the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the Iran Society of Calcutta; the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Daerat-ul-Maarif, Hyderabad; the Islamic Research Society, Bombay; the Darul Musanniffin, Azamgarh; the Darul Ulum, Deoband; the Nadvatul Musanniffin, Delhi; the Nadvatul Ulema, Lucknow; the Anjuman-i Taraqqi-i-Urdu and other similar institutions has been very useful for the promotion of the study of these languages. Scholars at the Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Gujarat, Lucknow, the Muslim University, Aligarh, the Osmania University, Hyderabad, the Visvabharati and other universities in India are engaged in a lot of useful research work in this field. It is gratifying to note that even the newly started Gauhati, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnatak and the Punjab Universities have provisions for the teaching of one or both of these languages. Similarly magazines like the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta; the Indo-Iranica, Calcutta; the Islamic Culture, Hyderabad; the Visvabharati Quarterly; the Calcutta Review; the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society; Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Burhan, Delhi; the Maarif, Azamgarh; the Thaqafat-ul-Hindi, Delhi and others have been adding to our knowledge of some important aspects of Arabic and Persian studies.

Dr. Q. S. Kalimullah published his book entitled the *Sahl Qawaid-i-Tajweed* on the method of reciting the holy Quran and Arabic Phonetics. He is bringing out a book *Sirajul Balagh* on Arabic, Persian and Urdu rhetorics. Dr. M. L. Roy Chaudhury has traced the influence of Indian Culture on Arabian Literature in the series of his papers published in *Calcutta Review*. Similarly he has thrown light on 'Albiruni and his Sanskrit studies' and the 'Philosophy of al-Furqan'. Dr. Chaudhury has under preparation his book on the Sociology of the Quran. Dr. Khwaja Ahmed Faruqi of Delhi, besides his outstanding contribution to Urdu literature, has written very useful papers on Persian poets and poetry. Shri S. R. Chaudhury is engaged in the study of Hajjaj b. Yusuf.

Dr. Hadi Hasan has traced out and brought to light the life and works of Persian poet Kahi. A collection of his research papers and his Persian translation of the *Shakuntala* are being shortly published. Dr. M. A. Muid Khan's edition of the *Kitab-al-Firasa* is in the press. Dr. M. I. Kazi of Bombay who has finished his work on Faizi, has been writing on Tazkirahs and some other aspects of Persian literature. Prof. H. L. Chopra of the Calcutta University is shortly publishing his book in Urdu on Dr. Iqbal and his works. Dr. Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, Patiala, is collecting the works of Bhai Nand Lal Gya.

At the Osmania University Shri Ghulam Dastagir Rasheed is about to complete his study of the Eulogistic Poetry of the Prophet

Muhammad in Persian language. Kumari Shareefun-Nisa is studying the life and works of Abu Talib Kalim, the Poet Laureate of Shahjahan. Shri Muhammad Sayeed is working on the contribution of the Hindu poets and writers to Persian literature during the Mughal Period (1500 to 1750). Shri Mubarizud-Din Rifat has translated into Urdu the *Tarikh-i-Adbiyyat-i-Iran* by Riza Zadeh Shafaq. Dr. Sayyid Namud-Din of V.M.V., Ahraoti, is tracing some unpublished verses of Emperor Babur and Qasidas of Urfi. Dr. Shaykh Abdul Haqq of Bombay has critically edited the poetical compositions of Anwari. This work as also Dr. Haqq's critical edition of the commentaries on 'Dewan-i-Anwari' by Muhammad b. Daud b. Mahmud Alavi of Shadiyabad and Mir Abdul Hasan-i-Husayni of Farhan are awaiting publication.

'Dara Shikuh: Life and Works', a result of long years of patient study by Dr. B. J. Hasrat was brought out by the Visva-bharati in 1953. Dr. Mehdi Husain critically studied and translated into English the *Rehla* of the famous traveller Ibn Battuta. This excellent and important work by Dr. Husain, completed after about 26 years of study, was published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, towards the latter half of the year 1953. The Institute has undertaken to publish the Arabic History of Gujarat, entitled *Zaffar-ul-Walih bi Muzaffar Waalih* of Abdullah Muhammad bin Omar known as Hajji Dabir, translated into English by Shri M. F. Lokhandavala and Maulvi Saiyyid Muhammad Shakir Sulaimani Nadvi.

Under the auspices of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, Shri G. H. Khare and other scholars have in hand the compilation of a lexicon of words etc. from Persian, Arabic, Turkish and other languages of Western Asia occurring in the Marathi and Semi-Marathi historical documents. Similarly the Mandala proposes to publish various official and public documents in Persian belonging to 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. It may not be out of place to mention here that the second volume of late Prof. H. S. Hodivala's *Indo-Muslim History* is now in the press and may be out in a year or so.

The Avicenna Commemoration Volume is in the press. Rev. Fr. V. Courtois S.J., the Chairman and convener of the Avicenna Millenary Celebrations Committee, Calcutta, has published some details of the contents which include contributions by a score of eminent scholars from India and abroad. This volume, besides other papers, contains an original Arabic work of Avicenna on the Soul which has been edited for the first time by Dr. Wilhelm Kutsch, S.J., and another welcome addition is Dr. M. A. Muid Khan's edition of Iban Sina's so-far unpublished work on Dream.

The Daeratful Maarif-il-Osmania, Hyderabad, is continuing its works with Dr. M. Nizamud Din as its Director. Some of the works recently published by this Institution include:—the *Suwarul-Kawakib* of Abdur Rahman as-Sufi; The *Qanun-i-Masudi* of al-Biruni Vol: I-III; the *Hawil Kabir*, Rhazes, I-III; the *Jarh wat-Taadil* by Ibn Abi Hatim ar-Razi Vols. I-IX; the *Miratuz Zaman* of Sibti Ibnul Jawzi, Vol. VIII, i & ii; the *Dhail Miratuz Zaman*, Qutbuddin Yunini,

Vol. I-II; and the *Tarikh-i-Jurjan of as-Sahami*. Besides a number of works under preparation the *Kitabu'l Anwa* of Ibn Qutaiba is in the press.

At the Allahabad University Dr. Mohammad Ahmed Siddiqui has published his thesis on *Ibnul Hariri-va-Maqamatuhu* in Arabic. He has edited *Mina Bazar* a work of Zuhufi in Persian. Shri Raghbir Husain completed his study of the Development of Persian *Masnavi*.

Professor Khaliq Ahmed Nizami's two works in Urdu, the *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht* and the *Hayat-i-Shaykh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi* were published by the *Nadavat-ul-Musanniffin*, Delhi, in the years 1953 and 1954 respectively.

Professor Najib Ashraf Nadvi of Bombay has edited the second volume of the *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri* Shaykh Mohd. Yusuf has completed his study of Persian Literature during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. Dr. T. N. Devare's thesis on 'Persian Literature in the Deccan' is in print.

At Lucknow, Dr. Wahid Mirza edited the *Khazain-al-Futuh*. This work has been published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Dr. Mirza has edited an Arabic work on Islamic Jurisprudence entitled "*al-Igtesar*" by Qazi Naman b. Mohd. Dr. S. B. Samadi has contributed a number of papers on the history of the Abbasids. He is editing the fifth *Iqlim* of Amin Ahmed Razi's famous work, the *Haft Iqlim*.

At the Visva Bharati, Shri N. B. Roy has pursued the examination of the manuscript *Makhzan-i-Afghani* and has traced the career of Prince Kamran whose *Dewan* he hopes to publish before long.

These details regarding the progress of research in Arabic and Persian do not claim to be exhaustive but will suffice to indicate that institutions and individual scholars are doing their best in this direction.

Permit me now to invite your attention to some very urgent problems connected with the study and research in these languages. In numberless Arabic and Persian manuscripts in India are treasured the rich thoughts of bygone writers.

Manuscripts are our cherished assets. They embody the dreams of our poets, the thoughts of our philosophers and the visions of seers, irrespective of the medium of expression used by them. Manuscripts link the past with the present and the future. They are like riches lying buried. In them there is so much that is worthy of our respect and attention and deserves a thorough study. These riches should be unearthed. We do not know the number of manuscripts which are becoming victims, unnoticed, to worms, fire, water and what not. Each day of neglect might be causing loss which cannot be measured. The saddest loss that nations have ever suffered, is that of their precious manuscripts and ancient documents. 'Rare

manuscripts once destroyed are lost for ever. Even an Alladin's lamp will not bring them back. They are like courier-pigeons, let us save them and hear the message they have to convey.

In the preservation of manuscripts lies the preservation of the intellectual heritage of the nation. Our first concern should be a regular and organised search for all the rare manuscripts. They should be collected and saved from decay and destruction. In some libraries manuscripts have been properly catalogued and are within the knowledge and access of scholars. There is, all the same, a considerable number of manuscripts lying in a most neglected state. Many of them are passing from one hand to another. All such manuscripts should, in the first instance, be collected and properly preserved.

But the matter does not rest here. Not less important is the question of publishing these manuscripts. There is an urgent need to compare and collate them, bring out their correct texts and study them critically. There are many manuscripts which have not found the light of the day. The best way to save them from extinction is not only to give them a safe and secure shelter in the shelf of a library but also to study them and publish all that is note-worthy in their contents. There may be something in them which might fill a gap in history, which might turn a part of history into fiction and fiction into history.

There is another point which should not be ignored. We need immense literature on Arabic and Persian in Hindi, now our lingua franca. More and more efforts are required in this sphere. Translation into Hindi of the important Arabic and Persian texts should be immediately taken up. In Arabic and Persian there is so much of literary, cultural and historical value which awaits to be immediately studied and translated into our national language.

Since the dawn of freedom our responsibilities have been increasing. Now that barriers are breaking, countries are coming out of narrow circles and nations are being knit together, in the new set-up, these languages should receive more and more of our attention.

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

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BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST STUDIES 1954-55

A peaceful religion like Buddhism is much needed in this period of atomic and hydrogen bombs. Christianity as a world religion has failed to create a pacifying atmosphere among the nations that profess it. In ancient times a battle was fought among hostile armies bringing destruction only to the soldiers who were engaged in it. But now-a-days war means destruction not only to the warriors, but also to the innocent population of the world who do not interfere in political matters. Even sucking infants and decrepit old persons of Japan were killed through atomic bombs during the last world war.

It is gratifying to see that there is some awakening in Buddhist countries on account of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's demise. This revival of Buddhism is after a long period of depression and hardships of various kinds. Any religion becomes corrupted when it exists for a long time; Buddhism was no exception to this general rule. A monk who entered the Order in his old age had spoken corrupting words even before the remains of the Buddha were cremated. Anyhow the community of the Sangha existed undivided for a century after his demise; at the end of that century there arose divergencies of opinion and the community was divided into two; and during the second century eighteen sects arose from these two main divisions. Then came the great division of Hinayana and Mahayana, and later on there came to exist some other Yanas such as Vajrayana. As these new yanas were more ritualistic than the former ones, Buddhism began to dwindle in its mother-land and some 900 years ago it completely disappeared from its limits and existed very feebly in the borderlands.

Some 60 or 70 years ago the people of India had a very vague knowledge about Buddhism or knew nothing of it. Owing to the indefatigable efforts of the Mahabodhi Society, of some Buddhist Elders of Chittagong, and through the discovery of wonderful ancient Buddhist monuments in various parts of the land, India has come to understand that she has forgotten for a long long period, the most precious production of the noblest of her sons. Now she has very willingly adopted his Dharmacakra as a sign on her national flag. She is honouring the relics of the chief Disciples, Sarputta and Moggallana, and helping Buddhist activities in various ways. Meanwhile some of her sons becoming Buddhist monks began to translate Buddhist texts into various Indian languages.

All these events are good omens for the future prosperity of India. Since the prehistoric periods, India has stood as the spiritual

leader of the world; she never was an aggressor. Now having regained her long-lost independence, she will remain in the future as the benevolent and spiritual leader of the world.

This awakening is not confined only to India. In many western countries societies have been formed to study Buddhism. Some are publishing Buddhist periodicals, some writing books on Buddhism, and some trying to build Buddhist monasteries in their own countries. Among the Buddhist countries, Burma has taken the leadership of propagating Buddhism. Every one of you must have heard of the Sixth Buddhist Council now held in Burma, of which I will speak later. Burma is arranging to establish an "International Institute for advanced Buddhistic studies" for which foundation was laid by the Prime Minister U. Nu on the 3rd April 1954. The building is to be raised on the Peace Pagoda Site, near Rangoon, to the north of the convocation Assembly Hall. Soon after the work of the Synod is over, the entire group of buildings including the great cave, and the series of multiroomed residential buildings with spacious refectories will be developed into an International Buddhist University, contributing to higher academic studies and research in religion, history, art and culture with Buddhism and South East Asia as the central focus. This main building will consist of a central circular building of three storeys. The ground and first floors of this building are designed to house the main library, while the second floor will be the sacred shelter for the revised version of Tripitaka as adopted by the Sixth Buddhist Synod. The three annexes will be provided with a general reading room, and auditorium and the institute's museum, besides other rooms for special purposes.

Now I am going to give you a description of the Chattha Sangayana or the sixth Buddhist Synod. It was inaugurated on the 17th May 1954, and will continue in five sessions up to the fullmoon-day of May 1956. Before this Synod began its work all the Pitaka texts were scrutinized for the first time by some hundreds of selected Elders, and for the second time they were revised by more learned Elders, and for the third time by most erudite Elders. Then the Vinaya Pitaka was printed in the press newly opened for this purpose, under the supervision of very learned persons. They recite the revised and printed texts and the printing is not done after recitation.

Meanwhile all these texts are being translated into Burmese by able laymen who are paid considerable salaries by the Buddha Sasana Council. There are not less than fifty persons engaged in this translation work. Their translations are then sent to a higher board consisting of learned Elders and eminent laymen. They have not yet begun the printing of these translations, but will do it as soon as the Pali texts are completed.

The Union Buddhadasana Council is responsible for this enormous task. With the aid of the Government they have spent not less than thirty million rupees for this purpose. The Synod Hall alone cost them nine millions. This is not surprising when we

consider that it has consumed more than eleven thousand tons of cement in its structure. They have spent three million rupees on each of the four boarding houses which can accomodate 2500 persons at a time. In their programme they have included translating the whole Tripitaka into English and to print the same in Nagari characters. In his presidential address delivered in 1943 Professor P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph.D., of Poona has given an exhaustive treatment of the Buddhist literature of all countries and all languages. I have to learn many things from his speech and I confess that I am not in a position to produce such a learned article. I am not aware of the New Buddhist publications in Indian Languages. Let me begin from where Professor Bapat has ended.

In Ceylon, the Simon Hevavitarana Bequest Series has finished its publication of the Atthakathas and has begun to publish the Pitaka texts. Now they have published (1) the Parajikapali (2) the Jatakapali Part, I, II, (3) the Cariyapitaka (4) and the Dhammasangani. The Congress of all Ceylon Buddhist Associations has begun to publish the Pitaka texts together with Sinhalese translations on the opposite pages, under the editorship of Dr. G. P. Malalasekara D.Litt., M.A., Ph.D., of the University of Ceylon. The directors and supporters of the Vidyalankara Oriental College, Kelaniya, have begun a revision of the three Pitakas and for the last three years they were collating various Mss. and collecting different readings in them. Recently the Government of Ceylon has agreed to pay the cost of printing their revised texts. These texts will be the most critically edited Pitaka texts when they are published.

At the end of the year 1954 a committee named "Lanka Baudhamandalaya" was formed in Colombo under the patronage of the Government of Ceylon. The Committee is intended to supervise and perform various activities connected with the Buddhajayanti or the 2,500th anniversary of Buddhism. The main committee is divided into 18 sub-committees, severally to translate Tripitaka into Sinhalese, to compile Buddhist literary works, to establish a Buddhist University in Ceylon, to compile an encyclopaedia of the Sinhalese language and to do such other work. The Government is to bear all the expenses incurred in these and have sanctioned five million rupees as the first vote.

The recently established Sripada Tripitaka Series has now published the whole Abhidhamma Pitaka in 12 volumes under the editorship of Rev. Kirielle Nanavimala Thera of Ratnapura. The funds for this series are provided by the trustees of the Adams' Peak (i.e. the Shrine of the Buddha's foot-print). They have the intention of publishing the whole Tripitaka.

Dr. A. P. de Soysa, M.A., Ph.D., of Colombo, is bringing out a translation series of the Pitakas in Sinhalese. He has already published the Sinhalese version of the Dighanikaya in three volumes, of the Majjhimanikaya in five volumes, of the Sanyttanikaya in

seven volumes, each volume consisting of about 400 pages. Now he has begun to publish the translation of the Anguttara Nikaya of which he has already brought out the first two volumes.

Buddhadatta's Vinyavinicchaya and Uttaravinicchaya were edited by me and published in Sinhalese script in one volume by the Ananda Book Company of Ambalangoda, Ceylon, in 1952. An index to the title of all suttas, gathas, jatakas etc., of the Pitakas, Tripitakasuci by name, was compiled by me in Sinhalese, and was published in 1953. My edition of Buddhadatta's Abhidhammavataṛa and Anyruddha's Namaraupapariccheda in one volume in Sinhalese script came out in 1953. The other works to my credit are:—

1949 Concise Paḷi English, Dictionary, 1950 Pali Sinhalese Dictionary, 1951 The Higher Pali Course, 1951 Aids to Pali Conversation and Translation, 1952 A new translation of the Dhammapada, together with the version in Roman script, 1955 an English Pali Dictionary of 588 pages. Of these the Pali Sinhalese Dictionary was published by Messrs. M. D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd., Colombo, and the other works in Roman script were published or printed by Messrs. Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd.

After 1942, the Pali Text Society has reprinted the following texts:—

(1) Dighanikaya I, II, III, (2) Itivattaka, (3) Majjhimanikaya, I, II, III, (4) Suttanipata and, (5) the Pali English Dictionary. They have newly published (1) Petakopadesa in 1949, (2) Samantapasadika VI, VII, (3) Theragatha Commentary II, (4) Apadana Commentary in 1954, (5) Buddhavamsa Commentary and (6) Saddhammappakasini, the Commentary on the Patisamabbhidamagga III. A most valuable production of the Society during this period is the Pali Tripitakam Concordance, which is a concordance in Pali to the three Pitakas in the Indian order of letters, listed by late Mr. F. L. Woodward and some others and edited by Mr. E. M. Hare. They have issued Vol. I, in seven parts, which consists of all the words beginning with the vowels.

Of the English translations they have reprinted (1) Psalms of the Sisters, (2) Psalms of the Brethren, (3) The Kindred Sayings, I, II, III, (4) The Gradual Sayings III, IV, V and (5) Mahavamsa, the Chronicle of Ceylon. They have recently issued the part 1 of the new translation of the Majjhimanikaya, by Miss. I. B. Horner. In a separate series named "Sacred Books of the Buddhists" they have issued (1) The Books of the Discipline III, IV, V, (2) Minor Anthologies IV, i.e., Vimanavatthu and Pethavatthu, (3) Woven Cadences, Suttanipata, (4) Mahavasthu Translation I, II, III, (5) Sasanavamsa Translation and the reprints of the (1) Dialogues of the Buddha II, and (2) The verses of Uplift, Udana Translation.

On inquiry from the national library of Thailand, it was known that no Pali texts were published there after 1943. But one of my friends in Bangkok, Mr. A. Guggemos, has recently sent me a complete Dhammapadatthakatha, in eight volumes, printed in Siamese script in 1952. However this is a reprint. This commentary has been so widely used there, that this edition appears to be the 17th. Mr. Guggemos, who is a German gentleman living in Bangkok, has translated the Khuddakapatha into English, and published in Bangkok. Another work of his, "Eighty Inspiring Works of the Buddha from the Udana", includes the Pali texts as well as English translation.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

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I express my deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the All India Oriental Conference for electing me to preside over the Prakrit and Jainism Section of the present session. Though I feel to be unworthy of this honour, I have bowed down to the choice in the spirit of an humble devotee receiving the holy prasāda at the temple of Sarasvatī and hence I can crave your pardon if my address is felt to be inadequate or deficient on any account.

The designation of this Section restricts the field of Indology assigned to it to Prakrit languages and literature, and to the Jain studies based upon Prakrit as well as non-Prakrit sources. 'Prakrit', we all know, is a very loose term having diverse and varying applications. For the purposes of the All India Oriental Conference it excludes from its province at least Pali. Linguistically it is convenient to consider Middle Indo-Aryan as divisible into the three successive phases called Early, Middle and Late. Accordingly the term 'Prakrit' figuring in the name of this Section is to be understood to cover all the varieties of MIA., excepting Pali and perhaps the Aśakan dialects which belong to Early MIA.

The main tasks, problems and difficulties of the Prakrit and Jain studies have been sufficiently characterized and emphasized, time and again, from this chair by my distinguished predecessors and many of their remarks in this connection still possess more or less relevance, notwithstanding the numerous and valuable contributions to our subjects since 1940, when, for the first time, an exclusive section came to be assigned to Prakrit and Jainistic studies. The chief reasons for this have been obviously the lack of interest and paucity of trained workers in the subjects of this Section, which, on that account compares rather unfavourably with other branches of Indological studies maintaining a high rate of advance. Of late, however, there have been clear signs of growing improvement in the above situation and any dissatisfaction felt on this score is to some extent dispelled by the fact that though small, the band of workers in this field of investigation, is an intensely devoted one, and that its untiring labours have been producing creditable results.

Reconstruction of the huge, highly complex and multipartite edifice of the history of Indian Culture is an enormous undertaking of the Indologists and we on our part are required to contribute to it by reconstructing as faithfully and as perfectly as possible our side of the structure. But authentic and exhaustive culture-historical studies based on Prakrit and Jain sources can result only when, in the first instance, all the relevant original materials, literary as well as archaeological, are published and, secondly, the entire mass of data contained in them is systematically collected and critically interpreted. But we are as yet a long way from

completing even the first stage of the journey. It still remains our main task to bring to light and to study properly the vast amount of unpublished materials.

With these preliminary remarks I pass on to a survey (which, I regret, I have not been able to make all-inclusive) of research work done in our subjects during the two years intervening between the last and the current sessions of the Conference. And in this I would request your assistance wherever you can supplement and correct my information.

During the period under our survey very little has appeared in what can be conveniently called *belles lettres* section of MIA literature. The *Jinadattākhyāna-dvaya* (Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, 1953.) edited by A.M. Bhojak contains two Prakrit works giving the story of Jinadatta, one by Sumati and another anonymous. They are in mixed prose and verse and are to be dated before the eleventh century. Ghanaśyāna's *Anandasundari* (Motilal Banarasidas, Banaras, 1955) is another Sattaka edited by our great veteran scholar A. N. Upadhye whose studies in this Prakrit dramatic form began with his edition of Rudradāsa's *Candralakkhā* (1945). We are eagerly looking for his edition of the famous Prakrit Campū *Kuvalayamālā* which is at present under print.

As contrasted with the paucity of new publications in *belles lettres*, the activity in bringing out and studying religious and philosophical literature has been commendable. Of course a standard and authentic edition of all the Jain canonical works along with the early commentaries still remains a great desideratum; but sectarian efforts to publish individually the religious-philosophical texts and commentaries continue. The *Suttāgame* edited by Puppabhiṅgū (Curgaon, Punjab, 1954) is a handy edition of the eleven Āngas, though one cannot be sure about the authentic or critical value of this text. R. D. Vadenkar's and N. V. Vaidya's edition of the *Uttarādhyāyana* is little more than a reprint of J. Charpentier's early edition. A new commentary on the *Dasaveyāliya*, viz., the commentary by Sumati, has appeared (Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Series, Surat, 1955) during the period under survey. This series, as well as newly founded Prakrit Text Society of Delhi have under print a number of other commentaries also on different canonical texts. In the *Sthānāṅg-Samavāyā* (Gujarat Vidyapith, 1955) Dalsukh Malvania has given a faithful Gujarati rendering of the two Āngas with a few unimportant omissions and topical rearrangement and consolidation. The veteran scholar Hiralal Jain continues to devote his untiring energies to the stupendous task of bringing out the *Siddhāntas* of the Digambaras. Volumes 10, 11 and 12 of the *Satkhandaḡama* completing the fourth division called *Vedantā*, have come out, while the next volume is to appear within a few days. The publication of the other *Siddhanta* works too have maintained their progress. Volumes second and third of the *Mahābandha* or the *Mahādhavala* along with Hindi translation (Bhāratiya Jñāna Pitha, Banaras, 1953-1954) have been brought out by Phool Chandra. The same scholar in collaboration with Kailash Chandra has also given us the third volume of the *Kāśāyapāhuda* of Guṇabhadra with the *Cārṇisūtra* of Yativṛṣabha and the *Jayadhavalā* of Virasena (All India Digambara Jain Sangha, Mathura, 1955). Bhāratiya Jñāna Pitha of Banaras deserves high credit for giving us good and neatly printed and got-up editions of several valuable original source-books of Jainism. It has to its credit Akalanka's *Rājavārtika*, a commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* edited along with Hindi summary of

the text by Mahendrakumar Jain (1953); Pūjyapāda's commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* edited along with Hindi summary of the text by Mahendrakumar Jain (1953); Pūjyapāda's commentary on the *Tattvārtha* edited by Phool Chandra (1955); and Vādirāja's commentary (*Vivaraṇa*) on Akalanka's *Nyāya-viniścaya*, part 2, edited by Mahendrakumar Jain (1954).

There have been a few important attempts to present a systematic account of Jainism or to study and discuss its different aspects. Sukhlal Sanghvi, one of our great authorities on Indian philosophy, has given us in his Hindi work *Cār Tīrthaṅkar* (Jain Cultural Research Society, Banaras, 1953) his valuable observations on the teachings of Ṛsabha, Nemi, Vardhamāna and Pārśva. *The History of Philosophy* sponsored by our Ministry of Education includes in its first volume (1953) a section of Jain Philosophy written by A Chakravarty. In his lectures *Religions of Ancient India* (University of London, 1953) the eminent French Indologist L. Renou has presented to us a brief but lucid account of Jainism also. *The Outlines of Jaina Philosophy* (Jain Mission Society, Bangalore, 1954) by Mohanlal Mehta is a notable contribution towards elucidating several doctrines and principles of Jainism. *Aspects of Jainism* (Jain Mission Society, Bangalore, 1955) brings together five articles on various facts of Jain culture and philosophy written by Nathmal Tatia, A. Chakravarty, P. R. Jain, Indukala Jhaveri and I. C. Shastri.

A part of our task is to make available for study important works of religious-didactic and devotional literature of the Jains, a vast amount of which still lies buried in the Bhaṇḍāras. As recent attempts in the direction may be noted: the *Samadhitantra aur Istopadeśa* (Vir Seva Mandir, Delhi, 1954) edited with an introductory essay in Hindi by Jugalkishor Mukhtar, which contains commentaries on the two works respectively by Prabha-candra and Āśādhara as also a Hindi commentary; Samantabhara's *Samīcīna Dharmasastra* (Vir Seva Mandir, Delhi, 1955) by the same scholar with a literal Hindi rendering and an extensive learned introduction; *Ratnakaraṇḍasravakacara* with the *Vacanika* of Satāsukha and a Marathi translation (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, Sholapur, 1954) Āśādhara's *Jinasahasranāma* with his own commentary and also that of Śrutasaṅgāra (Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Banaras, 1954) edited and translated into Hindi with an introduction by Hiralal Jain; Arhuddāsa's *Bhavyajanakanthū-bharaṇa* translated into Hindi by Kailash Chandra (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, Sholapur) and the forthcoming new edition of the *Dahās* of Saraha called *Dohakośagīti*, which along with a parallel Hindi rendering has been prepared by the indefatigable scholar Rahula Santrityayana on the basis of a C. eleventh century palm leaf manuscript acquired by him. It is to be published by the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad of Patna.

The vast field of Jain mythological literature presents a rich but little explored, mine of material, highly important from the point of view of folk-lore and other studies. Recent publications in this subject include: the second volume of the *Mahāpurāṇa* comprising Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* giving Sanskrit text and Hindi translation by Pannalal Jain (Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Banaras, 1954); two volumes of my edition of the *Paṇḍacarīu*, an Apabhraṃśa Purāṇic-epic on Jain Rāmāyaṇa, with an extensive introduction and glossary (Singhi Jain Series, 1953); Śubha-candra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* edited and translated into Hindi by J. P. Shastri (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, 1954); Dāmanandin's *Purāṇasārasaṃgraha*

(Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Banaras, Vol. I 1954, Vol. II 1955) giving the life-stories of six Tirthaṅkaras edited and translated into Hindi by Gulabchandra Jain; and the *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* giving the life-story of the Tirthaṅkara Dharma translated into Hindi by Pannalal Jain (Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Banaras). H. M. Johnson continues her valuable English translation of Hemacandra's Purāṇic epic, the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, of which five volumes have been published so far (the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda). From Germany has appeared Brühn's learned dissertation on the *Caupannamahāpurisacariya* of Silācārya, presenting an exhaustive critical study of that Prakrit text on Jain mythology. In his paper *The Rāmāyana Version of Silācārya as found in the Caupannamahāpurisacariya* ABORI 36, 1955) V. M. Kulkarni has compared the brief outline of the narrative found in Silācārya's work with those as given by Vimala and Vālmiki.

Next we take up the works relating to the linguistic study of Prakrit. The evolution of Middle Indo-Aryan was a highly complicated affair shrouded at numerous points in complete obscurity. Rarity of authentically representative contemporary sources of information, intricate and prolonged exchange of linguistic material between various dialects, increasing divorce of literary languages from the corresponding spoken forms by high degree of standardization and stylization—these factors make the study of Middle Indo-Aryan bristle with almost insuperable difficulties. Still as more and more sources of materials are brought to light many obscure points can become clarified. Critical editions of two important Prakrit grammars have appeared during the period under survey. P. L. Vaidya has edited *The Prakrit Grammars of Trivikrama* (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, Sholapur, 1957) with useful introduction, numerous appendices and a concordance of the Sūtras of Hemacandra and Trivikrama; M. M. Ghosh's edition of Ramaśarman's *Prākṛtakulpataru* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1954) gives the original text, commentary, indices and an appendix containing the texts of the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottama, the *Prākṛtakāmadhenu* of Laṅkeśvara and the *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa* from the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Besides these T. T. S. Gopalacharya has brought out *Prākṛtamañḍipā* (Vol. I, Mysore, 1953), a commentary by Appaya Dikṣita on the so-called *Vālmiki-Sūtras*. Raghunātha's *Prākṛtānanda*, a short manual of Prakrit grammar based on Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, is shortly to be published by the distinguished *Śaṅkara* Jinavijaya Muni in the Rajasthan Puratattva Series. Among modern linguistic studies of Prakrit we have to note the *Prākṛt Bhāṣā* (in Hindi) by P. B. Pandit (Jain Cultural Research Society, Banaras, 1954), which attempts a short but critical survey of the evolution of Middle Indo-Aryan and touches the difficulties and problems inherent in the study of the subject; and Sukumar Sen's *Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan* (Indian Linguistics, 13, 1952-53) which forms a companion volume to his highly valuable *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* (1951). In his paper on the *Prakrit of the Yajñaphala* (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1954) G. C. Jhala sees New Indo-Aryan traits in the Prakrit of that drama of disputed authorship.) *The Middle Indo-Aryan Reader* prepared by S. K. Chatterji, S. Sen and G. De, giving specimens of various Middle Indo-Aryan dialects in their development through the centuries will, when published, supply a longfelt need of the students, as the Readers of Jacobi and Jain have now become out of date.

Etymological studies of individual words reveal to us at times some hidden currents of the stream of linguistic evolution. But such studies

dealing with or utilizing Middle Indo-Aryan linguistic material have been very few. P. Tedesco has made a very learned but unsound effort in his paper *Sanskrit Kusala Skilful Welfare* (JAOS, 74/3, 1954) to derive that word from Sk. *Śukṛta* through its supposed developments *Śu-kala*; *Śukala*. The fact that to explain some MIA words of obscure development we can secure valuable help from extra-Indian sources is illustrated by Sukumar Sen's *Four Indo-Aryan Etymologies* (Indian Linguistics, 14, 1954) wherein among other words he has considered MIA *dhūdā* daughter and satisfactorily explained its phonetic development with the help of its IE. and II precursors. In the same volume of Indian Linguistics S. M. Katre discusses the phonetic relation between *Tiranhu*, *Teranhu(ka)* and *Triraśmi* occurring in the Nasik Cave Inscription. Norman Brown interpretes *Prakrit Vanadava* 'tree sap, self-control' (Language 30, 1954) occurring in a Jain text.

The results of F. Edgerton's intensive researches on the language of north-Indian Buddhist texts have been published in three monumental volumes—*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: Vol. I Grammar, Vol. II Directory and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader* (Yale, 1953). As a result of his highly elaborate and thorough studies Edgerton has come to the conclusion that the language of these texts is not Sanskrit but 'a partially and imperfectly Sanskritized Middle Indic', to which he gives the style of 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.' Besides Pali and the dialect of the Prakrit *Dhammapada*, the dialect which underlies Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit was the third one preserve Buddhist Cannons. This has been explained in short by F. Edgerton in his lecture *The Nature of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* (Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, XI-XII, 1955). Several points from Edgerton's works have been discussed in their reviews of the same by J. Brough in *The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* (BSOAS, 16, 1954) and by H. W. Bailey in *Buddhist Sanskrit* (JRAS, 1955). One other aspect also of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit proves to be of absorbing interest. Some of its features find parallels in Apabhraṃśa. This aspect has been investigated by S. N. Ghosal in *Apabhraṃśa Features in the Early Prakrits* (IHQ, 1954), wherein the author while noting correspondence between some phonetic developments and forms occurring in Early Prakrits on the one hand and those in Apabhraṃśa and its later phases on the other, is at times led away by superficial resemblances. The same scholar's English translation of Jacob's Introduction to the *Bhavisattakaha* (being published serially in the Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda) makes available to a wider class of students the first pioneer scientific study of Apabhraṃśa. Apabhraṃśa study has also attracted recently two more scholars, one of them is K. De Vreese, who has critically examined the interpretation of several illustrative stanzas from the Apabhraṃśa portion of Hemacandra's *Siddhahema* in his two articles *Apabhraṃśa Studies* (JAOS, 74, 1954), though one may not agree with all of his interpretations. A *Dravidian Turn in Apabhraṃśa* (JRAS, 35, 1954) by the same scholar points to a fruitful direction of investigation. It is a part of the wider question of the mutual influence of MIA dialects on one hand and the Dravidian group of languages on the other. Our attention has been already drawn to this in the past especially by several studies of the Deśya element in the MIA vocabulary, and of the Indo-Aryan loans in Dravidian. In the paper referred to, De Vreese attributes to Dravidian influence the peculiar Apabhraṃśa idioms for expressing 'motion from' by locative alone or coupled with a participle meaning 'being, standing'. The problem is highly interesting or equally important because these modes of expressing 'motion from' are quite

characteristic of the NIA languages like Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali etc. The fact, however, that the idiom is very widespread, common and current from the earliest period among the NIA languages should be properly emphasized. It should also be investigated whether conditions like the large scale use of a Dravidian language by influential social groups of North India ever obtained in medieval and later times (as could be attested in the case of the Persian and English influences) to make possible on the part of NIA languages to absorb this foreign idiom. The alternative of parallel developments requires to be critically examined.

L. A. Schwarzschild, too, appears to have occupied himself with the historical study of MIA. Grammar. In 'The Possessive Adjectives of late Prakrit (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1954, 127-136) he critically investigated the derivation of Apabhraṃśa *mahūra*, *tuhūra* etc. as also the NIA. material related to these.

The importance of Middle Indo-Aryan and especially its late phase for the study of New Indo-Aryan languages cannot be overstressed. Several attempts, not quite so critical, have been made in this direction, though most of them would rather fall within the province of New Indo-Aryan studies. Here are to be included Shivaprasad Sinha's *Kīrtilatā aur Arahaṭṭha-bhāṣā* (Allahabad, 1955); his article *Prākṛta-paiṃgala kī Bhāṣā me Prācīn Braja ke Tattva* (Kalpanā, 1955); and Namvar Sinha's *Hindī ke Vikās me Apabhraṃś kā Yog* (Allahabad, 1954). V. S. Agarwal's *Nāṭta in Apabhraṃśa Literature* (the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1955) fixes "sea-merchant" as the meaning of that word occurring in Jāyasis' *Padumāvat* with the help of its earlier occurrences in Apabhraṃśa and late Prakrit literatures. This also illustrates the value of late MIA for the interpretation of Early NIA texts.

The number of texts and studies pertaining to the category of scientific or Śāstric NIA literature that appeared recently is very small. Anjali Mukhopadhyaya's *Āryā Metre* (the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda 1954-55), taking a peep into that metre's origin and variations in early literature; H. R. Kapadia's *Illustrations of Letter diagrams* (JUB., 23, 1954), describing the diagrammatic variety of the *Citra kāvya* from Sanskrit and Prakrit verse literatures of the Jains; and P. K. Modi's edition of the little Prakrit handbook of Palmistry, the *Kara-lakkhaṇa* (Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Banaras, 1954) exhaust the list. Among the important works of this class shortly to be published we can mention the *Aṃgavijjā*, an early Paimpa text on Prognostics that is very rich in cultural data, edited by Muni Punyavijaya for the Prakrit Text Society, Delhi; Padmanandini's *Jambūdiva-panṇatti*, being edited by H. L. Jain and A. N. Upadhye for the Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Banaras, and the two volumes containing H. D. Velankar's editions of several works of Prakrit prosody, viz., the *Vṛttajāti-samuccaya* of Virahāṅka, the *Kavidarpaṇa*, the *Gāthālaksana* of Nanditādhya, the *Chandahkosa* of Ratnasekhara, the *Svayambhūcchandas* of Svayambhu and the Prakrit metres in the *Janasrayī* to be published in the Rajasthan Puratattva Series, Jaipur. In this connection, it is to be noted that Rahula Sankrityayana has made available, from his Tibetan collection fragments of a C. 11th Century palm leaf manuscript of the *Svayambhūcchandas*. The text portions from this Mss. fortunately fill up some of the lacunae of the incomplete Baroda manuscript which was still now the only available basis for the printed text of the *Svayambhūcchandas*. They are

important from several angles. In them we recover a part of the genuinely Prakrit section of the *Svayambhūcchandas* which thus thoroughly bears out my earlier speculations on this point. The fact that this manuscript gives *parasavarna* nasals instead of the *anusvārā* more consistently than the Baroda manuscript freshly raises the problem of the phonetic value of the *anusvāra* in Apabhramsa orthography. Several other Prakrit poets are made known to us for the first time and some Prakrit and Apabhramsa verses found anonymously in Hāla, Vijjalagga and Hemicandra are assigned here a definite authorship. The *Svayambhūcchandas* strengthens our impression that a rich treasure of classical Prakrit and Apabhramsa literature has been irretrievably lost.

Jain art too presents a rewarding field of investigation. We may note some of the recent contributions. Stella Kramrich's *Art of India* (London, 1954) and H. Zimmer's *The Art of Indian Asia* (Bollingen Series, 1954), include descriptions and discussions of Jain architecture, sculpture and painting. In *The Jain Sculptures from Ladol* (Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin, 1954) U. P. Shah has given an account of the five sculptures found a few years back from Ladol in North Gujarat. His *Studies in Jain Art* is to be shortly published by the Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras.

Most of the efforts made to collect various cultural data from Jain and Prakrit sources have been of a very limited character. In *Jain Āgam Gramtho kī Mohattvapārn Sabha-sūciya* (Nagari Pracarini Patrika, 59, 2011 V. S.), J. C. Jain collects information about some groups of terms from Jain canon. U. P. Shah's *Numismatic Date from Early Jain Literature* (Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda, 3, 1954) supplements the date gleaned earlier by J. C. Jain in his *Life in Ancient India depicted in the Jain Canons* (1947). The same scholar points out in his article *The So-Called Mauryan Polish in Jain Literature* (Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda, 4, 1955) the cultural significance of a stock description occurring in some of the Jain canonical texts.

In his various contributions that appeared during 1953-1955 in the *Bharatiya Vidya*, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, *The Poona Orientalist* and *Indological Journals*, R. S. Agrawal has collected and studied cultural data on textiles and garments, weights and measures, foods and drinks, family letters and state communications etc. from Early Prakrit documents from Niya in Central Asia. H. R. Kapadia has gathered together *The Jain Data about Musical Instruments* and published them in four instalments (*The Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 3-4, 1953-55). In *Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature* (IHG, 29, 1953), U. P. Shah has speculated about the foreign origin of some mystic syllables figuring in the Jain mantra literature. Here also belong four other contributions: H. L. Jain's *An Old Literary Reference* (from Puspadanta's *Nāyakumāracarit*) about *Vanarāja*, the founder of the *Gāvaḍā* dynasty (*Nagpur University Historical Bulletin*, 1954); V. Raghavan's *Great Women in the History of Sanskrit & Prakrit Classical Literature* (*Vedanta Kesari*, 41, 1954); U. P. Shah's *Great Women in Jainism* (*Holy Mother Birth Centenary Volume*, 1953); and N. L. Rao's *Eminent Women of Karaṇḍīka* (*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 45, 1954) including along with other matters information about some Jain Women known from literary and inscriptional sources. Historical and other information about particular Jain sacred places is given in B. S. Vinod's

Magadh (in Hindi) (Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras, 1954); in A. C. Sen's *Rājagraha and Nālandā* (1954) and in Jayantavijaya's *Holy Abu* Vol. I (Translated from Gujarati and prefaced with an informative survey of the Jain architecture of Gujarat and Saurashtra by U. P. Shah, Yasovijaya Jain Granthmālā, Bhavnagar, 1954). In the *Historical Geography of Ancient India* by B. C. Law (1954), information has been culled from Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and other sources.

Next we pass to contributions pertaining to cultural history and chronology. *Studies in Indian Literary History* (Vols. I & II) (Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, 1954) embodying a part of the life-long scholarly labours of P. K. Gode, contain several articles bearing on the history and chronology of Jain works and authors. V. V. Mirashi's *Samśoadhan Muktiāvali* part I (In Marathi) Nagpur, 1954, contains four contributions about Prakrit literature.

In *Ācārya Simhanandin, King-maker and Pontiff* (IHQ, 39, 1954), A. R. Baji discusses the share of that Jain Pontiff in establishing Mādhava I, the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty on the throne of the Koṅgudeśa, and in converting him to Jainism. In his note, the *Setubandha: Authorship and Date* (The Saugar University, Journal, 1, 1954-55) R. Upadhyaya has come to the conclusion that Pravarasena II was the author of that epic, Kālidāsa was the name of the scribe and the work is to be dated C. 415 A. D. The Date of Vasudeva's Commentary on the *Karpūra-mañjarī* of Rājasekhara by P. K. Gode's (Oriental Thought, 1, 1954) fixes the date between A. D. 1450 and 1750. S. N. Ghosal's *The Chronology of the Prākṛtapaiṅgala and the Chandahkosa* (ABOR I) 35, 1954) considers the relation of these two prosodical texts. B. J. Sandesara notes *Some Digumbara Jain works composed in Gujarat and Saurashtra in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa* (Journal of the University of Baroda 3, 1954). In his *Literary Circle of Mahīmāyīya Vastupāla* (Singhi Jain Series, 1953) he has given a systematic and detailed account of many Jain authors and their works, belonging to the times of the minister Vastupāla (C. 13th Cent.), D. L. Narasimhachar's *Old Kannada Literature* (Kannāṭakas Darśana, 1955) includes in its survey all the important Jain works of Early Kannada. In the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, volumes 3 and 4 (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954, 1955) the chapters on Language, Literature, Art and Philosophy include very brief accounts of Prakrit and of Jaina literature art philosophy by H. D. Velankar, H. L. Jain, I. N. Banerjee, A. M. Ghatage and A. D. Pusalker.

It should be observed that it is now high time somebody attempted a systematic history of Prakrit language and literature. Numerous Apabhraṃśa works too have recently come to light, as can be gathered from the published catalogues of the MSS. collections at Amer, Jaipur etc. They call for a few trained scholars to edit and study them critically.

Contributions about inscriptional sources include the *Jain Śilālekha Saṅgraha*, Part II (MDJG, Bombay 1954) edited by Vijayamūrti, and the *Interpretation of two Jain Inscriptions in Lucknow Museum* (IHQ, 3, 1954) bearing dates of the eleventh century, by D. C. Sircar.

Much of the Prakrit and especially the Apabhraṃśa lexical material is commonly shared by Early New Indo-Aryan so that texts in the latter edited with glossaries or word-indices are useful for the study of the former. Some such recent indexed publications may be mentioned here

(though otherwise they fall within the domain of New Indo-Aryan studies). *Saṣṭisataka Prakaraṇa* of Nemicandra with three Bālāvabodhas by Somasundara, Jinasāgara and Merusundara; *Nala-Paradanti-rāsa* of Mahārāja, and *Prācin Phāgu Saṅgarh* all edited by B. J. Sandesara (the last one in collaboration with S. Parekh) (M. S. University of Baroda, 1953, 1954 and 1955); *Revantagiri-rāsu*, *Neminātha-catuspadikā* and *Sirithulibhadda-phāgu* edited by H. C. Bhayani (Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, 1955); *Cār Phāgu Kavyo* edited by K. B. Vyas (Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, 1955). *Ukti-ratnakara*, edited by Muni Jinavijaya, containing several Old Gujarati *auktikas* and extensive word indexes is expected to be shortly published in the Rajasthan Puratattva Series of Jaipur.

Lastly we shall note the bibliographical and reference literature. There have appeared during the period of the present survey *The Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Manuscripts Library at Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII (Jain Literature and Philosophy-Āgamika Section), part fifth (1954), prepared by H. R. Kapadia, and *Rājasthān ke Jain Śāstrābhandārō ki Grantha-Sucī* (in Hindi), Vol. II, prepared by K. C. Kaslival (Jaipur, 1954). The latter catalogue lists and briefly describes (with badly reproduced colophons and text-passages) more than 3700 MSS. belonging to the collections of the Digambar Jain Mandir of Lunkaranji and Digambar Jain Bara Mandir of Terahpanthis, both in Jaipur. The latter publication brings to light for the first time numerous Apabhramsa literary works. Publication of the descriptive catalogues of the MSS. collections of all the Jain Bhandaras as also of yearly bibliographies and Prakrit and Jainistic studies will be of great help to the workers in our fields.

This brings me to the end of my bare and incomplete survey. Before concluding I would like to emphasise the urgent need of paying greater attention to the Prakrit studies at our Universities. Interest evinced in these studies is quite disproportionate to the importance of the Prakrit languages, whether we consider them from the linguistic, literary, historical or cultural point of view. The study of Sanskrit should be considered incomplete without an adequate knowledge of Pali and Prakrit and accordingly these latter should be properly represented in the Sanskrit curriculums for different stages of the University studies. So too for a fuller understanding of the structure and evolution of our national language, as well as of the regional languages (especially those of Sanskritic origin), and also for the future development of the same, so as to meet all the requirements of education, culture and social intercourse that are becoming more and more complex day by day, the importance and value of Prakrit studies should not be underrated.

chalcolithic, early historical, Roman-Sātavāhana and early Muslim (Bahmani).

The outstanding recent discovery in the field of epigraphy was a new version of the Minor Rock-Edict of Aśoka at Gujarrā in Vindhya Pradesh, which is the second record of the emperor mentioning Aśoka as his personal name.

Dr. Chhabra has found that many of the symbols on the rock carvings in Hawaiian islands resembled those found on the Mohenjo-daro seals. The age of the rock carvings has been put as far back as 3000 B.C. There were also punchmarked coins and Brāhmī characters resembling those on Aśoka's rock edicts. Dr. Chhabra is inclined to explain these similarities by the fact that the Polynesian race of the islands has Caucasian blood, which is of Aryan origin, and hence the Aryan influence. He, however, advises caution in the matter of conclusions and awaits more corroborative evidence.

In the previous Addresses to this Section, I did not find discussion about Itihāsa and Purāṇa—our historical literature, and that is my excuse for making a few observations on the subject.

There was a time before a few decades when, relying on Alberuni's statement, it was the fashion to maintain that the Indians had no historical sense. The gradual acceptance of tradition as a source of history has shown that Alberuni may be correct in a restricted sense and his observation may be applicable to the time when he visited India. The words "Itihāsa" and "Purāṇa" denoted history in ancient times, and both are mentioned together in Vedic literature, sometimes as two separate words, sometimes as one compound word.

The *Atharvaveda* says that the R̥ks, and the sāmāns, the metres, the Purāṇa, together with the Yajus, all gods in the heavens, founded upon heaven, were born of the *ucchiṣṭa*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* calls the Itihāsa-Purāṇa and certain other compositions "honey-offerings to the gods", and commends their daily study. It further prescribes the Itihāsa and Purāṇa for recitation by the priests in the Pāriplava narrations in the Rājasaṁyaya and Aśvamedha, and calls each a Veda. *Śūnikhūyana Śrauta Sūtra* and *Āśvalāyana Sūtra* recommend the recitation of the Itihāsa Veda on the 8th day and of the Purāṇa Veda on the 9th day. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* says that the hymns of the Atharvāṅgiras are the bees, the Itihāsa-Purāṇa is the flower, indicating that the hymns drew their sustenance from the Itihāsa and Purāṇa.

Thus the Vedic literature does not clearly distinguish between Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which have almost invariably been associated with Gāthās, Nārāyaṇīs, Vidyās, Vākovākyas, and Upaniṣads, which constituted serious subjects of study.

The original Purāṇa, according to Pargiter, contained traditions about gods, kings and ṛṣis, their genealogies and famous deeds. However, from the fact that the genealogical lists in the Purāṇas themselves refer to their indebtedness to *anuvāṁśa śloka*s from *purāvids*, etc., it would appear that originally the royal *vaṁśa* did not form part of the Purāṇas, and they took it over from the work of the *purāvids* or Itihāsa.

By the time of the *Nirukta* several schools of Vedic interpretation had emerged, the Aitiḥāsikas occupying the same position as the Nairuktas,

Naidānas, Vaiyākaraṇas, or Yājñīkas. While narrating a story, the *Nirukta* prefaces it by the words *tatra itihāsam-ācakṣate* (here the following story is narrated) at several places. Kauṭilya in the fourth century B.C. enumerates Itihāsa as one of the five Vedas, and enjoins the prince to spend every afternoon in listening to Itihāsa. Kauṭilya's conception of history is seen from his definition of Itihāsa, which includes Purāṇa, Itivṛtta Ākhyāyika, Udāharāṇa Dharmśāstra and Arthaśāstra. Purāṇa originally dealt with cosmogony, cosmology and divine pedigrees. Itivṛtta, meaning ancient occurrences, probably denoted dynastic chronicles. Ākhyāyikās were historical tales. Udāharāṇas or illustrative stories were to serve as warnings to princes, and were probably taken from Purāṇa and Itivṛtta. Dharmśāstra is Law, and Arthaśāstra is Political Science. This definition indicates that Kauṭilya regarded Itihāsa as having a very wide scope including in its domain not only traditional matter comprising dynastic chronicles, legends, stories, etc., but treatises on religious, social and political matters as well.

Thus from the days of Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, to Kauṭilya the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, Itihāsa appears to have held the field putting the Purāṇas in the background. Patañjali enumerates Itihāsa and Purāṇa separately among the principal literary works, and refers to Aitihāsikas and Paurāṇikas. The *Mahābhārata*, though called an *ākhyāna*, *kāvya*, *dharmśāstra*, *kathā*, *purāṇa*, etc., is styled as *itihāsa* in several passages. It is eulogised as *itihāsa par excellence*, indicating that it formed part of traditional history.

According to the *Amarakośa*, Itihāsa is a record of past events (*purāvṛtta*), and Purāṇa has five characteristics (*pañcalakṣaṇa*), viz. *sarga* (original creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution and re-creation), *vaṁśa* (divine genealogies), *manvantara* (ages of Manu), *vaṁśyānucarita* (genealogies of kings) or *bhūmyādeḥ samsthānam* (world geography). The inclusion of genealogies of kings, which is the domain of Itihāsa, as one of the constituents of Purāṇa, indicates that by this time Purāṇa was asserting itself and was preponderating over Itihāsa. After the advent of the Guptas, the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas came to a stop, and the Purāṇas tended to become completely sectarian and began to incorporate much Dharmśāstra material. No attempt was thereafter made to utilise dynastic chronicles to make the Purāṇas up-to-date.

It is interesting to note the change of attitude of scholars towards the Purāṇas at different times. At the starting of the Indic studies in the last decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the Purāṇas were regarded as of no historical value on account of the confused conglomeration of legendary and historical events in the Purāṇas as also their peculiar ideas of "ages" and "cosmography". The help that Col. Speke received from the Purāṇas in discovering the course of the Nile in Nubia (Kuśadvīpa) convinced him that "the ancient Hindus must have had some kind of communication with both the northern and southern ends of Victoria Nyaza" in Egypt. This confirmation of the Purenic statement by actual discovery turned the tide in favour of the Purāṇas for a while. But the study of inscription and coins, which was inaugurated in India about the same time, tended to minimise the value of the Purāṇas, and in some instances contradicted the tradition and proved it to be wrong. There were variations in some particulars with the Buddhist texts also. All this tended to raise suspicion and disbelief about the Purāṇas.

The early decades of the present century witnessed a critical survey of the historical material in the Purāṇas as a result of the patient and sustained researches of Pargiter. This has made a strong case in favour of the historical statements in the Purāṇas. Smith and others have shown that the *Matsya* account of the Andhras is substantially correct. It has also been found that the *Viṣṇu* version about the Mauryas and the *Vāyu* about the early Guptas merit credence. The Purāṇas are now regarded as worthy of more serious attention than they have received hitherto. I am in full agreement with the following remarks of Dr. Jayaswal in his Presidential Address at the Baroda Oriental Conference: "I may tell you of my personal conviction that the solution of race origins and of the identification of this ancient civilisation (i.e., Indus Valley Civilisation) will be found in the Purāṇas." Unfortunately no intensive study has yet been made of the Purāṇas so as to enable us to solve such riddles. It is a good sign that the Purāṇas are now accepted as one of the important sources of ancient Indian history, and occasionally one reads papers about them.

It is true that there has been no further archaeological corroboration of Puranic material as we get in the case of Manetho's list of the rulers of Egypt and of the traditions of the Bible in Western Asia. If the Purāṇas are to be believed, the Narmadā region escaped the great flood and the Narmadā valley civilisation is a pre-flood civilisation in India. Excavations have not yet brought out the greatness of Ayodhyā and Lankā, of Hastināpura and many names of early kings in Puranic lists appear as fictitious to some.

The subject of Itihāsa-Purāṇa brings us to the historical works in Sanskrit and the Hindu conception of history. As compared to the abundance of works in every branch of literature the paucity of historical works in Sanskrit is surprising, especially when there was abundance of intellect and material. The so-called historical kāvyas are more poetical works than historical documents. Despite their ostensible claim to deal with historical themes, their chief concern is with the poetic, dramatic or romantic possibilities, and consequently they are indifferent to chronology and topography, mix divine and human action, introduce magic and miracle, and have deep faith in incalculable human destiny. Several scholars have sought to account for the absence of any clear, consistent and adequate historiography by assigning different reasons. Thus it is said that the idea of composing history aiming at objective accuracy is entirely out of harmony with the spirit of Sanskrit literature and its conception of art with its emphasis on imagination and impersonalised creation. Again, the general belief in fate, and acceptance of the miraculous, magic and witchcraft explain the absence of the scientific attitude of mind. It is further held that the Indian mind was little interested in historical incident as such and in the old epics and heroic works they had excellent substitutes for history in the modern sense, as to the average Indian the epic heroes were as real as contemporary princes. Then again, truth, as shown in the *Mahābhārata* and other works, is not mere verbal accuracy of objective agreement of words with facts, but that which is beneficial for humanity, so that truth was valid so far only as it led to human good. It is further stated that the Indian mind prefers the general to the particular and is indifferent to chronology. The firm belief of Indians in the doctrine of Karma, which decreed that all men's actions were the results of actions done in previous births, is said to have prevented them from making any realistic or historical survey of the events in the past. This has been called the

Fatalistic view of history by Dr. Munk in his *History and God*. It is again asserted that the Indians did not care much for history not because they had no historical instinct, but because they cared more for the next world than for the matter-of-fact human existence. The Māyā system of Śaṅkara, according to which Brahman alone is real and the physical world and the events that take place within it, though having a kind of subjective or phenomenal reality, are really māyā, representing the Illusionistic view according to Dr. Munk, also helped to create indifference to history in the Indian mind.

Out of a number of historical kāvyas that have come down to us Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* alone can be designated to some extent as a historical work in the modern sense. It may be observed that the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as a historical composition is not limited in its scope to political history, but deals with several aspects of court life, administration, military affairs, foreign relations, scholars and poets, feudal anarchy, etc. For his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa utilised dynastic chronicles, scrutinised no less than eleven historical works by his predecessors besides the ancient *Nilamata*, and examined copper-plates, charters, inscriptions, and written texts. According to Kalhaṇa, the historian must be a poet-seer, capable of making the bygone age vivid to the eye. Free from bias and prejudice like a judge he should state the truth with impartiality. Kalhaṇa thus regarded history as a science as well as an art, and insisted that the historian has to rise above love and hatred. Stein has testified to the impartial and independent character of Kalhaṇa as a historian. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* suffers from the author's belief in the operation of supernatural factors on historical events as also in omens, portents and omnipotence of fate and is not reliable for the ancient or the semi-legendary times (from the beginning to the end of the Guṇandīya dynast); its value for the historical period (from the beginning of Kārkoṭa dynast to Kalhaṇa's own times) is admitted by all. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar correctly assesses the magnitude of Kalhaṇa's works by stating that the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India began, not with R. G. Bhandarkar or Fleet in the nineteenth century, but with Kalhaṇa in the twelfth.

Before proceeding to offer my suggestions for your consideration I have to submit with regret that no note is taken of such suggestions in the Addresses even of General Presidents and they remain only on paper. I repeat here the suggestion made so often in this Conference and in the Indian History Congress, that the work of preparing annual bibliographies of research in all branches of Indology, dealing with books and articles in journals, commemoration volumes, etc. not only in English but also in regional languages and in French and German, may be undertaken by a central body like the All-India Oriental Conference or the Indian History Congress or under the joint auspices of both. Once a decision is taken to undertake the work, details may be worked out such as the distribution of work among different centres with the establishment of a central office to check and co-ordinate the work of centres. The main thing is that the bibliography should be thorough, comprehensive, critical and accurate,—and above all, should be published without the least possible delay after the year to which it relates.

Another suggestion of a similar kind is with regard to inscriptions. It is found that important inscriptions are sometimes published in unknown

provincial journals, so that they are a sealed book to workers in the field. Efforts should therefore be made to bring out a supplement to Bhandarkar's *List*, and thereafter an annual bibliography of inscriptions should be published which would include inscriptions published anywhere. An appendix should deal with Hindu inscriptions in Greater India.

There is no comprehensive work containing a complete up-to-date list of South India Inscriptions on the lines of Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, and this is a great handicap to students of history. It is high time the Department of Epigraphy undertook this important work.

The published inscriptions form only an insignificant fraction of the thousands of inscriptions that have been copied. In the interest of historical study it is absolutely necessary that steps should be taken by the authorities concerned to publish this vast material without further delay.

A further suggestion is about the courses of History in our Universities. For the proper understanding of the several intricate problems in the history of India, particularly of the ancient period, proper knowledge of ancient Egyptian, Babylonian and Hittite civilisations as also of those of the surrounding countries and of Greater India, the Far East South-Eastern Asia, etc. is absolutely necessary. I would suggest that the Universities should incorporate texts in the History courses dealing with the history and culture of these lands. Archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics as is well known, form important sources of history, and it is but necessary that a workable knowledge of these subjects should form at least an optional group in the History course.

Some of my predecessors have placed some problems before young scholars, and I take this opportunity of mentioning a few problems in ancient Indian history in which there is scope for work. The original home of the Indo-Aryans, and of the R̥gvedic people; the date of the *R̥gveda*; the relation of the Indus Valley Civilisation and the R̥gvedic Culture; the date of the Bhārata war; Kuṣāṇa era; post-Asoka Mauryan history; original home of the Sūtavāhanas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; history of Kalinga after Mauryan conquest; history of medieval Orissa, specially the Bhaṇjas and Karas; the origin of the Rājputs; the Dravidian problem; the relation of the Indus valley people and the Dravidians; beginnings and early stages of Tamil literature and culture; starting point of the Eastern Gaṅga era; elaborate study of the medieval Hindu renaissance; influence of foreign elements on Indian culture and society; ancient symbols; stories, romances and folklore; intercourse between India and the western world; intercourse between India and Central Asia.

Finally, I refer to notable contributions to History since 1953 when we met at Ahmedabad. In the Appendix I have given a list of all publications that I could come across. For inviting my attention to their own publications and to those of others, in response to my request, I record my thanks to Professors A. S. Altekar, J. N. Banerjea, G. H. Bhatt, U. N. Ghoshal, Jagan Nath, B. C. Law, T. V. Mahalingam, Asoke Majumdar, V. V. Mirashi, L. G. Parab, P. Saran, K. A. N. Sastri, R. Sathianathaier, N. K. Sinha, D. C. Sircar, A.L. Srivastava, and H.V. Trivedi.

In general works on history, mention must first be made of the publication of Vols. VII-X of Toynbee's monumental *Study of History*. The fact

that for a bare skeleton of the conclusions of the first six volumes Mr. Somervell (whose summary was published during this period) required twenty-three pages would show the futility of attempting to summarise the last four volumes in the short space at my disposal. The first six volumes bring the study of history to the point at which civilizations begin to disintegrate, while the last four volumes describe the process of disintegration, which is marked by the birth of a universal state attempting to check the rot, and a universal church attempting to carry on the "germ of life" from one civilization to another. The barbarians beyond the pale of civilization complete the process. Prof. Toynbee's is an attempt at a systematic reduction of history to theology. *Migration of Ideas* by Gilbert Highet deals with the influence of ideas on human affairs and interprets many important events as results of the movement of fertilising and challenging thoughts from one group of nations or civilizations to another. Bertrand Russell has dealt with *History as an art* in his Hermon Ould Memorial Lecture. Maintaining that history is both an art and a science, he answers his main theme as to what history can and should do for the general reader by stating that it must be interesting, style, diction and rhythm contributing to that factor. Giving a highly suggestive and illuminating account of human attitudes towards history since the earliest times in the *Myth of the Eternal Return* Dr. Mircea Eliade holds that the dominant *motif* of all speculation concerning the meaning of history has always been the desire to escape the "terror of history" and to explain and justify the sufferings and annihilations of peoples. The three main types of explanation are said to be the archetypal, the cosmological and the eschatological.

Coming to books on India, Wheeler's *Indus Civilization*, which is an excellent summary of the evidence available in 1953 with an analysis of the chalcolithic village cultures of the Indus region, has already been referred to. *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, Vol. I, is the *magnum opus* of Rev. Fr. Heras, giving a clue to his decipherment of the Indus script, and presenting an exhaustive and admirable account of his theories on the problem. Profusely illustrated and nicely produced, this volume is a very notable contribution to this important field of research. Dr. Sankalia is carrying on his excellent work in prehistory and archaeological field work, and during the period of review, he has published *Palaeolithic Industry of the Godāvārī* and *Excavation at Nasik and Jorwe* (in collaboration with Dr. S. B. Deo). Another notable contribution is *Pleistocene Studies in the Malaprabhā Basin* by Prof. R. V. Joshi. *L'Inde classique*, Tome II by Drs. Renou and Filliozat is a worthy successor of the first volume. *The Classical Age* and *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Vols. III and IV of the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, deal respectively with the period from 320-750 A.D. and 750-1000 A.D. The volumes have been very favourably received by the press and scholars and for obvious reasons I need not dilate on their merits. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's *History of South India* surveys the history of south India as a single whole from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar. The author's mastery over the sources invests the work with authority.

Sumptuously illustrated magnificent volume of the *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard* by Dr. Altekar describes in detail the Bayana hoard which is "undoubtedly the most sensational numismatic discovery so far made in the history of Indian archaeology. The book is

valuable not only for the accurate and scientific account of the coins, but also for the learned introduction which discusses the history of the Gupta dynasty as also the coin types, the silver and copper currency of the Guptas, metrology and symbology of the coins, palaeography of the coin legends, etc. MM. Prof. Mirashi's *Kalacūri Inscriptions of the Cedi Era*, appearing as the fourth volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, is an excellent production, worthy of the author's reputation. Other outstanding works on inscriptions are *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vols. V and VI by G. Coedes and *Inscriptions of Kambuja* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

It is a good sign that Indian scholars are turning their attention to geography and ethnology. In the introduction to the *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Dr. B. C. Law takes a critical survey of the sources of geographical information, ancient divisions of India, mountains and river systems, etc. The book is divided into five sections dealing respectively with the northern, southern, eastern, western and central India. S. B. Chaudhuri's *Ethnic Settlements in ancient India* is an attempt to reconstruct the historical geography of ancient northern India on the basis of a corrected and revised list of ethnic and geographical names of the different regions of India as furnished by tradition recorded in works like the Purāṇas. Pargiter's contention that Indian tradition does not suggest any Aryan invasion of India from Afghanistan or any advance eastwards is supported by the fact that with one or two exceptions geographical lists of the north or north-west do not furnish any ancient name of that region, while midland was the home of many people of sacred memories. Concerned with a much neglected subject Sardar Panikkar's *Geographical Factors in Indian History* deals not only with the conspicuous role played by geography in shaping India's history, but also reinterprets the geopolitical doctrines of MacKinder and Haushofer,—which are shown to be inadequate in explaining the histories of China and India,—in the context of development in air transport. According to the author, the cultural unity of India, our fundamental unity, cannot be maintained without emphasis on Sanskrit, the unifying role of which cannot be played by Hindi or the regional languages. He further advises that union of northern and southern India should not be jeopardised by any imposition of northern authority on the south. In the end, Sardar Panikkar states that it is dangerous to neglect geopolitics, which has to become an essential subject of study for all interested in the future of India.

To turn to books on regional or dynastic histories, Dr. S. K. Chatterji's Banikanta Kakati Memorial Lectures delve into the intermixed culture and history of the little-known state of Assam in the book entitled *Place of Assam in the History and Civilisation of India*. The revised edition of Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's *Colas* is as useful and indispensable as the first. *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Parts I and II, by Shri K. M. Munshi is more an independent work than a mere second edition of the *Imperial Gurjaras*. Written against the wider background of the history of India as a whole and rightly emphasising the interconnection between the regional and national cultures, the book is, in essence, a reflection of the truly imperial glory that was India. Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya's *Sakas in India* discusses the history of the Śaka rulers of Taxila, Mathurā and Western India. Representing substantially the doctoral dissertation Dr. B. P. Sinha's *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha* is the history of the important region based on a first-hand study of relevant inscriptions, coins, and literary and other sources.

Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations by Dr. V. P. Verma deals with Hindu political thought from the Vedic times to the days of Manu, and considers such topics as kingship in the Vedas, the caste-system, the importance of Karma theory and metaphysics in Hindu polity. Based upon an exhaustive study of the original sources comprising archaeology, indigenous (Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and Kannada) literature, notices of foreign (Greek, Chinese, and Arab) writers, and modern works, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam's *South Indian Polity* is the first critical and comprehensive account of the political institutions of the Hindu States to the south of the Vindhya from the earliest time to the fall of Vijayanagar.

It is impossible to make even a passing reference to the innumerable articles turned out by literally hundreds of journals. To these may be added the Commemoration Volumes, Silver Jubilee Volumes, and other occasional and special publications. This frighteningly vast material proves the urgent necessity of having bibliographies prepared by authoritative bodies. In connection with articles, I may make a special reference to the several research papers dealing with historical and cultural subjects by Dr. P. K. Gode published in three volumes of *Studies in Indian Literary History*; the third volume is expected within a fortnight.

APPENDIX

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ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

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PERSONALITY OF INDIA

A study in the development of material culture of India and
Pakistan

The presidentship of the Archaeology section at the All-India Oriental conference is indeed a great honour for which I am extremely grateful to this august body of Orientalists. I can claim only to be a comparative beginner in this field and hence I can do no better than follow the footsteps of my learned predecessors—Dr. Sankalia (1951), my teacher, and Shri A. Ghosh (1933), the enterprising Director General of Archaeology in India. I propose to talk to-day about the fascinating story of India from the point of view of an archaeologist.

I

It is a very familiar experience of all of us that Indian history cannot be treated as a single unit at any period for any considerable duration. The obvious reason is the magnitude of the sub-continent. The maxim of unity in diversity has rather become stale. The whole history of India, in a sense, can be defined as the conflict between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces engendered by geography. The former have always tried to strengthen the fundamental unity based on a common cultural and social heritage linked by a transcontinental communication system. These have been facilitated by certain technological traditions common to the whole country. The centrifugal forces on the other hand, are manifestations of the more vital geographic factors and have counteracted the forces of unification on account of their strong foci based on the perennial nuclear regions in terms of human geography.

These difficulties of the historian are gradually confronting the archaeologist. We have just now passed a very important decade in the history of Indian archaeology. The policy of co-ordinated research inaugurated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler is yielding its results. The activities of the growing number of University departments of Archaeology and of the Government Departments have revealed to us the faint outlines of the development of material

culture in different parts of the country and we are in the happy position of being able to link up this development in space time, though tentatively.

But this brings out certain basic features or anomalies of India's cultural history. The most striking one is the diversity in the cultural stages in different parts of the country. On the one hand we have the highly developed urban civilization comparable in stature and time to those of Western Asia, while on the other we have the survival of the primitive stone age communities right into the Early Historic period, and indeed into our times, if we take the economic life of some of the tribes in the forested mountains of the sub-continent. This differential development can to a great extent be explained by the ecology and geography of the various cultural regions in India. The chief river basins of the country, Indus, Ganges, Narmada, Tapti, Godavari, Krishna and Kaveri were in turn exploited by large-scale agricultural communities driving the older and the more static people in a more primitive economy into the forested mountains where they survive to-day. In between these two types which may be called, areas of attraction or unclear regions and areas of isolation or *cul de sacs* respectively there are certain areas which, on account of their location away from the main trans-continental communications, show a slightly different pattern of development with evidence of stagnation. These may be called areas of relative isolation. It is not possible to go into the details of these regions, but the best analysis of Indian geographic regions is that of Prof. O. H. K. Spate in his work "*India and Pakistan*".

Accepting this fundamental concept of areas of Attraction, Relative isolation and Isolation, the whole pattern of development of material culture in India can be defined as the horizontal expansion of the higher cultures, leading to a displacement, contraction and isolation of the lower cultures in different parts of the country, at different periods, and at different cultural levels. Naturally this cultural development in space and time was closely controlled by the geographical features of the individual regions and the relative effectiveness of barriers—physical and human. This interaction has given rise to very interesting pattern which can be seen in the fundamental unity of the country with a diversity. This is due to the difference in the cultural milieu of the first large-scale agricultural communities in each of the focal regions. Hence it is difficult to draw lines of contemporaneity across the lines of vertical development since the horizontal expansion has been controlled and retarded by the geographic features. This phenomenon can be very well understood by the analogy of the spread and development of Vedic Hinduism and Sanskrit language in different periods, influencing and absorbing the regional and local forms and manifestations.

The recognition of this basic truth will enable us to understand and correlate the development of material culture in India in time and space. Besides this should be a useful guide for our further explorations and excavations. Now I propose to carry out

a rapid survey of the main culture sequence in all the main regions of India. Fortunately nearly forty excavations carried out in different parts of the country within the last decade and a mass of ethnographic data about the tribes will help clarify our picture.

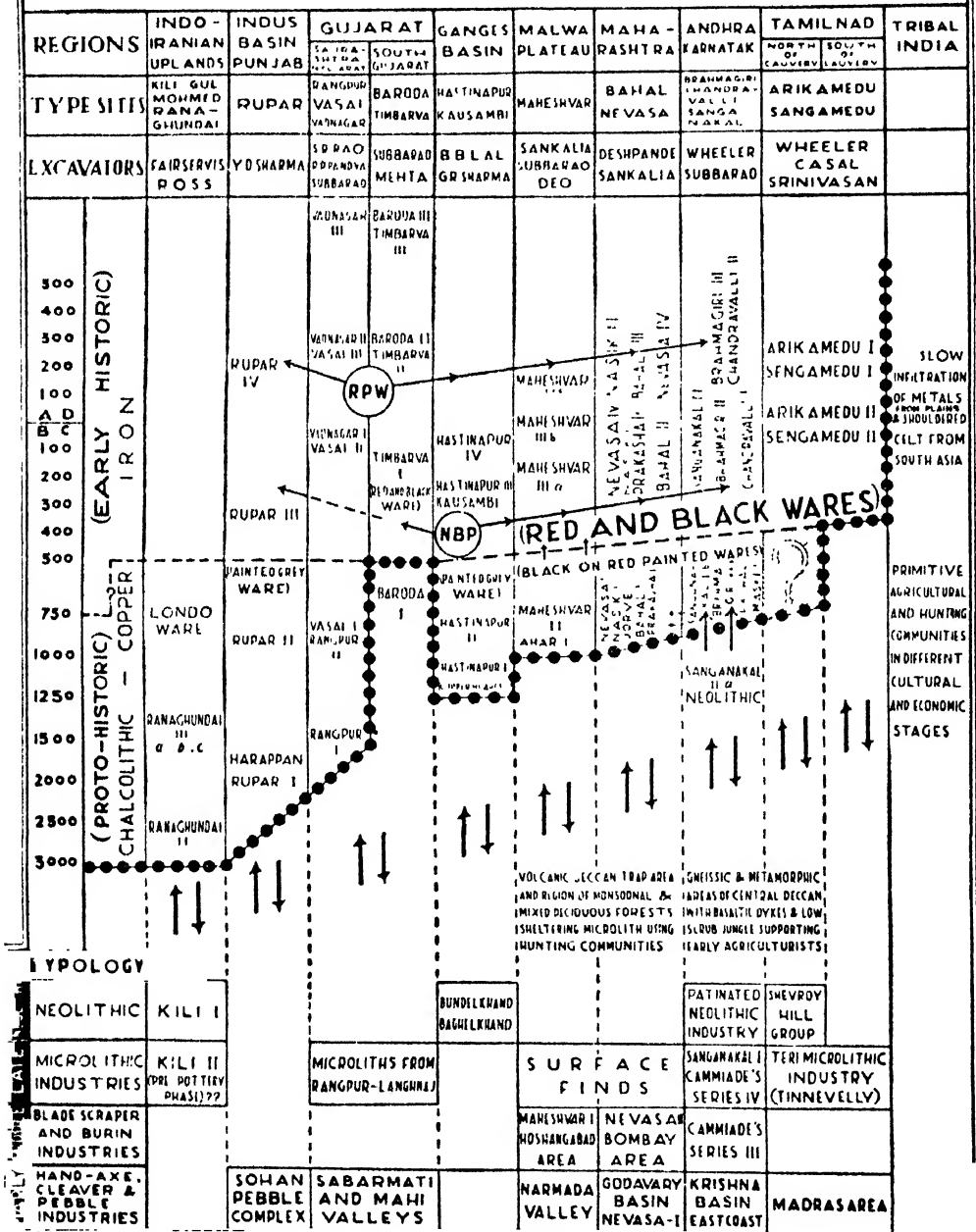
In the accompanying chart, I have discussed the total correlation of sequence of cultures in different parts of the country by linking up a few stratigraphic columns from selected excavations. As an archaeologist, I do not hesitate to use pottery which is most ubiquitous at all our sites. Pottery does not by itself constitute a culture, but for purposes of cross dating it does fill most of our requirements. It is short-lived, normally present in great quantity, usually well preserved once it has been broken, distinctive with regard to locality and period and an inherently complex criterion, in that it is subject to infinite variation in technique, form, and style of decoration. Pottery is thus a valuable index criterion, as it reflects the various aesthetic and technological traditions of the people. We must use the most profuse material available.

As regards chronology, it is in an absolutely fluid stage and requires constant revision from time to time, as fresh work proceeds. Just at present our contacts with our neighbours in Western Asia provide some valuable links in the form of associated finds to fix up a few terminal dates to start with—e.g., the chronology of the Indus Valley Civilization. The more recent boon of the scientist to the archaeologist is the discovery of the rate of disintegration of radio-active elements of Carbon (Carbon with an atomic weight of 14) present in small quantities in all our antiquities. A few dates taken by the French Archaeological delegation at Mundigak in Afghanistan and of Dr. Fair-servis at Kile Gul Mohammed in Baluchistan roughly support the dates already suggested for the Indus Valley Civilization.

Similarly, for our Early historic period, the most important evidence is provided by the origin and spread in time and space of what is popularly called the Northern Black polished ware (N.B.P.) which originated in the Gangetic valley sometime in the 6th century B.C. For the early centuries of the Christian era, the great commercial trade with the Mediterranean region resulted in the successful copying of the Roman ceramic techniques indicated by what I have called the Red Polished Ware. Its technological superiority over the indigenous wares, its luxurious character indicated by the limited quantities at any site, the invariable circumstantial association of Greco-Roman antiquities and the large number of Indian forms in this ware force on us this compromise of a local manufacture on a foreign technique. We have nearly 50 sites in Gujarat and its spread in time and space has been studied by me in detail. Thus with few diagnostic traits it is possible to work out the development of material culture in space and time.

DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL CULTURE IN INDIA

A TENTATIVE CORRELATION IN TIME AND SPACE
BASED ON MINIMAL TERMINAL DATES



The picture described above reminds me of a crossword puzzle on the point of completion with so many interlocks and probable alternative solutions. But it has the one merit of narrowing down the issues and locating the weak spots in our evidence. In the development of any studies, we normally pass through three stages. In the early stages of bringing some order into a chaos, we start with a bold working hypothesis. The second stage begins with the application of this key solution. In the initial phase, this results in a very apparent simplification and easy generalizations. In Indian archaeology we are at this stage, and I must confess that my account is at best an attempt at correlating the sequence of cultures of the whole sub-continent in time and space within the framework of a very tentative chronology. We will be inaugurating the third and the final stage when we follow this tentative scheme with a more critical examination based on much more evidence and intensive field-work. More complications are bound to arise, and we can face them given patience, skill and resources.

The pattern of development of material culture in India described above is fundamentally based on the geographic features of the country depending on factors like attraction, aridity, relative isolation and isolation. We are all familiar with the physiographic divisions of the Indian sub-continent viz., the Mountain belt, Indo-Gangetic plains and, Peninsular India which is capped by the Indo-Gangetic crescent. The archaeological picture that emerges closely follows the pattern laid down by Indian Geography. The whole Indus basin bounded by the Aravallis in the east comes first under the impact of the great civilization of Western Asia, but the local environment and the strong influence of a large river basin, give it a distinctive character of its own. Almost at the declining stages of this urban civilization, an infiltration of vigorous new elements lead to a great expansion into the next major area i.e., Gangetic basin. While these great valleys were being cleared and probably drained of their marshes, the upland region of Peninsular India too gets a new impact. We find the Malwa plateau emerging as a great corridor for the vigorous colonization of the Deccan plateau by metal using communities. With their extended contacts with Kathiawad and rapid spread into south, more or less the present ethnic pattern emerges. Even according to the literary tradition, the Aryanization of Peninsular India was not based on mass movements of people, but infiltration of small Brahmin and other religious communities and fugitives, followed by expanding political forces. But by about the 4th century B.C., the whole country begins to display a degree of homogeneity coupled with a pleasant diversity. The even distribution of perennial nuclear regions, knit together by a trans-continental communication system had facilitated this process.

This account, based on geography and archaeology, is not belied by literature. I do not share the prejudices of some of our Western colleagues about the use of literary data in archaeology. These are questions of manner, and not of matter; of interpretation, and not

of facts. The major drawback of our literary sources is their imperfect chronology and constant interpolation.¹ But some of the evidence may be used with caution. How else can one explain the beautiful and expanding vista of geographic horizons of literary works arranged in a chronological order on linguistic and other evidence by Maxmuller, Macdonnell, etc. Radhakumud Mookerji² has beautifully condensed the geographic data from Rigvedic, Later Vedic and Post-Vedic literature. The focus of the Rigvedic age was the upper Indus Basin, particularly the eastern fringes of it, called Brahnavarta or the Indo-Gangetic Divide (Valleys of Sarasvati and Drishadvati). In the Later Vedic the west recedes into the background and regions of the Central Gangetic valley like Kosala, Videha, Anga, Magadha come into prominence. The tribes on the fringes of Vindhya like Andhra, Pulinda, Mutiba, Sabra, Nishada come for mention. In the Post-Vedic Sutra and Dharma-sastra literature (dated by Macdonnell between 800 and 300 B.C.), kingdoms south of Vindhya like Berar, Kalinga begin to be mentioned by authors like Panini. In the early Buddhist literature some of the kingdoms in Northern and Central Deccan appear. By the 4th century B.C., our evidence becomes abundant and varied: Megasthenes, Arthashastra, and the indisputable contemporary sermons on stone of Emperor Asoka.

In view of what we have stated above there is no need to re-emphasize the value of the communication system of the country. It is the development of the trans-continental highways or trunk roads, that forged the bonds of unity between the various regions and strengthened the centripetal forces by enabling free movement of peoples, goods, and ideas. We have seen already enough archaeological evidence of these movements. But, our literary history is a distinct contribution of the Aryans, who created or inspired the whole mass of Indian literature. As they slowly moved (influencing and being influenced by the Pre-Aryan elements), Indian literary history is the story of their geographic knowledge and ignorance of the country. But by about the Buddhist Period, they completely knew about the whole of India, north of Vindhya and a few regions to the south of it. But very soon, probably due to strong political and economic pressure, communications were firmly established. The best evidence is provided by the early Buddhist literature. On the one hand we read of Jivaka, the physician of Bimbisara, who studied at Taxila, while we have the classical passage giving us the story of Bavarin and his pupils staying on the Godavary at Paithon³ (Pratisthana). There is a fine description of all the towns on the route from Paithon to Vaisali. By the time we come to the Mouryan

1. The best example is the much-quoted *Mahabharata* itself. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the distinguished scholar, says of the above text: "...the *Mahabharata*, which started as a series of ballads recounting the *jaya* or triumphs of the Pandavas gradually became elaborated into a great epic in Sanskrit by about 500 B.C. and went on expanding by the addition of all sorts of new materials for the greater part of a millenium, until it attained by 400 A.D., as is generally surmised, to something like its present huge dimensions as a vast poem of 100,000 verses or 200,000 lines." CHATTERJI, S. K., *The Place of Assam in the History of Civilization of India*, Gauhati, 1955. p. 14.
2. MOOKERJI, RADHAKUMUD. *Hindu Civilization*, p. 68.
3. Alakassa Patitthanam purimam Mahissatim tada /
Ujjenin chapi Gonaddham Vedisam Vanasahayam ||

period, Asokan inscriptions are our best guide, due to their location on the highways (Fig). The story of the third Buddhist Council is too well known. •

Prehistory is the most undeveloped of all the branches of Indian archaeology. Except in two or three areas, our evidence predominantly rests on typology and unless we can establish a stratigraphic basis for this succession, we will not carry forward the bounds of our knowledge. But from the large amount of surface collections a sufficiently plausible scheme of things is emerging, but it remains to be verified and demonstrated. The best, but tentative picture, partly based on typology and stratigraphy, is provided by Cammiade and Burkitt for S.E. India' and Todd' for Western' India and Dr. Sankalia's recent finds from the Pravara basin. We see three distinct groups of Prehistoric stone industries: (1) The hand-axe, cleaver and pebble industries mostly of quartzite (Series I and II of Cammiade and the Sohan complex): (2) Blade, scraper and buri industries, generally of fine grained crypto crystalline varieties of quartz and finally, (3) Geometric and Non-Geometric microlithic industries. These have been now described as Early, Middle and Late Stone Ages respectively. If we follow the well-known principle of proceeding from the known to the unknown, we are well within sight of the latest phase of the Stone Age in India in some of the main nuclear regions, leaving aside the areas where they have managed to survive for a longer period. Depending on physical environment and nature of raw materials, we find before the introduction of metals, either communities in a more or less hunting economy with predominant use of microliths or Neolithic communities practising primitive agriculture and stock-raising characterized by the use of polished stone axes of trappean rocks like diorite, basalt, dolerite, etc., and pottery. We have a concentrated and contiguous block of the former type in the volcanic area of Central and Western India and again in the southern India south of Cauvery. Outside these blocks and in the alluvial plains of the two major rivers, Ganges and Indus, we have the well-known distribution of polished stone axes.

Very significantly, these two areas show difference in vegetation. The polished axes are confined to the upland mixed deciduous and scrub jungle type along the flanks of the hilly country. One can easily understand the aversion of these early agriculturists to large semi-tropical river valleys and consequent swamps and the

*Kosambim chapai Sakstom Savatthincha purittamam /
Setavyam Kapilavattum Kasinarancha mandiram //* 37

*Pavancha Bhoginagaram Vesalim Magadhampuram /
Pasanakan cetiyam ca ramaniyam manoramam //* 38

Sutta Nipata, V. i. 36—38.

1. CAMMIADE, L. and BURKITT, M.C. "Fresh light on the Stone Ages of South India" *Antiquitr.* 1930.
3. TODD, K. R. V. "Palaeolithic Industries of Bombay" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXIX, 1939.

heavily wooded monsoonal and deciduous forests with more than 50 inches rainfall, as in Western India, till they could clear the swamps and jungles with heavy metal tools.

In Central Deccan (Districts of Bellary, Raichur, and Mysore), this Neolithic Culture has been studied in greater detail and linked with the later cultures by stratigraphic evidence. Here we see the preference for hilly terrain with their settlements overlooking is still vague. Into this area, we see the clear infiltration of certain South East Asian influences, so well demonstrated by Mr. Dani.¹ Our great desideratum seems to be a fresh field study of this important area, so that we can ascertain the true origin of the Indian Neolithic Culture.

When the rest of India, east of the Aravallis, was in the Stone Age, the Indus basin saw the first emergence of urban civilization. At the closing stages of this great culture, we see the clear advent of widespread copper-using communities in the Gangetic basin.

The next phase is characterized by the definite establishment of the first towns and villages in the valleys of Ganges and Jumna by the Grey ware people from the West. We do not know either their exact relations with the Indus cultures, or within the earlier Neolithic communities of the Gangetic basin. This rapid movement probably set in motion a series of further migrations simultaneously in the hitherto static peninsular India. We have already traced the movements of these Protohistoric people carrying copper and bronze from the valleys of Chambal and Narmada in Malwa, Tapti, Godavary in Maharashtra and Krishna and Tungabhadra in the Andhra-Karnatak area. But there seem to be slight variations between the different regions, but there is no doubt that they all belong to a single culture complex and the local groups may be described as 'splinter groups'. The homogeneity is indicated by ceramic patterns and shapes and the Black-on-Red painted tradition and the specialized Blade technique. Finally it may be noted that inspite of certain contacts and associated finds, the Kathiawad peninsula carries more Harappan traits than the Peninsular Chalcolithic complex. Hence some of these points can only be clarified by further intensive work.

Iron was introduced very rapidly following this. By about the 4th century B.C., the whole Peninsula displays a remarkable homogeneity of material culture, inspite of the diversity of their intriguing burial systems. The very rapid spread and colonization of the chief river valleys by these metal-using communities lead to the displacement, contraction, and concentration of the primitive people who lead a life of hunting in Eastern and Southern India.

Another very important, but as yet unknown, factor seems to be the relative effects of terrestrial and maritime influences on Indian archaeology. Inspite of the vague references in literature, Indian

1. I am very much obliged to Dr. A. H. Dani for showing me his unpublished thesis submitted to the London University.

and foreign, at the present stage of our knowledge, we have no material evidence of maritime trade and other contacts till we come to the early centuries of the Christian era. But a great era of maritime activity was inaugurated by the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus at about the beginning of the Christian era. This tremendously accentuated the quantity of trade, possible by small scale coastal movements within the territorial waters. The Parthian Empire and its interruption of Chinese trade, as a result of hostilities with Rome, also seems to have been responsible for the quantity of commercial and cultural contacts between the Roman Empire and India, remarkably shown by Sir Mortimer Wheeler.¹

Naturally this process of development of material culture in space and time was controlled by the geographic factors. Hence, I may repeat, it is difficult to draw lines of contemporaneity across the vertical lines of development of material culture, since its horizontal expansion has been influenced and to some extent retarded by the geographic factors within and without the country. This difference in the cultural milieu of the first large-scale agricultural communities in different parts of the country seems to be the most important reason for the regional diversity. Due to the other vital historical forces, "these separate limbs of the body politic" have lent varying shades to the great mosaic of Indian culture.

Some of the main lacunae have been pointed out. In these days of planning, a well-coordinated plan of exploration and excavation will certainly complete the outlines of vertical sequence. Then we can indulge in large-scale work depending on resources—personnel and facilities. Some of the important problems may be stated:—

- (1) Stratigraphic evidence for our Prehistoric culture sequence and search for cave sites.
- (2) Establishing the links between the Harappan and the Grey ware and the succeeding cultures (upper Indus.)
- (3) Establishment of sequence in Kathiawad. On the North West coast in particular, the sites are very promising and coordinated work under closely observed conditions can fill up the total gap.
- (4) Extension of the Hastinapur evidence for linking up the copper hoard and the earlier Neolithic cultures of Bundelkhand Baghelkhand.
- (5) The problem of Red-and-Black wares and the Megaliths in Northern India. Particularly, it is very important to establish the relative chronological position of Grey ware and the Red-and-Black wares.
- (6) Exploration of focal areas like Krishna Godavari delta and Kavery basin, Kerala, Assam, Lower Bengal.

1. WHEELER, R. E. *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, 1954.

When we clear up our house and know what we have, we can confidently tackle the problem of external parallels outside India. Let us once again proceed from the known to the unknown.

Finally, a word of caution and an appeal may not be superfluous. In the picture depicted above, one could vaguely see the shadows of men and women, who were the prime agencies in making and transporting the few. Indestructible elements of their material life, with which the archaeologist and the historian reconstruct the past. It is very tempting to identify the authors from their shadows. But with the material at the disposal of the archaeologist in India today, he cannot designate them. Guesses at truth may be made, but the certainties call forth greater patience. The situation is certainly ripe for an attempt at reconciling the literary (particularly geographical) and archaeological data, since the approximate chronological horizons, in between which we have to sandwich our literary and traditional material, are becoming clearer in the wider perspective of Eurasia. The first sure but faltering steps have been attempted.¹ But I would end with an appeal for a little more patience, till the names of some of our legendary kings enshrined in our literature, appear from under the earth, as A-anni-padda, son of Mes-anni-padda of the first Dynasty of UR enlivened the whole Mesopotamian tradition and archaeology with the discovery of his temple. Ten years ago alluding to the classic work of Sir Cyril Fox², Sir Mortimer very significantly asked, "Where is the Personality of India?"³ Here is its first glimpse, and given a chance, Archaeology can reconstruct it.

1. LAL, B.B., op.cit. *Ancient India* 10 and 11

2. FOX, CYRIL, *Personality of Britain*, London, 1932

3. WHEELER, R. E. M. "Archaeological Planning for India" *Ancient India* No. 2 1946

INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

SHRI M. A. MEHENDALE

SOME REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE ORIGINAL BUDDHIST CANON

At the very outset let me express my gratitude to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental conference for having elected me to preside over the Indian Linguistics Section of this year. It is a great honour no doubt, but I do feel that it would have been better if my election had waited for some more years. With my limited knowledge and experience I feel some embarrassment in executing the duties of this office which was in previous years held by great dignitaries whose names are too well-known to Indologists. Perhaps in electing me as sectional President, the Executive Committee has sought to honour my *Purvācāryas* through me. Any way it is with this feeling that I shall proceed with the work and discharge my duties as best as I can.

But before I proceed I have a sad thing to do. It is with a heavy heart that I refer to the sad demise of Prof. Jules Bloch who passed away soon after the previous session of the Conference held at Ahmedabad. In his death India has lost a good friend and a great scholar. He not only himself contributed a number of valuable articles and volumes on Indo-Aryan and Dravidian Linguistics, but also trained many a young scholar from this country to do important research in this field.

In such Presidential Addresses it is customary to review the work done in the field during the last two years. As this was not done at the previous session I am extending the period of review roughly to four years. With the limitations on time I cannot do any more than just refer to some of the important publications, linking these up wherever necessary with the previous work done in those particular branches. I earnestly beg to be excused for any omission and request the scholars to bring up these to my notice. (I have to point out that while preparing the review I had to omit reference to articles published in Research Journals and Commemoration Volumes as that would have taken me too far).

Let me start with OIA. With regard to the works of a grammatical nature mention must be made of the second part of the second Volume of Debrunner-Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik* (1954) dealing with the nominal suffixes. The fact that the volume covers about a thousand pages in the treatment of a subject to which about sixty pages are devoted in Whitney's Grammar will suffice to show the comprehensive nature of this book. Another work is L. Renou's *Grammaire de la Langue Védique* (1952) describing the stage of Sanskrit as represented in the *Saṃhitās*. One would realise the importance of this work when one remembers Renou's noted contributions in the Vedic and the

grammatical fields. Mention may also be made of the fact that Renou has now completed his translation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in three volumes, the last of which appeared in 1954. T. Burrow's * *Sanskrit Language* (1955) deals with the subject matter from the historical point of view and takes into account also the evidence of Hittite. J. Gonda has published certain important monographs like *Remarques sur la Place du Verbe dans la Phrase Active et Moyenne en Langue Sanscrite* (1952), *Ancient Sanskrit ojas, Latin augos, and the Indo-European Nouns in-es/-os* (1952), and *Reflections on the Numerals "one" and "two" in Ancient Indo-European Languages* (1953).

In the wake of Siddheshwar Varma's work on *Phonetic observations of Indian Grammarians* we have now a very good appreciation of ancient *Prāṭisākhya* and *Śikṣā* texts in W. S. Allen's *Phonetics in Ancient India* (1953). M. B. Emeneau's *Sanskrit Sandhi and Exercises* (1952) is a good book for the use of descriptive linguists. Siddheshwar Varma's book on the *Etymologies of Yāska* (1953) is refreshing study discussing which of the etymologies of Yāska may be considered acceptable and which not. Among the works of the type of Dictionaries reference may be made to Surya Kanta's *A Grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic)* (1953) with an Index to Wackernagel's first volume of *Altindische Grammatik* and first 82 pages of Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*. The fifth part of the *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (1955, started in 1953) by M. Mayrhofer, and 9th part of *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1955, started in 1954) by J. Pokorny have recently arrived. J. Gonda in his *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (1952) ably discusses the history of Sanskrit vocables in the Indonesian languages.

Equally important works have appeared in the field of MIA. H. Lueders' *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* (1954) has been edited from the Nachlass by E. Waldschmidt. Lueders had already given expression to his view that he believed in an original canon composed in an eastern dialect from which the Pāli and the Sanskrit versions were translated. This book gives the evidence which led Lueders to this belief and his observations on the nature of the eastern language. In this respect F. Edgerton holds the opposite view—that we cannot speak of an original canon—which he has expressed in the Introduction to his excellent account of the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary* (1953). A summary of the Grammar and an account of the BHS literature can also be found in Edgerton's *Lectures on Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* published by the Banaras Hindu University (1954). J. Bloch's book *Les Inscriptions D'Asoka* (1950) is a very valuable publication since E. Hultzsch published his work in 1925 and it testifies to the author's grasp on the Indo-Aryan field. The new book includes all the finds except the recently discovered versions of the minor rock edict at Rajula-Nandagiri in the Andhra and Gujara in the Vindhya Pradesh.*

The very extensive field of MIA has been ably covered by S. K. Chatterji in his *Wilson Philological Lectures* delivered at the Bombay University (1954), the publication of which will be eagerly awaited. M. Mayrhofer's *Handbuch des Pāli* (1951) is primarily intended for the Indo-

* Since the Address was read out, the discovery of a version of the ninth rock-edict of Asoka, near Bombay, has been announced by N. A. Gore in "Times of India" dated 4th January, 1956.

Germanist who wishes to know the nature of a MIA language. Sukumar Sen's *Comparative Grammar of MIA* (1951) is now followed up by his *Historical Syntax of MIA* (1953). No other book on MIA syntax has been written since José Canedo wrote *Zur Wort-und Satzstellung in der alt-und mittellindischen Prosa* (1937). G. Davane's Ph.D., dissertation, completed under the guidance of S. M. Katre, on *Nominal Composition in MIA* has now been published by the Deccan College Research Institute (February 1956). In this field also no work appeared since W. Ghabowska wrote on the nominal composition in the Aśokan inscription (Ro 1927). Very interesting are also a couple of articles by De Vreese on Apabhraṃśa studies in *JAOS* 74.1-5; 142-146. Fresh material for the study of Apabhraṃśa is made available by the edition of Paumacariu of Svayambhū by H.C. Bhayani (1953). P.B. Pandit's three lectures in Hindi on *Prākṛta Bhāṣā* delivered at Banaras Hindu University were published last year (1954).

Scholars are not lagging behind in the NIA field. A book on general Phonetics written with special application to Marāṭhī is *Dhvaniricāra* (1955) by N. G. Kalelkar. It is a good example showing how a subject can be made easy when suitable examples are drawn from the language of those for whom the book is intended. *Phonetic and Phonological Study of the Word in Urdu* by Masud Husain appeared this year (1955). Similar work on Bhojapuri by B. N. Prasad and on Aspiration in Oriya by G. B. Dhall are awaiting publication. Though not in a book form I may mention here articles in Hindi on general phonetics like 'Varṇa-mīmāṃsā' and 'Varṇa-uccāraṇa' by Siddheswar Varma published in the *Kalpanā* of Hyderabad.

On Hindi and its varieties some important books have appeared. I may mention here Dharendra Varma's work on *Vraja-bhāṣā* (1954), Baburam Saksena's lectures on *Dakṣhiṇī Hindi* (1952), and U. N. Tiwari's work on *Bhojapuri Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* (1954), and *Hindi Bhāṣā kī Udgama aur Vikāsa* (1955).

A. K. Priyolkar may be congratulated for having brought to light (1954) the hitherto unknown first Marāṭhī Grammar written in Marāṭhī by Marāṭhī scholars. It was composed in about 1824 by Kramavant, Phadake and Ghagawe Shastris. An account of the Gujarātī translation of this work by the same Shastris serving as the first Gujarātī Grammar is given by K. B. Vyas in the *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society* 17.287-299, 1955. Priyolkar has also given us last year an English rendering of the Portuguese *Grammatica Marasta*, a book written by a missionary and first published in Rome in 1778 describing the dialect spoken round about Bombay. *Linguistic Peculiarities of Jñāneśvarī* was published by M. G. Panse (1953) on the basis of a manuscript which in the opinion of the author is the oldest so far traced (A.D. 1350). A work written in old Gujarātī or old western Rājasthānī viz. *Kāṇhaḍade Prabandha* has been critically edited by K. B. Vyas (1955).

As regards books written in Indian languages on certain aspects of linguistics, I may mention *Arthavijñāna* (1951) in Hindi by Baburam Saksena, *Śabda ane Artha* (1955) in Gujarātī by Bhogilal Sandesara, *Śabda-Udgama va Vikāsa* (1953) in Marāṭhī by K. P. Kulkarni, *Arthavijñāna āṇī Marāṭhī Bhāṣā* in Marāṭhī by S. G. Tulpule and Usha Potdar (Ghate) (in the *Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā*, 1953), *Gujarātī par Arabī Phārasinī Asar* (1954) in Gujarātī by C. R. Naik, and *Vāgyāpāra* (1955) in Gujarātī by H. C. Bhayani. Though not in an Indian language I may mention here also *Lectures in Linguistics* by O. L. C. Aguilar (1954).

In the field of Dravidian Linguistics I may refer to R. G. Harshe's authorised English translation (1954) of *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages* by J. Bloch which very clearly brings out the chief characteristics of this group of languages. N. Lahovary's *Substrat Linguistique Méditerranéen, Basque et Dravidien* brings out the affinities between these two families of languages and seeks to establish that Dravidian was originally a speech of the big mediterranean family of languages. With regard to the studies of the individual languages I may mention R. P. Sethu Pillai's *Words and their Significance: A study in Tamil Linguistics* (1952). C. R. Sankaran's *Some Problems in Kannada Linguistics* (1954), and A. C. Sekhar's *Evolution of Malayalam* (1953). Murray Fowler's phonemic analysis of the Sanskritized literary Tamil spoken in Madras is presented in the article 'The Segmental Phonemes of Sanskritized Tamil', *Language*, 30.360-367 (1954). T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya in their book on *Parji Language* (1953) establish that it is an independent language and not a dialect of Gondi. Of great interest is the English version of 17th century Dutch Grammar of Tamil by J. A. B. van Buitenen and P. C. Ganeshsundaram in the *Bull. DCRI*, Vol. 14. 168-182 (1952). The Jules Bloch Memorial Volume as well as the Chatterji Jubilee Volume of *Indian Linguistics* (Vol. 14, 1954 and Vol. 16, 1955) contain many important articles on Dravidian linguistics. I may also mention here the article on Dravidian kinship terms by M. B. Emeneau in *Language* 29.339-353 (1953). A. D. Taskar was recently awarded Ph. D. by the Poona University for his work on 'Intonational Patterns in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian' which he completed under the guidance of C. R. Sankaran. A new approach to the typology of phoneme and morpheme distributions as well as a semanto-phonetic study of Dravidian morphemes is being carried on by P. C. Ganeshsundaram under the guidance of C. R. Sankaran. Chaitanya Deva's work on *The Tonal Structure of Tambura*, which he completed under the guidance of C. R. Sankaran, awaits publication.

C. R. Sankaran takes his departure from the usual and time-honoured approaches towards the problem of speech-structure by considering the 'between' (which 'non-temporal-wedge' he calls alpha-phoneme) in any consonant vowel configuration as the starting point of his investigations. This departure from the conventional outlook in Phonetics at all levels has led him to a unification of different levels of experience like the articulatory (or auditory—i.e. neuro-physiological) and the physical (the acoustical). Such a study of the 'inter-phenomenon' (or 'the between') to which he was led by consideration of such phenomena as marginal speech-sounds, glides, or more particularly the so-called *āyṭam* in old Tamil which has served as a pointer in all his investigations, has taken C. R. Sankaran far beyond to abstract and symbolic levels of thinking as reflected in many of his latest writings published in the Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute which includes his Presidential Address at the last session. I may add that a paper of C. R. Sankaran and his collaborators on 'Structure in Speech—The Physical Reality of the Phoneme' is awaiting publication in the Sonderheft of the *Fernmelde-technische Zeitschrift* of Bonn.

II

I shall now turn to say some words on a problem which I think is of some importance to the study of MIA languages. I had originally planned to give a critical review together of Lueders' *Beobachtungen*

über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons and Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, to both of which I have already referred. This has, however, not been possible. My review of the first part of Lueders' *Beobachtungen* has been already published in the 17th Volume of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* (1955) pp. 53-75. I therefore planned to give a review of the second part of Lueders' book as the main theme of my talk today. Considerations of time again have compelled me to restrict myself only to a few points.

In the *Zweites Hauptstück* of this book are included Lueders' views regarding the phonological and morphological peculiarities of the eastern language of the original Buddhist canon. About the former, we get a detailed discussion of such phenomena as the softening of surds, loss of intervocal consonants, and the treatment of the consonant clusters. About morphology, however, what has survived is only the late Professor's remarks on the flexion of the nominal stems in *-a*.

In order to assess the phonological peculiarities of the original canon, Lueders starts from what he considers to be the eastern characteristics of the Aśokan inscriptions, and if he finds that these same also occur in some instances in Pāli, he regards them as borrowings from the east. For the solution of this problem, then, it is of importance to examine the Aśoka data very critically and come to certain conclusions as to what may be called eastern and what non-eastern in the Aśokan inscriptions.

Lueders regards softening of the voiceless stops as an eastern characteristic and for this he gives instances of the change of $k > g$, $t > d$, $kkh > ggh$, and tt or $tth > dd$ or ddh . For the change of $k > g$ he cites (§ 87) the following from the Aśokan evidence:—Sk. *loka* $>$ *loga* (cf. *hidaloga*, *palaloga*) in the Jaugada separate edict and Sk. *adhikṛtya* $>$ *adhigicya* in the Calcutta-Bairāt inscription.

Now in a paper published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 1. 240-244 (1951-52) I have shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada show certain peculiarities which are never to be found in the versions of the major rock edicts at these two places. Further, as these peculiarities are found in the other non-eastern regions, it is legitimate to conclude that these peculiarities of the separate edicts are not to be considered as eastern but to be due to non eastern influence. Among these comes the softening of the voiceless stops. The instance *loka* : *loga* cited from the separate edict, therefore, cannot be brought forward to establish that softening was an eastern feature. The case would have been certainly otherwise if such an instance were available also from the versions of the major rock at Dhauli and Jaugada.

As regards *adhigicya* it may be pointed out that the find-spot of the Calcutta-Bairāt inscription is the head-quarters of a *tabasil* in the Jaipur State, and an instance of voicing from this inscription, unless corroborated by other evidence, can hardly be considered as showing that particular feature as an eastern characteristic.

About the change $t > d$, Lueders cites (§ 94) Sk. *hita* $>$ *hida* in the Kālsī, Shāh., and Māns. versions but *hita* in the Dhauli version. Now it is difficult to know why Lueders regards this as an eastern peculiarity when the words noted above show that the change of $t > d$ is witnessed in the northern and north-western versions, but not in the eastern ones.

Another instance, Sk. *toṣa* > *doṣa* appearing also in a northern version (Kāśī VI), we may set aside as Lueders takes it to be a 'Schreibfehler'. But we can certainly take into account the Mānsehrā form *yadra*, (Sk. *yatṛi*), according to Buehler's reading, or *ya(d)da*, according to Hultzsch's reading, which also supports the view that the voicing was a non-eastern tendency.

But since Lueders believes that the change of *t* > *d* is an eastern characteristic he has some difficulty in accounting for the presence of *t* for *d* in such forms of the separate edict as *paṭipātayeham*, *paṭipātayema*, etc., from Sk. *pratiVpad*. He observes (p. 81), "Wichtiger ist noch, dass der Redaktor von Jau. Sep. in seinem Bestreben, die Hochsprache zu gebrauchen, in alle Formen von *paṭipādāyati*, zukommen lassen, bewirken (Pāli *paṭipādeti*, Sk. *pratiṭipādāyati*) das *d* fälschlich durch *t* ersetzt hat..." Actually the case seems to have been that since, as suggested above, the separate edict was originally composed in a non-eastern dialect it probably contained some other words changing *t* > *d*, and these the redactor rightly changed to *t*. But this misled him in doing the same about *paṭipātayeham* etc., because he probably confused the forms of *Vpad* with those of *ṽpat*.

As regards the change *kkh* > *ggh*, Lueders cites (§ 149) Sk. *śakṣyati* (future of *śak*): *ścaghati* or *caghamti* in the 4th PE and *caghattha* in the separate edicts. The Aśokan inscriptions show a base *ṽcak* besides *ṽsak* > Sk. *śak*. The future base from this stem would be *ṽcakṣya* which in the eastern dialect would appear as *ṽcakkha*. According to Lueders this has further become *ṽcaggha* in the above instance as softening in his opinion is an eastern characteristic. But possibly the Aśokan evidence is not clear enough to conclude *ṽcaggha* with the softening of *kh* > *gh* to be an eastern form. Its occurrence in the separate edicts makes it a doubtful case in this regard and suggests a possible case of non-eastern influence for softening. But its occurrence in the pillar edict IV, which has an eastern version, is a little difficult to explain. As I do not regard softening to be an eastern feature I would expect the pillar edict IV to show a base *ṽcakkha*, and not *ṽcaggha*, if that has to be derived from *ṽcakṣya* (= *ṽśakṣya*). But just on the strength of this one instance I would not like to consider softening to be an eastern tendency. The explanation of the form has perhaps to be sought elsewhere. So far as Pāli *sagghasi*, mentioned by Lueders, is concerned, the reading is not absolutely certain and in the context the reading *agghasi* given by other manuscript suits equally well. And even though *sagghasi* be the original reading it can be regarded as a non-eastern form arising from eastern *sakkasi*¹. As regards Aśokan *ṽcagha* I may put forward for your consideration the suggestion that here perhaps we have a base *ṽcagha* of the present tense, and not *ṽcaggha* of the future from *ṽcak* (*ṽśak*). This *ṽcagha* indicates that the old IE base from which it is derived had a voiced aspirate in it. It will thus be **ṽkagh*² (or **kegh*) 'to be able, to help' as once suggested by Zupitza in *Die Germanischen Gutturale* (= *Schriften Zur Germanischen Philologie*, Achtes Heft, Berlin 1895) p. 104. (cited by Walde-Pokorny 1. p. 333) instead of **ṽkak*—(*kek*—?). This IE **ṽkagh* seems to have given two bases in old Aryan **ṽsagh* and *ṽśak* and of these *ṽśak* occurs in the Aśokan inscriptions as *ṽśaka* or *ṽcaka* and **ṽsagh* as *ṽcagha*. Aryan **ṽsagh* is perhaps found also

1. Or it can be explained as coming from Sk. *saghnōti* 'to take upon one's self, etc.'
 2. Wackernagel, *Alt. Gr.* 1.225 considers the palatal *s* of *Vsak* to be secondary. In that case the IE base would be **ṽsagh*.

in Sk. *śāgmā* 'strong or able' which is generally related to the other base *śak*. If this interpretation is accepted *ścagha* of the Aśokan inscriptions would represent a case of old preservation and not of voicing of intervocal *-kh-*.

In support of his contention that the change *tt* > *dd* is an eastern tendency, Lueders⁹ cites (§ 152) from Aśoka Sk. *āmṛavartikū* > *ambā vadikyā* in the seventh pillar at edict Toprā and the Queen's edict at Kosām. Now as noted by Lueders himself (p. 118) the eastern treatment of Sk. *rt* is *ṛ* and not *d*, cf. *kaṭaviya* etc. in the Dhāuli and Jaugadā major edicts. In my opinion—*vadikyā* is no exception to this general tendency since the form occurs in the north in the seventh PE of Toprā for which there are no eastern parallels. And as regards the Queen's edict, he it noted that Kosām is situated on the left bank of Jamnā, about 28 miles west by south of Allahabad, which can hardly be expected to give evidence for an eastern peculiarity unless corroborated by other clearly eastern evidence.

The same thing has to be said about the change *tt* > *ddh* (§ 152) when Lueders cites Sk. *aṭakrośikāni* > *adhakosikyāni* and Sk. *niṣṭi-ṭi* > *nimsiṭhiyā* both in the seventh pillar edict at Toprā. The normal treatment in the east in similar cases is *ṭ* or *ṣṭh* > *ṭh*, cf. *seṭha* in the Dhāuli major edict, *niṭheliya* in the pillar edicts etc. As noted above the instances which occur only in the seventh pillar edict at Toprā should not be used as Aśokan evidence in support of a particular feature being eastern. If the same feature is not found in the major edicts at Dhāuli and Jaugadā or in the other pillar edicts there is every reason for its being treated as non-eastern.

In view of the above examination of the Aśokan evidence it is difficult for me to agree with Lueders when he observes (§ 155)—“Überblickt man das gesamte Material, das uns die Aśoka-Inschriften und die literarischen Prakrits bieten, so scheint mir deutlich daraus hervorzugehen, dass die Erweichung des *tt*, *tt*h zu *dd*, *ddh* eine Erscheinung ist, die der Ostsprache angehört.”

We may now take a couple of instances to show how his hypothesis regarding softening to be an eastern characteristic has led Lueders to support or suggest some far-fetched derivations. In §§ 159-165 he gives a very instructive Exkurs über *kasati*, *kadḥati*, *kassati*. In Pāli we have the verbal base *kaḥa*, besides *ṣkaṣa* (*ṣkaṣa*) and *ṣkassa* which latter go back to Sk. *ṣkṛs* or *ṣkars*. Now about the origin of *ṣkadḥa*, Weber naturally thought to connect it with the Sk. p.p.p. *krṣṭa*. But Lueders objects to this and observes (p. 125), “Die Bestimmung der Heimat von *kaḥati* ist für die Entstehung der Formen von Bedeutung. *Kadḥati* kann sich nicht aus *krṣṭa* weiter entwickelt haben, wie Weber, allerdings durch die vielfach im Prakrit auftretenden Schreibungen mit *tt*h veranlasst, ZDMG. 28, 375 annahm, da der *ṭ* bergang von inlautendem *tt*h in *ddh* auf die östliche Sprache beschränkt ist. So gewinnt die Zurückführung von *kadḥa* auf ein vorindisches **kṛṣṭ*, eine Nebenform von *krṣ*, die Bloomfield JAOS. 41, 465 vorgeschlagen hat, an Wahrscheinlichkeit.”

In the article referred to above Bloomfield notes a ‘root-determinative’ *d* in Aryan tongues in such bases as *ṭd* = *iṣ-d*, *pṭd* = *piṣ-d*, etc. On this analogy he offers a suggestion, described as ‘daring’ by himself, that Pāli-Pkt. *kadḥa* may go back to **krṣ-d* > **krṣṭd*. But this seems impossible

because the forms derivable from *krzd* do not only not appear in Sanskrit or Avesta, but have no parallel in any other Indo-European language. (It is not necessary to discuss Geiger's suggestion (§ 130) to consider *kaḥḥati* = **kaḥḥati*, a side-form of *karṣati*).

Lueder's objection to the derivation of *Vkaḍḍha* from *krṣta* is just his conviction that softening is an eastern characteristic. But as shown above this is not borne out by the Aśokan evidence, and hence there should be no objection to supporting Weber's suggestion noticed above. In the eastern language there seems to have arisen a verbal base *Vkaṭṭha* (from Sk. *krṣ*), giving forms like *kaṭṭhati*. Now as regards the formation of middle Indo-verb bases from Sk. p.p.p. we may do well to refer to Elgerton's BHS Grammar 28.19 where he notes such forms as *buddhati*, *laṅgati*, from *buddha*, *laṅga*. Pāli *kaṭṭhati* then evidently goes back to this *kaṭṭhati*. That the eastern language had a form like *kaṭṭati* is shown by the fact that the manuscripts of the BHS texts give *kaṭṭhati* which obviously stands for *kaṭṭhati* with loss of aspiration. (On other grounds, which I cannot detail here, I regard the loss of aspiration as a non-eastern characteristic. About this *kaṭṭati* Elgerton does not offer any explanation. But he could have as well included it under 29.19 where he gives *buddhati* etc.

The other interesting case is that of Sk. *vetana* 'wages, reward, etc.'. About this we read in the words of the Editor (p. 81, fn. 1): "Eudlich nennt Lueders eine Stelle aus J. 402,8, wo heisst: *na paṭitā vedanam ādīyanti*. Dat. 1: „Nicht wollen Geldeslohn der Weisen haben.“ Hier steht *vedanam* für *vetanam* „Lohn.“ Thus from this remark it appears that in the opinion of Lueders Sk. *vetana* had become *vedana* in the eastern dialect from where it was borrowed in Pāli.

To my mind the case appears to have been otherwise. *Vetana* is a relatively late word. It was known to Pāṇini in the north-west who used it in his sūtra 4.1.12: *anadibhyo jaṇa*. According to the Uṇādi III.150 it is to be derived from *ṣri* (*gatyetaṇa*) with the suffix *-tana*. KUIPER, ZH 8.263-66, has a similar explanation but he connects it with the Vedic root *ṣri* 'zi gewinnen, suchen'. It is not necessary to discuss the suggestion of MONIER WILLIAMS to derive it from *ṣṛi*.

But *vetana* cannot contain the suffix *-tana* as this suffix is used for the formation of adjectives from adverbs, cf. *natana*, *sanātana*, etc. (WACK. - DEBR. *Alt. Gr.* II. 2. § 411). I am, therefore, inclined to equate *vetana* with Sk. *vedana* 'wealth, possessions' from *ṣrid* 'to find, to obtain, to give, etc.' which is known since the Rgveda. This *vedana* seems to have become *vetana* in some north-western dialect with the de-voicing of inter-vocal stop, from where it was taken up again in the OIA and MIA languages. In the course of time *vedana* also seems to have come to mean 'prize, reward, etc.' For the semantic change from 'property' to 'reward' we may compare a similar change in the Germanic family from Gothic *faihu* (Sk. *paśu*) 'money, property' to Eng. *fee*. *Vedana* in Pāli then may represent the translation of an eastern middle-Indic *vetana* or it may be just the preservation of the old *vedana* continued in some spoken dialect.

As regards the change *p > v* I think LUEDERS (§§ 99-100) is right in regarding this to be an eastern characteristic. But in his articles on this subject he does not adduce the available Aśokan evidence, though

small, in support of this view. For instance, among the minor rock edicts only the Sahasrām version in the east gives *ṣpāra* for Sk. *pra-ṣap*, while the non-eastern versions of Rūp., Brahma., and Śiddh. give *ṣpāpa*. That the base *ṣpāra* had not thoroughly driven out from the east the other base *Ṣpāpa* in the Aśokan days is shown by the fact that we get such forms as *pāpora* in the sixth Ararāj pillar edict and *pāporā* in the corresponding Toprā version.

Apart from this, I wish to bring to your notice another explanation of a word dealt with by Lueders under Hyperpālismen (p. 144-147) with regard to the change $p > v$. I am referring to Pāli *supāna* 'dog' (§ 146). Lueders considers that the strong form of Sk. *śran* gave rise to a base *surāna* in the eastern dialect which was wrongly translated into Pāli as *supāna* as the translator was aware of the fact that the eastern dialect changed $p > v$. Now such a misunderstanding seems unlikely in the case of a word for dog, and if the Pāli translator used *supāna* it means that must have been the regular western correspondent for the eastern *surāna*. This is quite likely since corresponding to Sk. *śran* (< *kāon*) we have *span* (nom. sg. *spā*, acc. sg. *spanem*) in the Avesta. This *span*, or a middle-Indic base from it *spāna*, probably survived even in India in some spoken dialect from which we can have the Pāli form *supāna*; just as we have *surāna* from Sk. *śran* or *śrāna* in the eastern dialect. The Gk. word *spōka* 'hundartig' (besides *kāon*, *kanos*) and the Russian word *sobika* 'Hund' show that forms with p were current in other Indo-European languages besides Avesta. *Supāna* is thus an instance not of hyperpālism but of a regular development from an archaic dialect form *spāna* agreeing with the Avesta.

I shall now take a couple of cases with regard to Lueders' observations on the nominal flexion. In §§188-195 Lueders has convincingly demonstrated the use of a special abl. sg. in *-am* in the eastern language of the Buddhist canon. Recently De Vreese (BSOS 17 369-371, 1955) has expressed himself against the use of *-am* as abl. sg. in old Jaina-Māhāvāṇī (cf. Alsdorf, BSOS 8.329 ff., 1936). But I do not consider that De Vreese has proved his case. The use of the acc. instead of the abl. with certain verbs in the Buddhist Hybrid Skt. does not disprove the argument of Alsdorf (De Vreese had evidently not seen Lueders' treatment when he wrote his article), and the interpretations put by De Vreese on the Pāli passages are far-fetched. I shall not enter here into the details of my belief that this abl. sg. *-am* is perhaps not a regular development of *-āt* but is only a graphic representation of the term. *-ā*. I would, on the other hand, add one more instance showing the use of *-am* as abl. sg. to those already cited by Lueders. This instance occurs in the Dh. 135 (cited by Lueders in § 140 under a different topic) which runs as—

yathā daṇḍena gopālo gāvo pāceti gocaram/
evam jarā ca maccu ca āyusm pācenti pāṇinam//

Max Muller—"As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men." Lueders rightly objects to *gocara* being translated as "stable". He corrects it to 'Weide' but continues to regard *gocaram* as acc. sg. To my mind, however, *gocaram* cannot be acc.; context shows that it must be abl. In the second half of the stanza we are told about (Old) Age and Death driving back the life of men. Hence in order to understand the simile correctly we

must interpret that in the first half of the stanza there is reference to the driving back of the cattle from the *gocara* and not to it. The first line, therefore, means—"Just as a cowherd with his stick drives away the cows from the pasture.....".

In §§ 220-225 Lueders very ingeniously demonstrates the use of *-hi* as loc. pl. in the eastern language of the original canon. However, his interpretation of *akkhesu* in the Suttanipāṭa 659 (§ 21) as a misunderstood loc. pl. does not quite carry conviction. The stanza runs as—

appamatto ayam kali/ yo akkhesu dhanaparājayo/ sabbassāpi sahāpi attana/

ayam eva mahattaro kali/ yo sugatesu manam padosaye/!

According to Lueders the stanza means, "Das ist ein geringer Unglückswurf, wenn einer durch die Würfel Geld verliert, selbst die ganze Habe samt der eigenen Person. Das vielmehr ist ein grosser Unglückswurf, wenn einer gegen die Heiligen böse gedanken hegt." Lueders considers *akkhesu* as a misunderstood loc. pl., that is to say in his opinion the original canon had *akkhehi* as instr. pl., but since this could also be a form of the loc. pl., the Pāli translator wrongly gave it as *akkhesu*. Now in his critical analysis of the second quarter of the first line, Lueders has rightly seen that in the original canon we had two separate words *dhanam palājaye* and that *palājaye* was a verb form. This has been happily confirmed by the Udānavarga version (8.4) which gives—*dhanam parājayet*. Lueders further argues that the verb form *palājaye* of the original version was misunderstood by the Pāli translator as a nominal form in the nom. sg. and hence he changed *dhanam* to *dhana* and joined the two together in a compound *dhanaparājayo*. To me it does not seem very likely that the Pāli translator could have made a mistake about the verb form if *dhanam palājaye* stood separately in the version before him. The more likely explanation, therefore, seems to be that in the version before the Pāli translator *dhanampalājaye* were read together and hence he mistook it to be a compound formed on the analogy of the more common *dhanamjavā* (cf. Vopadeva 2660). But as this was an unusual formation for the Pāli translator he changed *dhanampalājaye* to *dhanaparājayo*.

But whether *palājaye* is taken as a verb form or a noun form its use with loc. in such constructions as above seems to be quite idiomatic. One may compare here favourably similar uses in some of the NIA languages—'the lost money in horses, in cards, etc.' where one uses loc. and not instr. In the above stanza, therefore, *akkhehi* could be regarded as loc. pl. and hence rightly rendered by the Pāli translator by *akkhesu*. The Udānavarga translator, however, does not seem to have understood the idiom, and hence he interpreted *akkhehi* as instr. pl. and rendered it as *akkeha*. The Pāli verse is to be translated—"that is an insignificant loss (lit. the unlucky throw, *kali*) which is loss of money at gambling (lit. dice, *akkha*)—This indeed is a greater loss when one spoils one's mind against the holy persons."

III

Before I conclude let me refer to two significant events of the past two years which promise to give a great impetus to the linguistic studies in India—I mean the organising of a series of schools of linguistics at the Deccan College, and the strengthening of the Linguistic Society of

India. Thanks to the initiative of the Director and the Council of Management of the Deccan College Research Institute on the one hand, and the Rockefeller Foundation on the other, a series of three post-graduate Schools of Linguistics was organised in 1954-55. I need not go into the details of the working of these Schools; their success can be seen from the great interest they evoked at each session. Perhaps for the first time in the recent history of University education in India it was possible for the students from all over India to come together and receive instruction from a Faculty constituted by drawing personnel from the Indian as well as foreign Universities. With the growing importance attached to the structural studies of our languages in a free India, the need for imparting scientific instruction in linguistics has been felt, and the holding of short-term schools has partly sought to satisfy this need. The attempt is limited, but it definitely shows steady awakening. However, what is really necessary is the starting of a full-time course in linguistics at all important Universities. This has been often suggested, but for one reason or the other not executed. It is significant, therefore, that our host University here has established a Silver Jubilee Chair in Dravidian Philology from non-recurring grant received from the Union Government, as a beginning in this direction. Let us hope that with the growing country-wide interest evinced in the subject and the proposed establishment of the Linguistic Survey of India by the Central Government, the other Universities will take adequate steps to play their part at an early date. The great task of taking up the descriptive studies of various dialects is ahead of us and this will require a band of field-workers well grounded in the tool courses of linguistics.

The second point to which I would like to refer is with regard to the strengthening of the Linguistic Society of India. I have great pleasure in announcing that the membership of the Society has recently increased from less than fifty to about three hundred. As regards the publication of the official Bulletin of the Society in future it is proposed to bring out the Volumes of *Indian Linguistic* regularly twice a year towards ultimately converting it into a quarterly. Since last year an attempt is being made to hold the meetings of the Linguistic Society annually. In this regard I would request the Universities and Research Institutes to give recognition to this body for the purposes of sending delegates to its meetings and for strengthening its effective membership. Then again it is proposed that at different places where there are ten or more local members, they might form a regional or local circle and hold meetings at least once in two months for reading papers, discussing problems, or even undertaking some organised effort in dialect studies. The reports of these activities of the circles can be published in the Volumes of *Indian Linguistics*, and even some small monographs can be separately brought out. All such activities will not only help in keeping up the interest of the members, but also in raising the Society in the eyes of the University authorities to give it due recognition.

Let me now conclude with a couple of quotations. The late Dr. Sukthankar said in his sectional President's address at Tirupati 15 years ago :

"It is the debt to the *ṛsis*, which is difficult to discharge and which usually remains unpaid. Let us, however, follow the mandate of the scriptures and let us not forget our debt to the *ṛsis*, even if

it has been neglected in the past. Let us not forget our debt to the Mahārṣi Pāṇini, who has made the name of our country resound in the halls of the academies of the world. Let us endeavour by our assiduous and fruitful study to keep bright the fair name of that illustrious Muni of imperishable fame, Pāṇini!"

And as recently as 17th October 1955, while requesting Shri Balasaheb Kher, to inaugurate the Autumn School of Linguistics, Dr. Katre repeated :

"With your blessings, we are confident that the beginning made here will prove itself fruitful and produce not unworthy successors to the great Acharyas and Rishis who established the science of Linguistics for the first time in India. May these efforts succeed in raising a Pāṇini or a Patanjali in the next few generations to uphold and sustain the position of India as a leading country for the scientific study of languages!"

DRAVIDIAN CULTURE SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

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The All-India Oriental Conference is held to-day at the Annamalai University which was established nearly a quarter of a century ago for promoting the cause of University Education in general, and of Dravidian culture and literature in particular. The people of Tamil Nad look upon this University with legitimate pride as a centre of learning, specialising in South Indian literature and culture.

Great changes are taking place in our political and educational affairs at present. The States Re-organization Commission set up by the Central Government has submitted a momentous report, and there is little doubt that most of its recommendations will be implemented at an early date. In the new set-up, it may be confidently stated that the regional languages of India will receive the consideration and support that they deserve. Sooner or later the regional languages will become the language of administration in the State and the medium of instruction in the Universities situated within the State. The observations of Sri B. G. Kher, Chairman of the Official Language Commission, in the address delivered by him at the Autumn School of Linguistics in Poona, in October 1955, clearly reflect the aspirations of millions of people in this country. He says: "The fourteen languages mentioned in the Constitution of India have an enormous wealth of literature and a literary tradition going back several centuries and in the case of some of them, more than 2,000 years. Intrinsically I believe each of these languages is fully capable of expressing the most complex or abstruse thought, notion or shade of meaning. Mahatma Gandhi with his astonishing insight into the fundamentals of controversial issues said as long ago as 1928 that there never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or expressing abstruse or scientific ideas.

The dawn of Independence in India has raised great expectations in the minds of the people regarding the regeneration of the regional languages. It has been authoritatively declared that all the fourteen languages enumerated in the Constitution are national languages, and that Hindi is the official language of India. The Government of India have realized the paramount importance of promoting the interests of all these languages. They have constituted the Sahitya Akademi in Delhi to achieve this object. It was declared by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of its inauguration that 'it is the purpose of this Akademi to recognise men of achievement in letters, to encourage men of promise in letters, to educate public taste and to approve standards of literature and

literary criticism.' In pursuance of this policy the Government of India awarded a cash of Rs. 5,000 each, to the most outstanding book, in twelve out of the fourteen Indian languages, published after the advent of Independence. The Government have also made, on the recommendations of the Sahitya Akademi, a grant of Rs. 15,000 to a distinguished Malayalam poet to enable him to publish his translation of the Rig Veda into Malayalam.

It is the policy of the Akademi to co-ordinate the literary activities in the various languages of India in order to promote its cultural unity. As Sardar Panikkar said, 'It will easily be granted that in a country in which fourteen languages, each with a long history and a growing literature, are recognised, it is of vital national importance that their development should be co-ordinated with a view to promoting the cultural unity of India. With this object the Sahitya Akademi has set up an Advisory Board for each of the languages and the programme of the Akademi has been so framed as to foster better mutual acquaintance and understanding between writers in the different languages of our country. The foremost item of the programme is the preparation of a Bibliography of Indian Literature. The compilation of Bibliographies in the four main Dravidian Languages is in progress and the work has been entrusted to competent scholars or institutions. These Bibliographies will be very useful sources of information regarding the books published in the first half of the present century.

The Sahitya Akademi has also decided to sponsor the publication of 'The History and Development of Modern Indian Literatures', which will be originally written either in the language concerned or in English, and would then be translated into Hindi and other Indian languages. At the request of the UNESCO, a list of classics in all the Indian languages suitable for translation in English and other European languages is being prepared by the Akademi. The Advisory Board for Tamil has recommended that selections from Kambaramayanam may be translated into English and other Indian languages.

It is a matter of gratification that historical and linguistic research in recent years has laid greater emphasis than ever before on the Dravidian contribution to Indian culture. Prof. S. K. Chatterjee says that "in culture, speaking in the Indian way, one may say that over twelve annas in the rupee is of non-Aryan origin," meaning thereby that more than three-fourths of Indian culture is non-Aryan and predominantly Dravidian. Western savants are beginning to realize that the Dravidian element in the Sanskrit vocabulary is certainly more than what was admitted by scholars of an earlier generation. The question of Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan has attracted the attention of linguists in recent years. Dr. Caldwell, Kittel and Gundert were the pioneers in this line of investigation. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee pursued the subject and gave a list of Dravidian words in Vedic and later Sanskrit in the introduction to his book entitled. "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language." Some years ago Mr. Burrow, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, published some articles on the

Dravidian words in Sanskrit and set forth the criteria for identifying such words. The need for philological research in the Dravidian languages is being increasingly recognized by the Madras and Annamalai Universities. A 'Dravidian Comparative Vocabulary' setting forth the primary words common to the five principal languages commonly known as Dravidian, namely Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese and Tulu is being printed by the Madras University. The Annamalai University has decided to utilize the grant of three lakhs of rupees graciously made by the Government of India on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee to the creation of a Department in 'Dravidian Philology.' It is understood that the compilation of an 'Etymological Dictionary of Tamil' will be one of its main activities. Besides these Universities, an Academy of Tamil Culture has been recently started in Madras for fostering scientific research in the Tamil language, and a quarterly review entitled 'Tamil Culture' is published by this Academy in English. The Deccan College in Poona has given an impetus to the study of Philology by organizing Schools of Linguistics under the grant received from the Rockefeller Foundation of New York. During the last two years, three conferences have been held in which a large number of scholars from different parts of India representing the regional languages have participated. The Deccan College has rendered a great service to the Dravidian languages by bringing out an English version of the 'Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages' by Jules Bloch. Prof. Bloch was one of the most sagacious of linguists produced by France and his contributions have always tended to inspire our scholars to similar achievements. The inter-relationship of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan and *vice versa* was a subject of abiding interest to him. His demise on the 29th November 1953 is a great loss to the world of Dravidian Philology. The Deccan College has also published 'A Historical Grammar of Old Kannada' by G. S. Gai and 'The Evolution of Malayalam' by A. C. Sekhar. Mr. B. Emeneau, Professor of Sanskrit, University of California, made a field-study of the language of the Kotas in the Nilgiri Hills and published a grammar of the Kota language.

In the field of literature a great deal of interest is evinced in India and elsewhere in the study of the Sacred Kural which holds a unique place in Tamil literature. The great savant Albert Schweitzer says: "There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much of lofty wisdom." Several commentaries were written on this work by eminent scholars, but only a few of them exist at present. All the available commentaries have been collected and published as a variorum edition of the Kural by the Dharmapuram Adhinam in South India. An English commentary on some of the maxims of the Kural was published nearly a hundred years ago by F. W. Ellis of the Madras Civil Service. The valuable commentary which was not available for several decades has been re-printed by the University of Madras. The latest translation of the Kural in English is by Prof. A. Chakravarti of Madras. He is a Jain scholar and his commentary has been written from the Jaina point of view. It is his opinion that the doctrine of Ahimsa which is fundamental in the

Jaina religion is the bed-rock on which the structure of the *Kural* is raised. It is interesting to note that the *Kural* has been translated into several Indian languages. Nearly thirty years ago, it was translated into Sanskrit by Appa Vajapaiyan, a descendant of the well-known Appayya Dikshitar. The translation is entitled "Suniti Kusuma Mala", i.e., 'A Garland of the Flowers of Good Morals.' Translations of the *Kural* have been published in Hindi in recent years. Prof. B. D. Jain of the Banaras University has rendered it into Hindi in three parts at the instance of the Head of the Tiruppanandal Mutt in South India. Another translation of the *Kural* is entitled "Tamil Veda" and the author of it is Kshemanand Rahat, and published by the Sahitya Mandal in 1950. The translation is in simple prose and covers eighty-nine chapters of the *Kural*. There is also a Bengali translation of the *Kural* (made from the English translation by Sri V. V. S. Ayyar) by the late Dr. Nalini Mohan Sanyal, with an introduction by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

This great ethical work has been rendered into the Dravidian languages as well. In Telugu, Venkata Rama Vidyananda, who lived for nearly ninety-five years in the last century, translated it under the caption "Trivarga Deepika." Dharma, Artha and Kama which are the Sanskrit equivalents of the Tamil Aram, Porul and Inbam are denoted by the word 'Trivarga'. The author lived only to complete the first two parts of the work. It is a metrical translation and contains an introduction on the life of the author. In Kannada the *Kural* has been translated by Sri R. Narasimhacharya under the title "Neetimanjari". In Malayalam, the *Kural* was translated nearly three centuries ago by Ravi Varma who is said to be a Kaviraya. His translation covers the whole work. Recently Sri Parameswaran Pillai has brought out a Malayalam commentary of the *Kural* under the title, 'Ratna-Uddharakam'. He omitted the third part dealing with Kama, as there was already abundant literature on the subject in Malayalam.

The highest place in epic literature is assigned to *Kambaramayanam* in Tamil. Although the work is very popular in the Tamil country, there is no authentic edition of it. The Annamalai University has undertaken to produce a definite edition and the first part of *Sundarakandam* was released on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the University. A thousand poems of this epic were translated into English by Sri V. V. S. Ayyar and the Tamil Sangam at Delhi has recently published the translation. The *Kambar Kazhakam* in Madras has taken up the work of translating two thousand stanzas of *Kambaramayanam* and a few selected stanzas from the first two books have been recently published under the caption "Leaves from *Kambaramayanam*". At the instance of the Sahitya Akademi an English translation of selections from *Kambaramayanam* by Sri C. Rajagopalachari has been recommended to the UNESCO for publication. In Telugu this great work has been translated by two scholars. The translation of Somanathakavi of Kakinada is still in manuscript and Sri Ramulu Reddi's translation has been published. These translations are said to be elegant and accurate.

There is at present a revival of Tamil learning in the Madras State. The general public are taking a keen interest in the study of Tamil classical literature. There is a general desire that cultural words found in the ancient classics should be resuscitated for enriching the vocabulary of the modern languages. For instance the word for the 'light-house' in classical Tamil is 'Kalam Karai Vilakku'. The existence of this word was not generally known before the Sangam classics were published. Therefore, in the text books written in the last century the word 'Deepastambam' was used to denote the light-house. But now not only the scholars, but even popular journals in Tamil are using the word 'Kalam Karai Vilakku'. The market was called 'Angadi' in ancient times. Silappadhikaram, the Epic of the Anklet, speaks of a day-market and night-market, which flourished in the capital city of the ancient Chola country. 'Nalangadi' is day-market and 'Allangadi' is night-market. But the word 'Angadi' became obsolete and the Persian word 'bazaar' and English word 'market' have taken its place. Now there is a tendency to revive the classical word 'Angadi' which is current in all the other Dravidian languages.

In Telugu the desi types of poetry are becoming increasingly popular. The distinguishing feature of the desi is that it is based on Matra chandas and, therefore, more suitable for singing. Much of this poetry is centuries old. It was not committed to writing, but handed down by memory from generation to generation. In this connection the songs of the Tallapaka poets of Tirupati deserve special mention. They were a family of devotees of Sri Venkateswara in the 15th and 16th centuries. They composed thousands of verses in desi metres in praise of the Lord, and they were fortunately preserved for posterity in copper plates. They were discovered a few years ago and the Tirupati Devasthanam has undertaken to publish these songs and appointed a competent scholar to edit them with proper musical notation. A dissertation on the 'Desi in South Indian Languages and Literatures' was published by Sri K. Ramakrishnayya in 1949. In this work an attempt has been made to deal with the various desi types of Dravidian prosody.

In the Tamil country an impetus to the revival of ancient music was given by Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, the Founder of the Annamalai University. Nearly twelve years ago he started the Tamil Isai Movement with a view to popularising the ancient system of Tamil music and establishing it on a scientific basis. An important feature of this movement is the institution of researches in the devotional hymns known as Tevaram and Tiruppukal. The custodians of the ancient classical Tamil tunes known as 'Othuvams' are being invited year after year to the annual conference held in Madras to give practical demonstrations of the Ragas and Talas pertaining to the ancient hymns, so that the identity of tunes between the ancient music and Karnatic music of the present day could be established. "The history of the Tamil Isai Movement", says Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, "has emphasized the uniqueness of the special contribution made by the Tamil language and literature to that composite culture of India whose marvellous and age-

long trait is its ability to absorb, to assimilate and to reconcile its several composite elements”.

The stupendous task of producing an encyclopaedia has been undertaken in two of the Dravidian languages. The Tamil Academy known as ‘Tamil Valarchi Kazhakam’ has published so far two volumes of the work under the caption ‘Kalaikkalanciam’. The object of this endeavour is to bring within the reach of the average educated Tamilian all modern knowledge in humanities and sciences. Tamil equivalents for nearly thirty thousand words relating to technical and scientific subjects have been settled by expert committees, and these terms have been used in the articles contributed to the encyclopaedia. The Academy hopes to bring out the remaining eight volumes in the course of the next four or five years. The Telugu Bhasha Samiti has produced two volumes, the first dealing with history and politics and the next with physical science.

The question of adopting Tamil as the medium of instruction in the University of Madras, is engaging the attention of the State Government and the University. A Committee of Experts has been recently constituted by the Government of Madras to devise ways and means of producing a suitable terminology in subjects relating to science and the humanities. It is hoped that under the guidance of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras who is its Chairman, and the co-operation of the experts in various subjects, it will be possible to achieve the object of adopting Tamil as the medium of instruction as early as possible. It is expected that the Annamalai University which is essentially a Tamil University will take the lead in this matter.

It was brought to the notice of the Government of India a few years back by the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University that some of the ancient capital cities of the Tamil country lie buried in the Coromandal Coast and elsewhere, and that these historic sites should be excavated in the interest of Indian history and culture. The city known as Kaveripumpattinam was, once upon a time, a great emporium of commerce and its splendour is portrayed in the ancient Tamil poems. A good part of this city is now submerged, and hence the excavation will involve under-water exploration. Similarly the ancient sea-port city of the Pandya country known as Korkai which is mentioned by Ptolemy as a great centre of commerce, is now a petty village on the sea-coast in the Tirunelveli District. Excavations at these sites may be expected to tell a story as interesting as that of the Indus Valley.

The French Government at Pondicherry started publishing the Diary of Anandaranga Pillai who was a distinguished Dubash and Courtier at the time of Dupleix. The historical importance of the Diary as a record of contemporary events is fully recognised, and the work has been translated into English and French. But the original Diary maintained in Tamil remained unpublished till recently. The French Government has brought out four out of twelve volumes. But the execution of the work is unsatisfactory.

The Diary is important not only to the student of South Indian History, but also to the student of the Tamil language. It is written in the colloquial dialect and the vocabulary of the spoken language is preserved in it. Now that Pondicherry is merged in the Indian Republic, it must be possible for the State Government of Madras or the Government of India to undertake the publication of this useful work in a satisfactory manner.

There is little doubt that before the next session of the Oriental Conference, the formation of linguistic states in South India will become an accomplished fact. I hope and trust that the four principal states in South India will be linguistically united, working for the common cause of Indian Culture.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

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Let me at the outset thank the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for having elected me President of this Section for the current session. With Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, a philosopher of international repute (and the holder of the post of Vice-President of the Indian Union), as the General President of the present session, you can easily imagine how nervous must I be feeling in addressing you as the President of the Philosophy Section. I shall, however, try to discharge the duties of my office to the best of my ability.

I do not want to tire you with various details pertaining to the activities in the realm of philosophy and religion during the last two years. It must be admitted that contributions to philosophic thought are bound to be few, and it is no wonder therefore, that not many new works or monographs have been recently published, and here too, the Advaita, philosophy seems to be as usual claiming a larger number of votaries. Prof. Mahadevan's excellent treatise "Gaudapada-A study in the early Advaita" and my own edition of *Gaudapadakarikas* have been recently published. The other schools of philosophy somehow appear to be neglected. It is time that scholars should be paying more attention to the lesser known works in the Dvaita, Dvaitadvaita, Visistadvaita, Sakta philosophies, as also Buddhism and Jainism. I do not intend to give a list of the works that need to be specially undertaken for study, but I wish to make a few general observations in this behalf.

Since Bharata became free and an independent Republic, additional responsibility has been thrown on our shoulders in the cultural field. It may not be palatable to us, but it is a fact that in the matter of Philosophy and Religion, foreigners have done a lot to popularise and publish texts on these topics. Take the case of the Sacred Books of the East or the Harvard Oriental Series and others; books on Indian Philosophy and Religion are predominantly present there.

It is too much to expect, even leaving aside the question of our self-respect, that non-Indians should continue to take the same interest as before, in the continuation of such series or in seeing that the books in the series are always available. It is incumbent upon the orientals to take to this task earnestly. The Post-Graduate Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, with the active help and sympathy of the University of Poona, has undertaken the task of preparing editions of Philosophic Texts in

Sanskrit, with translations, notes, etc. An edition of Ramanuja's Bhasya on the Vedantasutras has been undertaken and Vol. I of the same would soon be published. A complete English Translation of that amazing poetico-philosophical work, the Yogavasistha, has also been undertaken. If the principle of division of labour is properly followed, it would be possible for different Institutes and Universities in the country to specialise in particular systems of philosophy, and a great impetus would be given to the proper evaluation of Indian philosophic thought.

I intend to-day to deal with some specific objections and remarks in connection with the growth, development, and value of Indian philosophy as a whole, made by Prof. A. R. Wadia, recently Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the M. S. University of Baroda. Prof. Wadia in his article on "Tradition in philosophy" published in the Prof. M. Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume makes his position quite clear in this respect. Last year in a lecture delivered in Poona at the Philosophical Association, Prof. Wadia elaborated the same theme. Mr. Wadia has quite clearly stated his views and there is hardly any scope for misrepresentation. The gravamen of the charge against Indian philosophy made by Prof. Wadia and critics holding similar views is that:—

- (1) Indian Philosophy lacks originality and independent thinking; barring perhaps Sankaracarya, Indian philosophers seem to be engaged solely in interpreting older Upanisadic texts, and are proud of being slaves of the revealed word or Sruti.
- (2) There is no systematic development of philosophic thought. Indian philosophers seem lucky enough to blunder into the right in their zeal for mystic approach to the Highest Reality.
- (3) Indian philosophy is very difficult to understand and to appreciate. Whatever important thought there is in it, it is completely lost in the jungle of different interpretations and illustrations, relevant and irrelevant.
- (4) Indian philosophy is thus incapable of satisfying the needs of modern thinkers and as such seems to give ground to Greek Philosophy or modern European philosophy.

I shall now discuss these points in detail and try to show that, on the whole Indian philosophy has an honoured place in the realm of the World-Philosophy and can boast of steady development ushered by independent thinking.

The charge that Indian Philosophers are too much engrossed in the interpretations of Sruti texts which they consider to be infallible may be unreservedly admitted as having substantial truth in it. Take for instance, the first two Padas of the first Adhyaya of the Vedantasutras, where according to the commentators, passages in the Upanisads, referring distinctly or otherwise

to Brahman are discussed. Different expressions like Akasa, Prana, Manas, Atta, etc., are found used and commentators vie with one another in elaborately and seriously pointing out that the expressions refer to Brahman or the Highest. Mimamsa rules of interpretation, the Upakrama and the Upasamhara of the passage, the *Sarvasakha-pratyayanyaya* (the maxim of making use of similar descriptions elsewhere in other recensions, etc.) are all marshalled and the conclusion is established beyond dispute. Now, one may here pertinently ask—what matters it whether in a particular passage, the words, say Akasa, Prana, etc., mean or do not mean Brahman? Why should not the writer concentrate on the main philosophical idea and develop or expound the same in his own way? Why should an appeal to some Upanisadic text be found necessary in season and out of season? These questions are quite pertinent and they can be answered on the general plea that the Indian Philosophers had to take certain basic facts for granted, in order to popularise their own systems of philosophy. If it could be shown that one's system of philosophy is based on some standard work like the Brahmasutras or the Upanisads, etc., that philosophic view was likely to be accepted without much trouble by some thinkers at any rate. This does not mean that the commentator-philosophers were as a rule hypocritical and were just paying lip-sympathy to the philosophical works on which they were commenting and nothing more. As a matter of fact, thanks to the vagueness of the Sutras, there was no need to be hypocritical; any commentator could make a plausible case for holding that his views were shared by the author of the original work.

Another thing that is most annoying is that the various Bhasyakaras take great delight in discussing the 'Drstantas' or illustrative instances at great length. The Sutrakara himself has many Sutras giving such analogies and there could be no objection *per se* to the use of analogies to prove some metaphysical point. But when we find the commentators dissecting the 'Drstantas' themselves, forgetting for the time being the main point at issue, the reader is perfectly justified in voicing his protest. Sankaracarya is perhaps the least guilty in this respect. In fact he warns people against stretching comparisons too far (see Br. Sutra Bha. II. 1-25). We might in this connection point out how Ramanuja tries to explain the 'Karatala' and 'Ravikirana' (Br. Su. I. 1) drsantas at length. Such instances can be very easily multiplied.

Even granting all that has been said above against the manner in which the commentators on the Brahmasutras go about their business, we are of opinion that they do not deserve to be condemned. After all, as has been already said above, these philosophers were working under peculiar circumstances, that they had practically no option but to give their interpretation of the Sutras, if they cared for the promulgation of their philosophic theories, and so it would not be right to take them to task for all that. In any case, these philosophers stand or fall by the exposition of their theories, not by the interpretation of the Sutras. That the Sutras, on account of their very vagueness, can be made to give any interpretation you like is well-known, and the different Bhasyakaras have freely availed

themselves of such an opportunity. As a matter of fact, we are rather amazed to find that critics did not find any contradiction in their criticism, when they blame the Bhasyakaras for twisting the meaning of the Sūtras to suit their own pet theories, and at the same time deny that the Bhasyakaras had their own independent theories to propound. The very fact that there are at least ten Bhasyakaras, who have tried to comment on the Brahmasūtras to propound their own philosophical opinions, shows that there was nothing to prevent any one from thinking originally in his own way; there certainly was no ban on original thinking, irrespective of what the Sruti may have said. Sankaracarya himself who was a great believer in the infallibility of Sruti, has no hesitation in declaring that not hundreds of Srutis can make him believe that 'Agni is not hot'. (Gita Bha. XVIII. 67). In his *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* II—1, 11 he says:—

नहि पूर्वजो मूढ आसीदित्यात्मनाऽपि मूढेन भवितव्यमिति किंचिदस्ति

प्रमाणम् ।

(Br. Su. Bha. II. 1-11)

What greater proof can there be than this Magna Charta for Indian philosophers to show that though they were 'Srutisārana', they had ample freedom to make use of Tarka as well? The reason why Indian philosophers accepted the Srutisāranatva (which, in fact must be repeatedly pointed out, never came in the way of their original thinking) may be explained as under.

Even a brief consideration of the charge of Srutisāranatva needs discussion of certain fundamental problems about the method of philosophy, its aims and objects, etc. A detailed discussion of these points is not intended here. Something regarding these matters however, will have to be said while dealing with the authoritativeness of Sruti in the realm of Indian philosophy. Before bringing Indian Philosophy in comparison with European Philosophy, it must be remembered that there is a fundamental difference between these two traditions. There is almost a consensus of opinion among thinkers on the point that Western Philosophy is born of wonder, and stands away from life in general, while Indian Philosophy is not only the foundation of Indian life but has also pervaded every aspect of Indian life. Apart from the question whether Philosophy should subserve life or not, it is very clear that Indian Philosophy has direct reference to Indian life; it has some concrete work to do, something positive to attain. In such a scheme of Philosophy we have to see what part can legitimately be played by reason, which has held under its sway most of the European philosophy.

Reason, as is well-known, can accept nothing on authority. It would accept only such things as would stand its own tests. And what are these tests? Are they empirical or non-empirical? Even a superficial thought on this point would reveal that reason, unaided by anything else, will only question; it will accept nothing. It has a negative work to do. That is why free play of reason has left many philosophical problems in eternal suspense. European philosophy remains crippled and hesitant because of its apotheosis

of reason. Such a system which sweeps away every foundation of life may be useful as individual pastime. It can have no interest in human life in general. If philosophy has to give significance to human life, if it has to do a constructive work, reason cannot play a sovereign part in it. (May be, it is owing to this fact, that even Socrates, whom Prof. Wadia has lauded so much for his method of reason, has often taken recourse to the authority of God by asserting repeatedly in his famous Apology, "God has commanded me to do so"). Reason will have to subserve something else, something which is positive, which enriches life. Sruti or authority is claimed to have done that. It is said to be beyond reason. Sruti is 'Anubhava' or experience which is super-sensuous, not subject to physical categories. It is wrong to question its validity on principles of reason. At the most, reason may interpret it. Reason, if it has to do a constructive work, can confirm the revealed experience by dispelling doubts that may arise about it. This, we hope, is enough to explain why much of interpretation of authoritative texts is found in Indian Philosophical literature.

The Indian philosophers desired ultimately to appeal to Sruti as the Highest tribunal. Modern European philosophers also, who are becoming more and more ardent admirers of mysticis, are practically leaving in the lurch pure reasoning. When therefore the Indian philosophers say that things and problems that are 'Acintya' (beyond thought) cannot be solved by mere reasoning, they can hardly be blamed for their attitude. The sense-organs which are the main gates through which knowledge can come are facing outwards (*paranci khani*) and so can see only outward things. Unless they are made to look inwards by having recourse to Yoga practices, etc., the knowledge of the thing-in-itself (*Das Ding an sich*) can hardly be had. And if the Sruti describes a Vamadeva as shouting, on the strength of his self-realisation "Aham Manurabhavam" we are not justified in being sceptic about it. Sankaracarya in a very beautiful passage warns against the tendency of judging everything by what obtains in the present only. "Simply because", says Sankara, "there rules no universal monarch now, you cannot say that no universal monarch ever existed. We may not be able to know the past, present and future, but that does not mean that Vyasa and others had no such power" (Br. Su. Bha I. 3-33). There are certain matters which reasoning cannot simply reach (even a very well-trained acrobat can not mount his own shoulder— न हि नटः शिक्षितः सन् स्वस्कन्धमधिरोहति ।

(Br. Su. Bha III. 3-54). Reasoning has its uses, but is bound to fail in certain cases where we can not but give importance to intuition, 'Anubhava' and the like.

As regards the charge that Indian Philosophy shows no organic growth or development, that it is just a hotch-potch of spasmodic attempts made by different thinkers of different times, unconnected, and incapable of co-relation, it might be stated that it is not possible to substantiate the same. Apparently the charge is made by those who are impressed (and truly so) by the compact nature of Greek philosophic thought which attained to its maturity within a short period, the records of which are available. It appears that

the Greeks had no tradition to boast of, hence there was no special handicap for them to show continued unhampered progress. On the other hand, Indian philosophers, who lived after the Upanisadic period, at a time when consolidation was the need of the hour, had before them philosophic thoughts that had survived through a long period and, could not possibly ignore them. If at all, we want to compare Greek philosophic thought with the Indian one, it should be the thought during the Upanisadic period itself, where we meet different individual philosophers preaching their own doctrines independently. The Indian philosophers had therefore an important philosophical nucleus already formulated before them, and they took full advantage of the same, but that does not take away from them the credit of having their own system properly formulated and thought of.

Another charge usually levelled against Indian philosophy is that it is nothing but interpretation of some texts, followed by re-interpretation of the same by some other person, this in turn being followed by a fresh commentary and so forth, so that the original text (along with its meaning) is completely lost in the jungle of interpretations which do not seem to have any finality. It must be admitted that this criticism is true, but only up to a point. As has been remarked already the commentators or Bhasyakaras were compelled by force of circumstances and considerations of practical utility to select some particular texts for commenting on them. But they certainly do not follow the original writer blindly; far from it. Take the case of Sankaracarya's Bhasya. There are at least a dozen clear cases where Sankara apparently gives the traditional interpretation of the Sutras, and then quietly adds a supplementary interpretation which clearly shows the philosophical advance made by him on the Sutrakara's position (see: ३ आनन्दमयाधिकरण ब्र. सू.

१. १. १२-१९ श्रुतेस्तु शब्दमूलत्वात् । ब्र. सू. २. १. २७ यथाच तक्षोभयथा । ब्रह्मसूत्र २. ३. ४० etc.). It certainly would have been far better, if Sankaracarya had written his philosophical treatise independently of barriers of text or tradition, but it is not at all difficult to understand Sankara's philosophy from his commentaries even as they are.

That there is no systematic development in Indian thought is a charge which seems to be vague. We should differentiate between the chronological order of development and the logical order of development. Even in the earliest literary records of India, we find the highest philosophical conclusions reached. This means that the process of philosophical thinking had reached quite an advanced stage, even in pre-historic times. It is thus quite natural that we cannot mark the chronological destination of any particular thought-pattern. As for logical development, the arrangement of the six Darsanas is a glorious example of presenting the whole of the philosophical thought in an orderly manner, commencing with the Carvaka system and concluding with the Vedanta, especially the Advaita.

(cf : बहिर्विषयप्रवणानामापाततः चरमपुरुषार्थे प्रवेशो न भवतीति नास्तिक्यनिवारणाय तैः प्रस्थानभेदाः प्रदर्शिताः । प्रस्थानभेदः)

To reach the subtle, it is essential to analyse the gross. We thus have to start with the Epicurian stand-point, which would accept the testimony of the senses only. The body, the moving, feeling, willing body is the Self according to Carvaṇa. The Baudhas regard the Self as different from the body, but the Atman or the Self which is just a conglomeration of five Skandhas (Rupa, Vedana, Sajna, Samskara, Vijnana) is momentary and fleeting according to them. Then come the Jainas, who partially accept the separate existence of the Atman or Self. The Nyaya and the Vaisesika systems prove beyond doubt the eternal existence of the Atman. They prove the Atman in its Sat aspect. The Nyaya and Vaisesika systems have thus been regarded as the first rung of the metaphysical ladder.

(न्यायवैशेषिकाभ्यां हि सुखदुःखाद्यनुवादतो देहादिमात्रविवेकेन आत्मा प्रथमभूमिकायामनुमापितः । एकदा परमूर्क्ष्मे प्रवेशा सम्भवात् । विज्ञानभिक्षु)

The Samkhya-Yoga systems go a step further. Consciousness according to them cannot be an attribute of the Self, or soul. The relation between consciousness and the self cannot be styled either as 'samavaya, or as 'samyoga'. No such relation can be proved logically. The Samkhya-Yoga therefore conclude that the Self is Consciousness itself. Yoga in addition speaks of a cosmic Purusa whom it calls Isvara. Both Samkhya and Yoga however do not consider that the self is also 'Ananda'. The Vedanta comes in here. The Self illumines every thing and hence it is Absolute Consciousness. It is always experienced that the removal of barrier in knowledge, results in joy. When there is no barrier in knowledge there must be Infinite Joy. And hence the self is Existence Absolute, Knowledge Absolute, and Joy Absolute, Sat-Cit-Ananda.

From a different standpoint also, Indian thought can be arranged in a proper order. The 'Arambhavada' proclaims that the effect is not inherent in the cause, it is entirely a new thing. 'Parinamavada' declares that such cannot be the case, the effect must be inherent in the cause. Finally comes Vivartavada, declaring that the effect is but a seeming manifestation of the root-cause. The 'Sanksepariraka' says:

आरुह्य भूमिमधरामितराधिरोढुं शक्येति शास्त्रमपि कारणकार्यभावम् ।

उक्त्वा पुरा परिणतिप्रतिपादनेन संप्रत्यपोहति विकारमृषात्वसिद्धयै ॥

In face of this, it appears strange to us why doubt still lurks in minds of scholars about the systematic development of Indian philosophic thought.

The confusing nature of the presentation of Indian philosophic thought is also criticised adversely by many. There is no gainsay-

ing the fact that it becomes very difficult for a non-Indian to choose the grain from the chaff (as understood by him) and there is a clear need for writing popular books on Indian philosophy that would gather only the essential principles without any extraneous matter. How the Indian philosophers came to make a mess of their philosophical ideas can be easily understood. For reasons given above, it was not possible for them to throw aside 'Sruti'; so the panacea of 'Samanvaya' or the harmonising of the conflicting Sruti texts came to be the most important goal to be placed by a philosopher before himself. The philosophical Sruti texts were handed down by tradition, without any human being coming forward to claim their authorship. You could not choose at random which texts are trustworthy or not, all these texts must be regarded as trustworthy and only then people would believe in them. Hence philosophic writers used all their ingenuity to prove that there was no conflict among Sruti passages, which on the face of them are as contradictory as they could possibly be. Some thinkers accepted only those texts as authoritative which favoured their views and rejected others. But this method could not possibly meet with general approval. Sankaracarya easily can claim the greatest success in this game of 'Samanvaya.' By accepting the 'Paramarthiki Avastha' and the 'Vyavahariki Avastha' Sankara is able to do full justice to both Saguna and Nirguna passages found in the श्रुति

texts. The Saguna passage must have been there before the Nirguna passages and the Apacchedanyaya tells us that what comes later is more authoritative. Ramanuja regards the Saguna passages as authoritative and boldly explains Nirguna as meaning without 'Heyagunas' only. To Ramanuja the whole world is but a 'Prakara' of Brahman. In this way justice is intended to be done to the various passages, for you can not ignore any passage whatsoever in the Sruti. If the Indian philosophers had not undertaken this voluntary additional burden upon themselves, it would have been better for the proper understanding of the philosophic thought as it is understood in the West, but we would have been deprived of the practical illustration of the different Mimamsa rules of interpretation. All this may not be philosophy proper in the accepted sense of the term, but it certainly is intellectual exercise of a very high order. It is interesting to note that the oneness of the Highest Reality (एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति) has not been seriously challenged even by the dualists (the materialists need not be taken into account in this connection). Even the Vaisesikas who regard the Atman as a mere Dravya are prepared to admit that Number 1 is the only true number (or Samkhya), the other numbers being merely 'Apeksabuddhijanya' which is precisely the position an Advaitin would take in the description of the Samsara. The tendency to describe Moksa as Salokata, Sarupata, Sayujyata, etc., in respect of the Highest, can also be traced to the same idea of not deviating from the Ekatva of the Highest preached in the Vedanta. The aim of the Bhasyakaras thus came to be, to find a solution of the problem how the 'Anekatva' came out from the 'Eka'. Different views came to be put forth with great vigour, such as the denial of the Karya-karana by Gaudapada, the Avaccheda of Vacaspati, the pratibimbavada, the Drstirstivada, the Kalpanavada (carried to its ex-

treme form by the Yogavasistha), the Jaganmithyavada as a result of the working of Avidya and Maya and so on. All these deserve to be studied and scrutinized more thoroughly. The Avaccheda of Vacaspatimisra has got to be studied afresh, as some of the current views about his doctrine are now found to be not quite accurate. Similarly, it cannot be too often emphasised that according to San-karacarya, the world is not 'Mithya' or false but it is 'सत्यानृते मिथुनीकृत्य' which is an entirely different proposition.

It would be, therefore, more correct to say that the Srutisara-nata did not come in the way of original thinking and the fact that the different Darsanas or systems of philosophy could flourish side by side, speaks volumes in favour of the catholicity of Hindu religion. Even a rank materialist can claim to be a member of the Hindu society. This is a fact which is often glossed over by critics who want to emphasise the differences between the various sects. In India, philosophy and religion are so much mixed together that the philosophers could not but hold fast to some infallible testimony, if not to satisfy themselves, at least to show that they did not want to stray outside the fold of Hinduism.

We have so far tried to show that the course of Hindu philosophy has run in a normal manner, except that the Highest philosophic principles came to be evolved far too early and it took several centuries before they were properly digested and clarified, that the Indian philosophers do show considerable originality of thought in spite of their ultimate dependence upon scriptural authority, that the development of philosophic thought generally took the course of modifying the extreme monism of Advaita and bringing philosophy from heaven to earth, so as to be within the reach of the common man. In some cases, the philosophical thought came to be replaced by base superstitious practices which ordinary persons love to follow, but this has happened practically in all countries and there is no reason for singling out India in particular for blame.

Pure advaita or extreme monism may be cited as the main contribution of India to the philosophic thought of the world. Likewise, the description of the dream-state and the mystic Yogic communion with the Highest in the Samadhi stage are also peculiarly Indian concepts. These are not still properly scrutinized scientifically in the light of modern advances in psychology. The Vedic texts begin with Om and end with formula Om Santih, Santih, Santih, that is, in the opinion of the ancient seers in Bharata, the goal that should be put before one was that there should be peace and tranquility everywhere. Visvasanti was thus the ideal aimed at. The same ideal is now prominently before the eyes of those who hold the destiny of Bharata in their hands. It is a matter of great satisfaction that other nations also have been attracted in a practical manner to this ideal, and it is confidently hoped that the efforts of Bharata in this respect would in course of time be crowned with success. Indian philosophy can play a prominent part in making the path smooth for such a progress. Nothing can be more efficacious in convincing a person about the

Visvasanti than the acceptance of the Advaita philosophical tenets of 'One Brahman or Atman without a second'. As the Upanisadic passage pertinently declares:—When one is convinced of the oneness of the Atma, how can there be any duality which is a necessary condition for seeing, hearing etc. another thing? But who can see the seer, or know the knower? and so forth. The most convincing reason why you should love your neighbour is that the Atman of both is the same, and as the Atman is the dearest thing for oneself, it follows that the neighbour also should be your dearest object. This may sound all right, but, it might be asked, what is the practical utility of this all, and how do you account for the diversity of creeds and sects in the face of the Advaita doctrine being apparently accepted by all? The answer to these important queries may be given as under:—As Gaudapada puts it, the Advaita doctrine has no reason to quarrel with any other doctrine (Gauda Karika III. 17-18). The Advaita believes that only Atman or Brahman is the Reality, every thing else does not exist in reality and is 'Arta'. If people can desire satisfaction by enunciating different theories about what exists not, the Advaita sees no reason to interfere with their discretion. If somebody chooses to give us a history of the Vandhyaputra where he was born and educated, where he was married and so forth, we might feel amazed and might even admire his imaginative powers, but there can hardly be any philosophical truth in it. Some of you perhaps have read the description of the three cities, two of which were deserted and no one lived in the third, and so on. A story of three unborn sons in the Yogavasistha illustrates this point very clearly. (cf. Yoga-Vasistha Utpatti III. 101.32).

It is amazing to find how intimately the Advaita doctrine has pervaded the mentality and outlook of the common man all over India. The followers of the Bhagavata school, who believe in the nine—fold Bhakti for securing Moksa and are frankly dualists, find in their sacred text, the Bhagavata, nothing but the Advaita doctrines expressed in beautiful phraseology. The Saints of Maharashtra, Tukarama and others (17th and 18th centuries) who founded the cult of the Varakaris who visit the shrine of Vithoba at Pandharpur every year have preached in their Aphangas the Advaita doctrines in all their bearings: That God is all-pervading, that He can be secured only by pure devotion, that He does not like the out-ward forms of worship, that God is one etc. (cf. the Upanisad Eko Devah Sarvabhutesu Gudhah). A well-known Marathi poet Vaman speaks of 'Tukarama in wonderment as under:

जयाची वदे पूर्ण वेदान्त वाणी ।

म्हणावें कसें हो त्यालागि वाणी ॥

'How can I speak of Tukarama as a Vaisya who in his speech, talks nothing but Advaita Vedanta in its fulness.' Thus the diversity of creed or the insistence on Bhakti has not been able to oust the Advaita from its high pedestal. The need of the present times, as we have already stated, is to popularise this aspect of Indian philosophy in easily understandable language which would enable

the foreigner to appraise its proper value. Dr. Radhakrishnan has done this job admirably for the intellectuals of foreign countries; either he or some one else, ought to come forward to do this for the sake of the ordinary reader.

The concepts enshrined in the following well-known expressions :

अमृतत्वस्य तु नाशस्ति वित्तेन, विज्ञानारमरे केन विजायीयात्, नायमात्मा
बलहीनेन लभ्यः, ऐतदात्म्यमिदं सर्वम्,

cannot be easily forgotten and they contain the quintessence of Indian philosophy which is justly proud of having enriched the total philosophic thought.

In Bengal Caitanya founded a powerful school of Bhakti; the Tamilians have an unbroken tradition of more than 2000 years, but all these are surely permeated with Advaita thought. So also the Kannadigas had this cult of Bhakti properly looked after. Whether we regard Schopenhauer's description of Indian philosophy, "The Upanisads have been a solace in my life, they would be my solace after death," as an exaggeration or not, there is no doubt that a proper study and evaluation of Indian philosophy would be both an intellectual treat and a means for insight into the eternal verities. Indian philosophy has now-a-days secured an honoured place in the curriculum of studies at our colleges and Universities and it is confidently hoped that our University people would play an important part in interpreting and popularising this glorious important heritage, viz. Indian philosophic thought.

TECHNICAL SCIENCE AND FINE ARTS SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

DR C. C. DAS GUPTA. M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab),
Calcutta

I am highly indebted and grateful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for electing me to preside over the Technical Sciences and Fine Arts Section of the 18th All-India Oriental Conference at Annamalainagar, an honour which I deeply appreciate. The All-India Oriental Conference, as you are quite well aware was founded in 1919 with a few sections devoted to various branches of oriental learning. There was no section devoted to Technical Sciences and Fine Arts till 1928. Since then it has been a regular feature of this Conference. Eminent scholars and art historians like Prof. O. C. Ganguly, Shri Ajit Ghosh, Shri N. C. Mehta, Prof. S. Suhrawardy, Prof. S. Kramrisch, Khan Bahadur M. Sanaullah, Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta, Prof. V. S. Agrawala, Dr. Moti Chandra and Dr. H. Goetz were presidents of this section before me. They are all very eminent men of letters known throughout the length and breadth of this country for their erudition. I am fully conscious of my short-comings in comparison with them; but still I can not refuse the honour, trust and responsibility which have been bestowed upon me by the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference. I shall try my best to make my presidential address interesting; and if there are mistakes and omissions, I hope you will kindly excuse me.

At the beginning I express the feelings of grief which we experience at the passing away of Mr. Percy Brown, one of the most famous art-historians who have devoted their attention to Indian art. The late Mr. Brown was an artist and joined the Government School of Art at Calcutta as its Principal. After retirement from this post he joined the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta as its Curator and Secretary which post he held till a late period. Throughout his whole official career he flourished not only as a painter of repute but also an art-historian of rare distinction and merit. His work on "Indian Painting" gives in a brief compass a lucid, learned and attractive account of Indian painting from the earliest times to the modern age. His master-piece, however, is *Indian Architecture* in 2 volumes, which gives us a scholarly account of the origin and development of Indian architecture in various forms from the earliest times to the end of the Muslim period. He was also responsible for creating an enthusiasm in the mind of many young scholars for the arts of this country. His death has created a void in the field of this study which is hard to fill.

As the last session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in the year 1953, it would be a good idea to give an account of the important books written on Indian Fine Arts in the period

between 1953 and 1955. Dr. Benjamin Rowiad has produced an excellently got up, profusely illustrated book on ancient Indian Fine Arts in the year 1953 entitled "Art and Architecture of India." This belongs to a series devoted to the study of fine arts of the world and edited by Slade Professor of Fine Arts in the University of Cambridge. This book, though lacking a good bibliography, is attractive and characterised by a freshness in its approach to ancient Indian Fine Arts. In another work entitled "Art in East and West" he has provided an interesting guide to aesthetics. A few specimens of Eastern and Western Arts which are set side by side are illuminating. Usually the book provokes to violent disagreement which may be a service. Dr. S. Kramrisch, an indefatigable worker in the field of ancient Indian Fine Arts, has written two important works entitled "Dravida and Kerala in the art of Travancore" and "The Art of India through the ages." The first book is a small treatise on the art of Travancore; and the second contains magnificent photographs of ancient Indian art. The textual portion of this work is in the form of a note which is quite original. Mr. W. G. Archer, Keeper of the India Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London has produced in 1953 three important books, viz., "Bazaar paintings of Calcutta. The style of Kalighat", "Garhwal Painting" and "Kangra Painting". The first treatise deals with the eighteenth century paintings of Calcutta about which much in the form of articles has already been written and a book was a long-felt desideratum. The last two works contain interesting but short accounts of the Garhwal and Kangra schools of painting, highly interesting photographs and descriptive notes about them. Messrs. Pierre Rambach and Viyold de Golish has produced a book entitled "The golden age of Indian Art, 5th to 13th century." In this admirable work special emphasis has been given on the art of an age which is generally neglected. The authors have claimed that Chalukyan art, hitherto regarded as a provincial school, can vie in the number and perfection of its master-pieces with Graceo-Roman antiquity or mediaeval Christian art. This work is important for it begins with the period where many histories of Indian art stop. It gives a large number of excellent photos of Chalukyan art which constitute an excellent link between the imperial Gupta and the mediaeval Orissa schools. Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, a distinguished art-historian, has produced the last volume on Ajanta entitled "Ajanta: Part IV, Text; Part, IV. Portfolio of Plates". This volume is perhaps the finest of the lot. It is entirely concerned with Cave XVII. Many of these paintings are unfortunately much damaged. Dr. Yazdani has provided the careful charts to obtain an idea of location, proportion and scale. It is generally accepted that the paintings of Cave XVII belong to the end of the 5th century, and constitute the apex of the Vakataka-Gupta style. Dr. Yazdani has produced a book for which art-lovers and scholars will be grateful.

In a presidential address devoted to Indian Fine Arts it would not be out of point to speak some thing about the present position of the study of Indian fine arts in modern India. The study of art was cultivated in our country in ancient and mediaeval times. There

are many art remains and literary records to prove that art was most devotedly studied and practised in ancient India. The Kama-sutra of Vatsyayana, for example, mentions the drawing panel, paints and brushes as parts of the ordinary furniture of a gentleman's chamber. As in ancient India, there was a devoted attachment to all fine arts in mediaeval India. The Hindus went on developing their own objects of art, the Muhamadans also developed and enriched their own objects of art in architecture and painting. In course of time there grew up a school of fine arts in which the Muhammadan and the Hindu traditions were blended. In the modern period with the advent of the British people there was a tremendous clash of Indian and Western ideals and the influence of the British advent into India was also felt in the case of Indian fine arts. In this critical age of Indian fine arts no impetus was given to the study and practice of Indian fine arts, and Havell, the great lover and connoisseur of Indian Fine Arts, made a vehement protest against the incongruous attitude of the Britishers towards the supremely beautiful specimens of Indian fine arts and also the far more deplorable attitude of the Indians themselves towards the artistic legacy of their own motherland. In this age no impetus was given to the study and practice of Indian architecture, sculpture and painting; and every new piece of art—whether architecture or sculpture or painting—which was created was directly imitated from some European model. Fortunately for India there was a reaction against this attitude in the early part of this century and the celebrated painter, the late Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, founded the neo-Indian school of painting in Calcutta and thereby indirectly brought about the renaissance of Indian art. Though Tagore and his followers were successful in creating a genuine interest in Indian artistic heritage in the minds of educated Indians by establishing a number of art-schools in India, yet art is still one of the neglected branches of study in our country.

It may pertinently be asked why art should be studied. In answer to this question it should be stated that there are various reasons for which art should find a place in the educational syllabi of our country. First, art should be studied for the development of aesthetic quality. Every man must develop his aesthetic sense in order to extract beauty from nature and also to make his life beautiful and there is no agent more dynamic than fine arts in developing the aesthetic faculty. Secondly, art should be studied for the proper understanding of human culture. When we study the dynasty of a country, we learn only its political history. It is from the study of art of a country that we understand the culture of a nation. Lastly, art should be studied for economic reasons. A piece of painting which is appreciated for its aesthetic values also brings money to the artist concerned.

The next question is how art should be studied. It may be studied in different ways. Schools for painting, sculpture, architecture, industrial and commercial arts should be established in a greater number. India has practically a very low number of art-schools in comparison with the other civilised countries of the world. Besides these institutions, schools for music (vocal and instru-

mental), dancing and dramaturgy should be established in greater numbers in India.

Art is important and interesting and it should be made a separate subject for study in the matriculation, under-graduate and post-graduate classes of all Indian universities.

Here in this connection it would be relevant to indicate the steps by which it will be possible to create a genuine interest in the receptive mind of college-students so far as art is concerned. They are as follow :—

(a) The study of the history of art will be dry if students are not taken to museums and art-galleries where the specimens about which they read in the text-books are preserved. If they are taken to museums and art-galleries and if the specimens which are kept there are explained to them, then they will find a real joy in the study of the history of art.

(b) In order to create a genuine interest in the mind of college students in contemporary art the authorities of every college should take their students to the exhibition of contemporary art which are held from time to time in principal cities of India.

(c) The authorities of every college should take their students every year to some place of archaeological interest. In this connection it may be said that archaeological sites are of two types, viz., (a) which are excavated and (b) which are unexcavated. It is possible that some students of the college might be aware of an archaeological site in the vicinity which is unexcavated. The authorities of the college should take the students to this site and inspect it.

(d) A small museum should be established in every college and every student should be encouraged to collect art-specimens which are found in abundance in all parts of India. In this manner the students will develop great interest in the study of art.

I shall now take up another problem for discussion and consideration, viz., the position of minor Indian arts in the domain of Indian fine arts. On account of the archaeological exploration and excavation going on in India for almost one century we have found a large number of archaeological sites belonging to different periods of ancient Indian history; and special care has been taken to study the antiquities which have been found there. In this study more stress has been given to the major antiquities such as epigraphy, architecture, sculpture and painting; and minor antiquities have been more or less neglected.

There are certain antiquarian objects which are found in all ancient sites and which are either small in size or have not been considered in the same way as other antiquities. Though they are known as minor antiquities, yet they are not of minor importance. There has been considerable change in the outlook of the archaeologists from the time of Schliemann to the present day. During the

time of Schliemann emphasis was given mainly on the exposition of the extant buildings and on the discovery of big sculptures and inscriptions. The work of the archaeologists was, as it were, to show to the world the hidden treasures; but now the view-point of the archaeologists is very much different. The conception of the archaeologist is at present more humane, realistic and natural. The archaeologists at present study the antiquarian sites as well as the antiquities from the point of throwing light on the daily life led by the people at that time. It is, therefore, a far more detailed study which the archaeologists aimed at and for this reason observation in every stage of a dig as well as the minute study of any type of antiquity are of absolute necessity. If one argues in this way, there cannot be any gainsaying that the study of minor arts is of utmost importance.

The minor Indian arts are mainly terracotta, seal and jewellery. It is a matter of general knowledge that in almost every archaeological site some sculptural objects made in clay are found. Therefore their study with all different phases is of utmost importance; yet they are not studied in the manner in which it is desired. They are important for the following reasons. First, they are found in almost all archaeological sites of India. Therefore it is quite easy to find them and it becomes imperative to study them. Secondly, they are found in India from the earliest times to the end of the Hindu period. Therefore we can know the various stages through which this particular art-object has passed. Thirdly, as the earliest specimens are also incidentally the earliest art-objects in India, they add to our knowledge about the beginnings of Indian sculpture. Lastly, they also supply us with valuable knowledge regarding the religious history of India in the earliest age which we can not get from any other source.

There is also another important kind of minor art which should also receive our attention. These are the seals. It is a matter of great regret that they have not yet been properly studied. They have been found in a large number of archaeological sites throughout India. They are important for the historical, religious and administrative histories of India. First, they are invaluable for the study of the origin and evolution of ancient Indian script. In this connection mention may be made of the very important groups of seals and sealings of the Indus Valley age found at a number of sites such as Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Chanhudaro in Sind and the Punjab. On these objects we have generally found an inscription which has not yet been properly deciphered. As they are still undeciphered, we know so little about the significance of this civilisation. Secondly, they are very important for the historical literature of India. We have got a number of seals from which we can frame some very important historical conclusions. In this connection particular mention may be made of the Bhitari seal of Purugupta from which we know a good deal of the Gupta chronology. Thirdly they are an important source for the religious history of India. It is well-known that on both sides of the seals the representation of various gods and goddesses belonging mainly to chief Indian pantheons as well as of the earliest phase is found. In this con-

nection very important materials may be cited. One very important example has been found at Mohenjo-daro. In it we find the representation of a male figure which has rightly been considered as the proto-type of Siva. So naturally they give us a very important material for the early history of Saivism. These examples may easily be multiplied. This clearly shows the importance of seals and sealing from the point of view of the religious history of India. We have found a large number of names on the seals which are those of the high officials holding various kinds of appointment.

We come to another kind of minor antiquity. These are the remnants of jewellery. They are also found in a large number of sites in India. A proper study of them may lead us to know many things. First, a proper study of the extant jewellery remains may lead us to know about the different types and varieties of the ornaments in vogue during the ancient period. Secondly, they will also let us know about the development of culture in a certain period of history.

They are various fields in which research may be done for the advancement of learning. In fact, the fields are so many that it will require more scholars to do those works than what we have at present. Here I may be permitted to indicate some subjects which may be pursued by enthusiastic scholars. In the field of ancient Indian sculpture research may be profitably done on the following subjects, viz., Post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya sculpture, Mathura school of sculpture, Sarnath school of sculpture, ancient Indian seals, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata as depicted in Indian sculpture. In the domain of ancient Indian architecture profitable research may be done on the origin and development of Indian columns, and Indian architecture as depicted in ancient Indian relief-sculpture. In the sphere of ancient Indian painting an exhaustive treatise on ancient Indian painting from the earliest times to the end of the Hindu period is a long-felt desideratum.

It is not possible to do important and useful research unless a full knowledge of the subject concerned is known. Therefore for the proper prosecution of research a complete bibliographical journal is absolutely necessary. Since 1926 the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published by the Kern Institute of Leyden in Holland has given a complete list of books and articles, accompanied by their summaries, on ancient Indian fine arts; but since the publication of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the period extending from 1940 to 1947 there has been no further issue of this journal. Its publication is greatly needed for a number of reasons. First, it will make scholars and authors up-to-date. Secondly, it is also required for helping the authors in furnishing a complete bibliography at the end of every book. Thirdly, it is also needed for the satisfaction of all authors because they will be glad to see the name of their articles published and also a summary of them. If the Kern Institute cannot continue this work, it may conveniently be done by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute with the intellectual help of scholars from all parts of India and

financed by Central and State governments. I hope that this suggestion of mine will receive due attention.

For the publication of important research articles on Indian fine arts the publication of a few journals devoted exclusively to this subject is absolutely necessary. There is practically one such journal which is published at Bombay, viz., *Marg*; but this one journal is not sufficient to take up the publication of all articles written in India. It is a matter of great regret that an excellent journal like the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* is not functioning now. Steps should be taken to revive it. Besides these two journals it is necessary to publish a few more on Fine Arts. A journal on the model of the magnificent art-journal of Europe, *Artibus Asiae*, may be published in India with a chief editor and an editorial committee consisting of experts on Indian fine arts in the country. I believe that this suggestion of mine will draw the attention of scholars.

THE TAMIL SECTION PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

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Inspired by your presence, my mind goes back to those ancient days of the rishis of whom the Puranas sing, when Chidambaram was, according to them, the heart of the Universe wherein dances the Lord. Today, Chidambaram as Annamalainagar is the centre of Tamilnad because of this University founded for the study, development and popularisation of all that is best in the Tamil country. Our merchants of ancient time carried our culture to the distant countries of the world and were responsible for many religious and cultural institutions. True to this tradition, the Merchant Prince, Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Tamil Nad founded this cultural centre, the Annamalai University whose traditions are kept alive by his son Rajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar and the present Vice-Chancellor Sri. T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai. That unique Tamilian spirit of loving hospitality is the very atmosphere of this University, an atmosphere whose presence you must all have felt and enjoyed.

I am glad that a Tamil section has been organised this year and I must express the gratitude of all the Tamilians, however unworthy I may be as their mouthpiece. It was your love for Tamil, more than my individual merit that was responsible for choosing me to occupy the privileged position of a President of this section, and this brings to my mind the sad thought that most of the stars of the first magnitude on the horizon of Tamil studies had set. May we pay our humble homage in loving remembrance to those departed souls:—Dr. Swaminatha Iyer, R. Raghava Aiyangar, Kanakasabai Pillai, Swami Vipulananda, Vellakkal Subramaniya Mudaliar, K. Subramaniya Pillai, Marai Malai Atikal, Pandithamani Katiresa Chettiar, T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, and Kavimani Desikavinayakm Pillai, with all of whom I had the good fortune to come into intimate contact as a lover of Tamil. This thought makes us realise our responsibility, in keeping up their torch of learning ever burning bright, till we hand it over to the next generation in this great race between ever fleeting time and tardy human achievement.

May I in all humility suggest that this Tamil Section may be a permanent feature of the subsequent sessions of our Oriental Conference? Tamil has two aspects, one as a Modern Language and the other as a Classical language. Our revered and beloved Minister for Education at the centre, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, inaugurating the Conference of Letters on 15-3-1951 which met for the establishment of the Academy of Letters or the Sahitya Akademi as it is now called, emphasised this truth which is very often either neglected or forgotten. "The fourteen languages recognised by the constitution", he then said, "include Sanskrit and Tamil. Sanskrit is of course in a class by itself and is rightly recognised as one, of

the most developed of classical languages. Tamil also has a rich and ancient literature and its poetry has deservedly to be translated into foreign languages. We must, however, remember that Tamil is really a *classical language* and most of the achievements of Tamil, which entitle it to recognition, belong to a past age." My appeal is only to give effect to this recognition and if this Oriental Conference of Scholars is not going to give this recognition, who else would?

This is not to minimise the importance of Tamil as a modern language---its present vitality and its future possibility. A language with journals older than the present century, and with circulation reaching very often a hundred thousand, a language which has produced the modern miracle in the East of an Encyclopaedia of modern knowledge in Tamil, a language which had given birth to Bharati, the poet of the national awakening, Kavimani, the poet of the child and the common man, Thiru, V.K. the great orator and the father of Modern Prose, T.K.C., the creator of literary appreciation, Kalki, the humourist and the historical novelist, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, the great exponent of political and administrative thoughts in Tamil, not to speak of his literary and scientific expositions, Putumai-p-pittan, the short story writer, and E. T. Rajeswari, the exponent of popular science can justify its claim as one of the best languages of the East, especially when it is seen that I have restricted my attention to only those who are, unfortunately for us, not with us anymore, and that the race of writers is multiplying in number and power, fame and prestige. These cannot escape the notice of the world.

But in an Oriental Conference, it is the aspect of our classical learning that has to be kept alive. First is therefore the task of rescuing the ancient classics. Damodaram Pillai and Swaminatha Iyer can never be forgotten for their bequeathal to posterity of their valuable editions of Tolkappiyam and Sangam and other works. The three Universities of the South, the Madras, the Annamalai and the Travancore, the two great public libraries, the Madras Oriental and the Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal, and the great religious mutts of Tamil land, the Dharmapuram, Tiruppanandal and Thiruvavaduturai, are all now issuing editions of old Tamil works. The old manuscripts used by Dr. Swaminatha Iyer and others are fortunately still available. It is very unfortunate that provision had not been made for taking mechanical copies, which alone will avoid the personal equation in copying and will make copies available to the students of colleges and other scholars without much cost, copies which can be read conveniently in a magnified form, with the help of illuminated readers. The last word is yet to be said about the editors of the old texts. The scientific method of editing the old manuscripts evolved by the editors of the West and the East has to be followed; and for an understanding of this method and practice, the mechanical copies must become available to all the students. Perhaps the reading and editing of old texts from manuscripts, along with the study of Paleography for reading and editing the inscriptions, may be made one of the special or optional subjects in a Tamil Honours course. A well-framed syllabus providing for practical work will help the students to bring out scientifically pre-

pared editions of the old texts, commentaries and inscriptions. There are manuscripts in Tamil of probably the 12th century in Tibet. In the libraries of the West, there are various commentaries on Tolkappiyam and other grammatical works in Tamil which unfortunately have not till now been taken for publication by the manuscript libraries that have a scheme of publication. There is also enough of lexicon matter which if published will help the preparation of a historical dictionary.

The Tamil lexicon prepared by the Madras University is an important landmark and it was not, and could not have been, drawn on historical principles. It had not even attempted to arrange the meanings listed therein, roughly at least, according to the relative age of the various works, from which it quotes. The Government of India is sponsoring the preparation and publication of a Sanskrit dictionary on historical principles, and this has been made possible by the various dictionaries including the Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-European which have been published from time to time. A historical dictionary of Tamil language is equally necessary. It is learnt that Prof. Burrows of England and Prof. Emenau of America are going to work on an etymological dictionary of the Dravidian Languages. The study of the unrecorded Dravidian languages—the so-called uncultured dialects—is very important from this point of view. Prof. Burrows study of the Parji language and Prof. Emenau's study of the Kota text and the Kolami language are master-pieces in this line. In his work on the Kolami, Prof. Emenau has given us an idea of the projected etymological dictionary of the Dravidian languages. It is very unfortunate that whilst foreigners are evincing such great interest in these languages and mastering them, the native-born speakers of Dravidian Languages do not make a serious study of its sister languages with the inevitable result, that the study of the Comparative Dravidian remains stagnant where Dr. Caldwell left it nearly a century back, except for a few attempts here and there, inside and outside India. The Southern Universities along with the University of Ceylon and the University of Malaya can easily co-operate in this project of a comparative study. Speaking from the point of view of a Tamilian, except in the commercial circles, linguists are not very many. The cheap but highly strained emotional controversy about the linguistic problem in the South, seems to cloud the issue and kindle an unwarranted and unwarranted prejudice against the study of other languages.

The unwritten languages have also to be studied for an understanding of the various problems of Tamil. In a paper to be read before this session on the Conjugation of the Tamil Verbs, attempting to explain forms like *cenran* சென்றான் the contributor suggests that the root here must have been originally *cen* சென் which became *cel* செல் due to the denasalisation of the ending—a process which is amply proved by *en* என் becoming *el* எல், an *ஆன்* becoming *al* (ஆல்) and in (இன்) becoming *il* இல். But this must have taken place long before the age of Tolkappiyam and the Sangam works which use the forms like *Celavu*.

A study of the Kolami language proves the existence of this nasal ending; for the root there is even today,

சென். Once again this contributor, explaining the infinitive in Tamil finds some forms like *nirka* நிற்க and *nirpa* நிற்ப which cannot be explained away as a combination of the root and the suffix "a", if one were to take the root as *nil* நில according to the established Tamil usage. The contributor refers to the Malayalam usage, where *nilkku* நிலக்கு is taken as the root. The unwritten dialects throw a flood of light. In the Parji language *nilp* is the root and in its northern dialect this takes the form *nilk* thus completely explaining the two forms *nirka* and *nirpa* as forms existing in two different dialects. Dr. Caldwell traces the original meaning of suffixes like the negative *il*, *al* etc. on the assumption, that the forms in Tamil are the original or primitive forms. Are they the real primeval forms?—that is the question. In the unwritten languages, we find the negative particle *il* இல் as *kil* and *cil* in Kolami and Sid in Kui. At a particular period in the history of Tamil Language, the initial 'e' was lost, which gives therefore the Tamil form *il* for *kil* and *cil*. This explains the futility of building any theory on the forms found in the cultured languages alone, in the absence of a detailed and comparative study of the unwritten languages and dialects.

The history of Tamil language can be written only with the help of such studies. An index of words and their various forms must be prepared as found in the classics and inscriptions. A comparative study of the dated documents may throw light on the forms found in undated documents. The Government of India has sanctioned research scholarships for a study of the Tamil Inscriptions upto the beginning of the reign of Kulothunga and for a study of the index of Tolkappiyam. The study of the history of the language from the very beginning, through a series of specialised studies of the different periods has been attempted, in the study of the Tamil Inscriptions of seventh and eighth centuries and of the early Kanarese and Malayalam Inscriptions by the students of London School of Asian and African studies and the Deccan College of Poona; and these may be continued by the Tamil students for the subsequent centuries. The study of Tolkappiyam fortunately reveals the existence of the grammatical study in Tamil prior to Tolkappiyar, thanks to his systematic mention of all those rules of grammar and technical terms of the ancient times specifically as belonging to an age anterior to him. One of the papers submitted to this section gives us a bird's eye view of the pre-Tolkappiyam study of words. It is the detailed study of the words in ancient texts and inscriptions that will throw a flood of light on the development of Tamil. In the absence of these, all attempts at fixing the age of the texts merely on the assumption of certain forms of words may not amount to anything more than a biased-guess. The tendency in Tamil for the final nasal *n* to be denasalised into *l* as pointed above is older than Tolkappiyam. If that were so, how is one to explain the denasalisation of a final *n* used by Tolkappiyar himself? Was there once again a period, subsequent to the Sangam age, when this tendency cropped up afresh? Or it may be that the denasalisation was restricted to certain dialects which later on spread into all the other dialects. *Nirpa* and *Nirka* have been shown to be old dialectic variations. If this was so, it is necessary to study the dialects,

if possible of the age of the Sangam and other works. Perhaps this line of study alone will explain the coming into use, all of a sudden, of forms having the present tense sign *kir* and *kinru*. In the absence of the reliable explanation of trends and changes, any attempt at fixing the age of the undated documents cannot be considered scientific. In a consideration of these varied forms, the question of the influence of the copyists cannot be altogether neglected. For the purpose of convenient reading a recent edition of *Narrinai*, a Sangam classic, has separated the words; but in so doing has given us the ending of many words in *l*, where one should have an ending in *n*. If modern scholarship is capable of this wonder, what may be expected from the copyists of middle ages, who might not have been scholars themselves.

The pronunciation problem of ancient and medieval Tamil remains still unsolved. Modern Tamil differentiates, in its pronunciation, between the voiceless and voiced stops, though this cannot be suspected from its writings. Is this a new innovation in the language? If so when did it start? These are the problems which face us. The writings can never give us any clue. The transliteration of Tamil words in foreign languages, which differentiate in their writings the voiced and voiceless stops, may help us in this line of studies. One of the papers submitted to this section studies these problems with the help of the inscriptions of the Pallava and Chola period, where Tamil words are found transliterated in Sanskrit verses. The contributor points out that in that period of her study, the law of convertibility of surds and sonants, was not in force and the letters were pronounced as they were written. One has to study in this way, period after period, for arriving at a general conclusion.

The present time seems to be auspicious. The Government of India are planning a linguistic survey and the Tamilians must now prepare themselves for a study, not only of the cultured languages but also of the unrecorded dialects, of which there are many in our own midst and amongst the aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri and other mountains. The Linguistic School run by the Deccan College, Poona, thanks to Dr. Katre, getting the support of the Rockefeller foundation for running the project in its initial stages, runs a summer and a winter school every year and trains during the rest of the period stipendiary fellows in linguistic research. It is unfortunate that the speakers of the Dravidian Languages including Tamil have not taken as much advantage as a few others. It is likely that Summer and Winter schools may be held in the Tamil country when a sufficient number of students of Tamil may get themselves trained for the task ahead of them. The Annamalai University, thanks to whose hospitality we are assembled here, has a Chair for Dravidian linguistics and it has invited the School of Linguistics for holding its session within its own precincts. There are brighter days thus dawning for a study of the history of the Tamil language and its dialects.

In this study, the recent developments of what is called Glottochronology in America may be of great help. This takes up 215 basic ideas denoted by words which do not usually change,

except very slowly, in any language and studies how much of these common words are found still in current use, after a period of time in the same language or in the various but connected dialects branching off from that language. The percentage of survival seems to offer a clue for our fixing the starting point. This theory may be verified with reference to Sangam works and the works of subsequent periods; and, if correct, may help us to fix the respective ages of the various works, on the basis of the statistical formula worked out in detail. This may also help us to fix roughly the time, when the various Dravidian languages separated from each other or from the proto-Dravidian.

In the preparation of the history of the Tamil language, the Inscriptions whose dates have been fixed will be of great help. It is therefore very unfortunate that even the inscriptions so far copied by the Government department had not been made available in print. The centralisation of the Epigraphical Department gives no scope for the erstwhile healthy rivalry among the States in collecting and printing the epigraphical records. It is for serious consideration whether the linguistic States may not take over the copying and publication of the Inscriptions in their respective languages and within their jurisdiction.

The history of Tamil country is connected with the study of the Inscriptions and the literary evidence. This important and interesting study is still in its initial stage. A recent study of Kulothungam Pillaitamil brings to light the fact that the reign of Vikramachola was not such a peaceful one as is often represented. The victories of the Chola over the southern and northern kings is often referred to in this work. His blood relation with his successor is another problem. A study of our literature raises problems like this, which require for their solution the help of inscriptions. Therefore the non-publication of the available inscriptions assumes a form of disservice to the necessary pursuit of knowledge.

There is also the history of Tamil literature yet to be written. There is no difficulty in our appreciation of our Classics without reference to their age. There is a paper to be read before us on Atticudi—or Avvaiyar's book of alphabets. There is another bringing out the greatness of Kamban. There is a third which studies the religion of the author of Silappadikaram as revealed in the earliest epic of Tamilians. This shows that Tamil literature is being studied from all points of view and at different levels without any reference to the difficulties of fixing their age. Every work of art has an individuality of its own, but the whole literature as pointed out by T. S. Elliot forms an organic whole, with reference to which every literary work finds in the National Mind its proper place and equilibrium. It is this perspective that gets blurred in the absence of a history of Tamil literature. The main difficulty lies in the problem of fixing the age of the various works. Many of the so-called histories of Tamil literature are getting themselves lost in these intricacies. No attempt has been made for tracing the history of literary tendencies, conventions, forms and modes and of the rhythm. If one starts from the beginning, in the mysterious

past, this difficulty is unavoidable. May I therefore humbly suggest that we do reverse the process and start writing or studying the history backwards from Modern times, whose contributions are unfortunately very much neglected, in our modern studies and college course. We can then trace every modern trend to the old poets and scholars, century after century, conveniently making the clock of time run backwards. One's familiarity with modern literature will help one to see the historical development more clearly than otherwise. There may be the danger of seeing things modern in things ancient everywhere; but such pitfalls beset the way of every research. But if one can guard against that, this is always the better method of studying history—proceeding from the known to the unknown. This may help us to fix the relative age of historical trends and works from this point of view. This is nothing new. This is what a great educationist, a great headmaster of a famous English School, Mr. Sanderson, had suggested for a study of history itself. In spite of our pre-occupation with the ancient classics, the course suggested will help us to keep a living contact with the literature of the people and its influence on our classics all through its history reminding us forcibly that our country had not been non-existent after the age of the classics, and that our people always continued to sing and recite, to compose and enjoy poetry all through their existence. This seems to be the more democratic course also. The ancient classics, through this slow and steady process, get themselves fixed in the general scheme of Tamil literature in its historical march. When their influence is traced this way, their greatness and significance leap up before our mind's eye as a divine presence always with us. Perhaps, in the future courses of our post-graduate study, we must lay the emphasis, for these reasons, on the specialisation of these later periods of Tamil literature.

The inter-relation of Tamil and other languages and other cultures raises very significant and surprising problems. Malayalam in its northern parts conducts shadow-plays where the wire-pullers behind the screen recite Kambaramayanam verses. Provision had been made in ancient times for recitation of Kambaramayanam in Malabar. Tulsidas who is considered to have come on a religious pilgrimage to Rameswaram, in the Tamil country, writes, in his Ramacaritmanas, of Rama and Seetha meeting and falling in love with each other before the Swayamvaram began—a version which is found only in Kambar, true to the Tamilian tradition of love—a version which must have appealed to Tulsidas during his southern pilgrimage. The influence of Ramanuja and the Tamil Bhakti cult on the religious Reformers of the North, though vaguely guessed, has yet to be studied in all its details. The stories of the Saiva Saints of Tamil Nad have travelled to the Telugu and Kannada countries not to speak of their Sanskrit versions. Tamil works have been copied in Malayalam, Telugu and other scripts and a detailed study of such works will explain the spread of Tamilian influence and the reason therefor. Another method of studying this influence is through the Tamil inscriptions outside the Tamil country.

This again raises the philosophical contributions of the Tamil land. Saiva Siddhanta texts and commentaries, the Srivaishnavaita commentaries and sutras are in Tamil and without an acquaintance

with these, one cannot pretend to have a first-hand knowledge of these schools of thought. The importance of Tevaram in the development of Temple cult is brought out in one of the papers to be read here, whereas another contribution emphasises the significance of the hymns and philosophical works in Tamil of the Chola period. This influence cannot be easily exaggerated. Dingnaga, the Buddhist philosopher, was a resident of Kanchi. The founder of Zen Buddhism was a prince of Kanchi. Ramanuja also resided there, born at Sriperumpudur near Madras. Sankara was a native of the Cera country, then a part of the Tamil land. Ramanuja admittedly traces his thoughts to the Tamil songs of Alvars. Sankara, if Saundaryalahari is his work, knows the Tamil compositions of Gnansambanda. This line of thought will lead us to seek in the great works of these philosophers a Tamilian influence or at least a Tamilian atmosphere. This opens up a new field for research.

In this connection, it may be advisable for opening specialised courses in philosophy and religion for the Tamil Vidwan and Tamil Post-graduate students. A systematic training may inspire them to pursue further research therein. As in Sanskrit, the Tamil course also may lead to specialisation in grammar, literature, literary criticism, comparative and historical philology, philosophy, religion and history.

The Tamilian contact with the West—with Greece and Rome—was a definite fact, though all the details are not yet worked out. The Arikamedu excavations have been very fruitful and we have to make more excavations of this type. More than these excavations, the surveys of marine archeology to be made like those carried out by Philippa Diöle, may bring to light many ship-wrecks and articles of trade which may describe this contact in more eloquent terms. In his book "4,000 years under the Sea", Diöle says, "The Arretani Pottery found near Pondicherry, the Roman coins dug up on Indian soil, the Temple of Augustas at Mysore, all these things bear witness to the long continuance of that maritime route on which the Arabs had laid their hands.....We find proof of this liaison in a people living at the further end of the great route, in the parts of Southern India, where they served as a link between the East and Far East. They were a half-way house people. Perhaps in pre-historic times they had watched ships coming from the West and had loaded them for the return journey with what their own ships had brought from China and Ceylon. These Tamils, who perhaps preserve in their traditions, as a memory, of what life once was like in the Mediterranean, were Dravidian pre-Aryans. They have a very old literature of no little importance. This Tamil civilisation was quite as old as possible to estimate the extent of the debt owed by each to other; there is little doubt, but that the Tamils would prove to be by far the bigger creditors. One of their kings, King Pandya, had sent an embassy to Augustus. They had known at once and the same time the civilisation of the West and the civilisation of China—thanks to their familiarity with sea. Like the Cretons the Tamils were great divers—the foremost pearl divers in the world." After referring to their breathing technique which also plays an important part in their religious mystical practices, he concludes. "The junks which in the 10th, 11th and 12th

centuries carrying the trade between China, India and the Persian gulf contained a group of Tamil divers, whose duty it was to inspect the hulls and carry out repairs by daubing holes and cracks with a composition made of sesame and wax". This outline has to be filled up by a detailed research. The foreign words found in Tamil and the Tamil words found in foreign languages are worthy of study from this point of view.

The contact with the East, which developed into a cultural empire of a Greater India, had been studied with the help of Inscriptions of the Pallava and Chola period. There are Tamil inscriptions in those distant places. The Bengali writers who studied the civilisation of the Eastern Archipelago emphasised the contribution of their own country and they claimed that the National swing festival of Siam was only their own Swing festival connected with the worship of Krishna. I pointed out in the Tamil Festival celebrated at Madras what had been, till then, overlooked in all these discussions—the name 'Tiruppavai and Tiruvembavai' the name of the festival which beyond all doubts is based on the title of two famous works of Tamil land—Tiruppavai of Andal and Tiruvembavai of Manikka-vachakar. This clearly proves the importance of these two works which are coming back to attain their own importance in the modern world, thanks to the attempts of Sri Sankaracharya of Kumbakonam. Rev. Thaniyanayakam has brought to our notice that the songs "Aatium" and "Paacam" from Tiruvembavai were recited as LEREMBA mantras during Coronation and other festivals in Siam. It is not clear what verses were recited from Tiruppavai. All this opens up another line of research.

There is one other important problem that of the inter-relation of Sanskrit and Tamil which may be compared to the confluence of our sacred rivers,—the Ganges and the Jamna: meeting together they flow to the sea as one great river. In the development of culture, it is a sign of death, if one does not respond to the environment. Response to this stimulus is a sign of life. Life is a process of give and take. But borrowing or adaptation is often looked upon by the Chauvinist as a sign of inferiority. This outlook is an expression of the inferiority complex. Culture is a happy commingle of contributions coming from all sides. In the inter-relations of Tamil and Sanskrit, it is often assumed that it was always an one-way traffic. When it is realised that Sanskrit was the lingua franca of India, and that Tamilians like Sankara and Ramanuja contributed their best to this common heritage, it becomes clear how futile it is to speak of a borrowing from Sanskrit as distinguished from a borrowing from specified author. Borrowing from Sanskrit is as meaningful or meaningless as Tamil borrowing from Tamil. I had already referred to the problem of defining the Tamilian atmosphere in the works of those Sanskrit writers hailing from the South. There is again the riddle of Tolkappiyam. It has pregnant suggestions about Dhavani—iraicci—long before the Dhavani School had its rise. In a paper to be read before the Classic Sanskrit Section discussing the Age of Kulasekara, it is said as printed in the Summaries of Papers: "It is impossible to believe that by 800 A.D. a South Indian Commentator could directly refer to the Dhavani doctrine." But does not Tolkappiyam show that this position is not

so clear as to be stated in such a dogmatic way? The relationship between Kashmir Saivism on the one hand and Saiva Siddhanta and Tirumantram of Tirumular on the other and the relationship between the Tamils' iraicci and the Kashmiri Dhanani—how and why these developed in the distant North and South are as interesting and significant as the Kashmir problem in the modern international world.

The Rasas mentioned in Tolkappiyam do not all agree with those mentioned in Bharata. In the place of Sringara we have uvakai or joy. Again the lexicon Tivakaram of the Pallava age gives a list of the figures of speech which is more recent than Bharata's but more ancient than that of Bhamaha or Dandi..... marking and revealing a necessary stage in the development of the Alankara Sastra. Dandi was a great force in the Tamil country. He refers in his Avanti Sundari Katha to a Tamil architect who had written Sudraka carita in Tamil. This gives a valuable clue to the nature of Tamil literature of 7th century. He refers to the Sangatha which is often interpreted as a reference to Dravida Sangatha; probably Sangam anthology and Andadis were in the mind of Dandi. He speaks of Kriyavidhi, and Kriya seems to refer to Kavya. My friend Dr. Raghavan had pointed out in one of his interesting papers that Kriya Kalpa was the old name of Poetics as found in Vatsyayana Kama Sutra and Lalita Vistara. Tolkappiyar and ancient Tamils called their literary composition ceyyul *செய்யுள்*—a word which reminds us of the word Kriya—indeed a rare usage in Sanskrit. There is again the question of the relationship of Tamil music with South Indian music and Tamil dance with Bharata Natya. There are again references to Sanskrit works in the Tamil commentaries to Katantra, Kama Sutra, Kamantaka, Patanjali etc. There are also references to Prakrit works, the Kanarese works like Gunagangeyam, unfortunately not available at present. Schools of Philosophy are summarised in a few works in Tamil.

The Sivagnanabhodam in Tamil—the 12 sutras—is often considered to be a translation into Tamil; but a comparative study convinces many that the Tamil work was the original one. The Tamil sutras are complete in themselves whereas in Sanskrit, the whole idea is expressed in 11½ slokas whilst the last line states “so learn the well defined idea of Saiva Siddhanta in Sivagnanabhoda.” Cekkilar's Periyapuram has been translated as Upamanya Bhakta Vilasam. This latter is often claimed as an original work and if this is true Cekkilar's creative genius has to shrink into insignificance. But in one of my studies 'Anpu muti'—the study on Eripatta Nayanar—I pointed out how the Sanskrit work makes blunders which can be explained only on the basis that it is a translation, especially where Cekkilar is crystal clear to a student of Tamil and history. Kaivalya Navanitam, the most popular book on Vedanta in Tamil, popular even in Malayalam and Telugu countries, has been recently attempted to be shown as a translation of the work of that name by Sankuka. A detailed study will show that Sankuka was but a translator. Guhesan is the word used in Tamil for referring to the Absolute as an immanent principle. Guhesan connotes, thanks to its yoga Sakti, the lord of the cave of the heart—the

immanent principle which is alone germane to the context. Sankuka translates the word as "Vallisa" in the impression that the denotation Subramanya is what is important here. Examples could be multiplied. A detailed study on the lines has yet to be made about these books which look so much alike in Sanskrit and Tamil. Apart from these there are admitted translations—translations of Tiruk-kural and Tiruppavai etc., in Sanskrit and translations of Suta Samhita and Kurmapurāṇa etc. in Tamil; whilst there are other books adopting the ideas without attempting at a translation.

There are various other interesting problems, significant from the point of Indian Culture, as yet to be solved by Tamil Scholars. The great handicap here is that the student has not any opportunity of knowing what had already been done in the field. There is often unnecessary duplication. The Universities and research bodies should co-operate in drawing out a common programme of work in which they can pursue the studies in their respective specified fields.

A Bibliography with a summary of the contributions is absolutely necessary. No individual can undertake this stupendous task. It requires any amount of travel for collecting materials, a knowledge of Western and Indian languages, the co-operation of scholars in other lands and in other languages and above all, time and money, which can all be expected only from University or at Government level.

So much to do and so little done—that is the piercing cry of our heart. A translation of all the classics may throw them open to the world and they may bring the co-operation of foreign scholars. As the generation of Tamil Scholars strong in English is fast disappearing, this has to be undertaken now or never.

But there is one great consolation for the student. An unexplored part of the intellectual world lies here welcoming him with a tempting offer of success and fame. May this temptation appeal to the rising generation!

IRANIAN SECTION

TANU IN AVESTAN LITERATURE—ITS CONNOTATIONS

by

NAEB-DASTOOR NAWROZE DINSHAHJI MINOCHEHRHOMJI, B.A.

SEMANTICS shows us how a word undergoes certain changes by (i) Expansion, (ii) Contraction, and (iii) Transference. See Dr. Taraporewala's *Elements of the Science of Language* Second ed, 1951, pp. 81-87) It is our endeavour to show in this short paper, how *Tanu* has assumed different shades of meaning from the Gathas to the Pazend Compositions.

Dr. Taraporewala has this note on Tanu on p. 133: "In both Avesta and Skt. this word is used in the sense of the 'body' as well as the 'Self'. Often it is used almost in the sense of a reflexive pron. particularly in conjunction with the pron. *sva* (Skt. *sva*): Barth., Wb. 633-36; Grass. Wb. 519-20; Mac., VG., art. 115.b. The phrase here is paralleled in Skt. *tanve svayai* in Rv. v.4.6 and x.8.4. (The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra).

Again, in the same vol. on p. 339 (Ys. 33.10): *tanum*—the word does *not* mean the physical body, but the whole 'Self' of the man. In the Veda also the word is used in the same way. Cf. Kathopanisad 2.23 also Ys. 30.2 & 33.12.

First we shall take the Vendidad where the term 'tanu' means 'body', and not Self, as in the Gathas and in the Younger Avesta. V. iv.50: ... aoshanghaiti tanu (mortal body); v.12: Uzbaodhaa 'tanu' (Body without consciousness); vii.51: ... Daxmanam, avavntem mazo vikaanayat, yatha he tanush anghat: 'He who should pull down Daxmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, ... — S. B. E. IV.88; ix.1: Te yoi hamnasum paiti-iristem tanum... : ... who want to cleanse their *body* defiled by the dead? Ibid, 123.

In *Aogemaide* 25-28: Aad mam tanvo ithyejanghaiti manya manangha humatem: 'O thou, my perishable body, think good thoughts with mind ...SBE. iv.375-6. Again in Aog. 48: Gim aoshanghau aoshanguhaiti ... : How is it that a *mortal* can wish for another mortal the annihilation of his *body*? ...—Ib. p. 378.

Now we shall see some references in which Tanu means the body or 'form' of Yazata: Xt. (Meher) 142: Yatha tanum rao-chayeiti, yatha mangho hvaraoxshno: As the moon shines by itself, so doth Mithra illumine his own self. Yt. XIV.38: Vispe teresenti perenine, avatha mavayachit-tanuye: All will fear the possessor of the feather as they do me (lit. 'for my person'). In Yt. XVII.15, we read: Vasatha ahi xsayamna, tanuye xvarenanghe daite: Thou art ruling at (thy holy) will, by virtue of (the holy) Xvoreh in thy person. •

Lastly, we shall see numerous references where Tanu means Self, the whole Self, Man as a product of body-mind-spirit. The Gathic references are par excellence: XXX.2: . Avarena vicithahya, / Narem narem xvaxyai *tanuye*... "... before-deciding between-the-two-Paths, —/ Man by man, (each) for-his-own-self;—" Now XXXIII.10; Vohu uxshya manangha, / Xsathra Asha-ca ushta tanum: "Do-Thou-elevate through Vohu Mano, through Xsathra, and through Asa (our) Self into-Thy-Light." Next is Ys. XXXIII.14: At ratam Zarathustro, / tanvas-cit xvaxyao ustanem, / Dadaiti ... : "Therefore does Zarathustra dedicate even his own life... Cf. Ys. XI.18, XIII.4, XIV.2, and Patet Pashemani, section one, para 2: (*Kangaji*, p. 110, 11th Ed. 1936): (Zvast) Pa xesih-e Yazdan dash-tan ..., ke in Tan Ravan-ra be-awayad dadan be-deham: "To possess (wordly possessions) in fellowship with Ahura is in this respect that if it comes to such a pass that if there arise the necessity of sacrificing my mortal coil for the betterment of the immortal soul, I *will* do it." It seems that by *tan* here is meant both mortal body & transient earthly things to which man clings in vain! What a fine and faithful rendering of the Gathic spirit in the Pazend writings of the third century A.D.! In Ys. I.11.6 we have: itha i haithya,... tanvo para: ... the attractive lures of Untruth... (lead) to the attachment away from-the-Self." The late revered Behramgore has "over the body" for "tanvo para," thus having the physical connotation of the term.

Coming next to the wide *Yasht literature*: Yt. Iv.4 has this statement: ... yezi me mathrem framrava, ... karshaim karayeiti, haom tanum gaozaiti (or better *guzacta*): if any person utter my spells audibly,... or draws 'kashas' while reciting them, he protects his person from harm.

Yt. VI.9: (- Ny. I.11): ...fradhati-cha Asahe *gaethao*, f.A. *tanaye*, ... The immortal, resplendent Sun advances the life, living in tune with the immutable Law of *Asha*, and also the living Creation of *Asha*.

Yt. II.12: Aoi te aoi tanvo dadhāiti: "This, this (sc. Druj) takes charge of the person (or the entire Being)". —*Kangaji*, p.520 (Masami).

Yt. XIII.20: ... Yezi-ca thwaesa tanvo ... "and if (thy) person is in any fright ...(then shouldst thou pray audibly these spells)". Cf. Yt. X. 23: Tum (anadruxta Mithra) ana mithro-drujam masyanam avi xvaepaithyase tanvo thwyam ava-barahi: Thou (Mithra undeceivable) bringeth fear over the persons who commit *mithro-druj*. Cf. Yt. XVI. 17 in contrast: Yam (sc. Chistam) yazata...Amem isemno tanuye: whom (the Rightest Wisdom) the Athravan held in reverence, yearning Ama for his person. Yt. XIII. 107: Yo (Karsna)...tanuye ravo aesisto: Who (Karan) was most yearning for the suppleness to his person.

Yt. XVII. 22: Datem te tanuye xvareno, urunaeca dareghem havanghem,..."(divine) xvoreh for thy (sc. Zarathushtra) person

and long-enduring Bliss for thy soul (are) endowed to thee.”—Yt-ba-Ma’ani, Kangaji, pp. 318-19.

A similar statement to the above is quoted by Prof. Bartholomae in *Air. wh.*: Frahang-i Oim, 3 h: Tanvae-ca haosravan-ghem...urunae-ca d. h. and the same is echoed in the section recited at the end of each Afringan: Zaze buye...vanghau-ca sravahi, u. d. h. “Good renown *here*, and salvation of the soul *there*. See. IV. 375, secc. 20-22; p. 253, sec. 4, fn. 5. Also cf. Ys. XXX. 10: yoi zazenti vanghau sravahi: When those who deserve good name ...—Anklesaria.

Ys. LVIII. 2: Ahmai nemanghe avaedayamaide gaethaos-ca tanvas-ca...“We dedicate (our) earthly possessions and (our) self to this prayer (of Fsusa Manthra)”. The same pair of ‘gaetha’ and ‘tanu’ is in Ys. LV. 1.

Before closing the Yasht literature, I may mention Yts. XIII. 134 (Ys. LXVIII. 11), XIV. 29, X. 108, XVI. 7—all having *tanu* as physical body. But there is one unique instance in which *tanvi sa* means the ‘physical congress’ of man and wife. It is in Yt. XVII. 10: ...kadha no avi ajasat nmano-paitis, kadha saiti paitisam frya paiti tanvi?...“When will our man arrive? When will (our) dear consorts have the physical congress to their delight?...—Yt-ba-Ma’ani (3rd Edition, pp. 311-12). The word ‘tanvee’ in Sanskrit means ‘A delicate, slender woman.’ (Monier Williams: Sk.-Eng. Dict., 1872, p. 362).

Of all the Yasna references noted above, Ys. LX. 11 (incorporated in Hoshbam) is very significant: ...xvathravaitees *tanvo* hento vahisto angheus ..“and may (our) Selves be worthy of the Best Existence, on account of their being full of Light Divine!” Here *tanu* clearly means the entire Being, and *not* body.

Going over to *Visparad*, we find in V. 2: Pairi Ve Am. Sp.!... tanvas-cit vaxya ustanem, pairi vispa hujitayo: Unto ye, O Amsha-spands! do I completely dedicate the vital life of my own person, and all (my) virtuous generations! (Cf. Yasna XXXIII. 10 as rendered by the late Behramgore, pp. 48-49).

In VR. VII. 2 we read: Revim *Parendim* yaza...fra *tanve* renjayeiti: We revere the active *Parendi* ..for she renders our persons agile (for *humata*...1). Here too ‘tanu’ is clearly *not body alone* but the entire being. (S. B. E. XXXI. 346).

In VR. VII.3 we have: Nairyam ham-varetim yaza...ya naram vigerepta-cit *tanvo* baokhtarem dadhaiti: We revere that virile Heroism...which is got by that fortunate man, who delivers the *persons*, caught in the whirlwind of troubles (Social Service).

In Hadoxt Nusk I. 5 we have *tanu* which means *number*:... kanghas-cit *tanunam* paro-asti jasaithya. Kangaji is doubtful about it. Darmesteter, in S. B. E. XXIII. 312, renders it thus: “...or any number when delivered in departing this life.”

...ya hava daena xvaepaithe tanvo: Kangaji leaves off the words, but says that it means 'Self'. Darm.: 'O thou youth!...I am thy own conscience. Ib., 316. (Hadoxt Nusk, II. 11).—Yt.-ba-Ma'ani, Kangaji pp. 388 & 398.

In Afringan-i Rapithwine, para. 5, we have: Haomo-anghar-shtahe hizvo, mathrohitahē tanvo: (Rapithwina must be consecrated by one with Haoma-endowed tongue and whose *self* is under the (benignant) restraint of the holy spells. It is well to remember here that Sraosha is *Tanu-Manthra*, i.e., manthra-incarnate. In the Sraosha Baj prayer, again, we have: Ahunem Vairim *Tanum* paiti: Ahunavar protects the entire being of man, body-mind-and-spirit.

Nirangastan, 41 says: (S. B. E. IV. 326): yo Gathau asra-vayo, asta va taro-vaiti va, tanum pereyeiti: He who does not sing the Gathas, either out of unbelief, or out of impiety, weakens (from the root 'part', be helpless or weak) his own self. Here the *tanu* refers more to the soul than to the body.

The late Pahlavi savant B. N. Bhabher, in his valuable Glossary to the Pahlavi Yasna & Vr., gives this note, on p. 98, under *Tanu*: *Tan*, body, person. Ys. 31-16: *Under tan*: 'in one's own person.' Ys. 53.6: *Under damoon*: 'in the house', i.e., 'heart' is further glossed 'under tan', 'in one's own person' or 'heart.' This clearly shows the use of *tanu* or *tan* in our Scriptures. Cf....Dastagir-e Ravan, hama *tan* pasban,...Kangaji rightly translates 'the Protector of men'—viz., Sraosha.

Last, but not the least, even in Modern Iranian *tan* = *kas* (person): New Persian—English Dictionary—S. Haim, I. 480. *Panj Tan* means the Five Holy Persons, viz., Mohammad, Fatemeh, Ali, Hassan, and Hossein.

THE PARSIS IN INDIA

by

PROF. D. B. DISKALKAR, POONA

The Parsis are one of the many foreign settlers in India. But no separate inscriptions of this community either in Gujrati or in Persian, which they have adopted as their colloquial and classical languages respectively have been found just as separate inscriptions of other foreign settlers like the Aramaics, Sabeans, Jews, Muslims, Armenians and the Europeans have been found. No separate inscriptions of those foreign settlers like the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Kushanas, Hunas, etc., are found because they had adopted the culture and religion of the Hindus and were in course of time assimilated in the Hindu Society. The inscriptions which they might have set up were in no way different from those of the indigenous Hindus in script, language and nature. Can this be the reason for the absence of the Parsi inscriptions?

Being neighbours of the Indians, rather than being of the same stock of the ancient Aryans, the Parsis have been connected with India from very early times at least since the time of the Achæminian emperors, who held a portion of North West India in the fifth cent. B.C. Under the name of the Parthian they had held small principalities in the province in the centuries before the Christian Era. They are some times mentioned in the early and mediaeval Indian literature and inscriptions under the name of the Parasikas or in their sanskritised Persian names as Tushaspha, etc. (*Parsis of ancient India* by S. K. Hodiwala, Chap. 2 and 3 and P. 77). They seem to have almost formed a part of the Hindu Society.

From a critical study of the Paikuli and Persepolis inscriptions, (which according to Dr. Herzfeld prove the existence of the Sassanian empire in the North West of India from the mention of the Parasikas in Indian literary works like the Raghuvamsa, Gaudavaho and Mudrarakshasa in such a way as to suggest that the Parasikas were rulers of certain territories in India itself) and from an examination of the coins of the Chahamana Vasudeva of Sapadalaksha of the Sassanian type found in the North West India (which show that he must have been a subordinate of a Sassanian sovereign), Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had come to the conclusion that the Parasikas were actual rulers of certain territories inside India between Rajputana and Kashmir from the fourth to the seventh cent. A.D. (*M. P. Khareghat Mem. Vol. P. 199*). But looking to their historical importance they have left for posterity very few inscriptional records of great campaigns, victories and monumental constructions.

Dr. Bhandarkar had further shown that just as with the virulent growth of Muhammedanism most of the natives of Iran

became Muhammedans, but a few remained Parsis, so with the destruction of the Sassanian power in A.D. 641 most of the Parasikas in India may have become Hindus, but certainly a few must have continued to remain Parsis and preserved their religion. To say, therefore, that the Parsis came to India as a band of Iranian refugees who landed near Sanjan about 697 is against all progress of knowledge caused by a critical study of epigraphs and literature (*M. P. Khureghal* Vol. P. 202).

There is no objection for accepting Dr. Bhandarkar's supposition that most of the Parsis in ancient India may have become Hindus. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar had long before suggested that the Maga or Sakadvipe brahmans were no other than the Hinduised Parsis (Vaishnavism and Saivism P. 151). The Suryadvija mentioned in an inscription from the Punjab of the sixth cent. A.D. seems to have been a Maga brahmana or a Parsi converted to Hinduism. It is worth nothing that he calls himself a *drija* and at the same time a *Kayastha* (E. I. 22-98). But it is doubtful whether Dr. Bhandarkar's supposition that a few of them must have continued to remain Parsis, whose descendants the present Parsis in India are, can be accepted. Adoption of the foreigners in the Hindu Society has always taken place. Of the whole community for instance we do not know that a party of the Sakas had become Hindus and the remaining have continued to be Sakas separate from the Hindus. Secondly if a regular Parsi community had existed in old times in India it must have continued to remain so in some way or the other in the North of Rajputana or at least must have left there some trace of their existence in the form of a tradition. Thirdly, if those Parsis had been the ancestors of the Parsis of the present days there must have existed a tradition that they had migrated to Gujarat from North India. On the contrary the tradition among the Parsis is very strong that bands of Iranian refugees had landed near Sanjan or near Div in the seventh cent. A.D. 697 or 716, after being persecuted in Persia by the Muslims. It matters very little which date 697 or 716 or 770 (*Daboud Mem. Vol. II P. 126*) of their landing on India is correct. When many successive bands of refugees had come a definite mention of the date or the place is not possible. One of the dates and one of the places may be correct or both of them may be correct, if it is supposed that they landed first at Div in 697 and nineteen years after came over to Sanjan. Naturally they accepted Gujarati as their mother tongue in course of time. If this tradition is accepted as there is no reason to doubt, the descendants of the North Indian Parsis and the descendants of the Gujarati refugee Parsis must have been somewhat different communities. But no such thing is seen. For all these considerations it is better to suppose that like the ancient Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Kushanas, etc., all the ancient Indo-Persians adopted the culture and religion of the Hindus and were in course of time completely assimilated in the Hindu society. Consequently, inscriptions which might have been set up by the Hinduised ancient Parsis must have been like those of the indigenous Hindus in Indian script and language. This probably explains the absence of any separate inscriptions of the ancient Parsis.

But the question still remains why no inscriptions of the later Parsi refugees, who have all along continued to remain as a separate community from the Hindus in matters of culture, religion, etc., have been found, like those of many other foreign settlers in India. It is necessary to point out here that although certain copperplate grants of the Chalukyas of Navsari are said to allude to the payment of a tribute by the Parsi refugees who landed at Sanjan (*Parsis in Bombay*, P. 40) no inscription of the Parsis themselves have been found referring to this incident nor to any privileges that must have been conferred on them by the local rulers as was done by the King Bhaskara Ravivarman of Cochin in the case of the Jews who are said to have migrated to India in the seventh cent. A.D. from Persia when they were persecuted by the victorious Muslims. (I.A. 59-15). It is also strange that not a single inscription of the Parsi settlers recording any of their subsequent activities has been found.

All this can be explained by supposing that the different bands of the Parsi refugees, although they continued to keep up their religious and social manners and customs separate had soon become one with the indigenous Hindu community and led a peaceful life. Even in their religious and social manners they were not so separate and revolting from the Hindus, as to form an eye-sore, as the Muslims and European Christian settlers were. They had probably no occasion for setting up inscriptions particularly because their funeral customs give little occasion for setting up obituary notices as those of the Muslim and Christian settlers did. They had an extremely unassuming and unprovoking life generally as petty traders and small land-holders. They appear in the public life for the first time in the days of Akbar as followers of a distinct and ancient religion. In the Maratha period they appear as flourishing traders like other Gujrati businessmen. The distinctly separate existence of the Parsis which we see now dates from the time they came in contact with the Europeans. As they grew rich by trade with the Europeans and came in closer contact with them they became separated from the Hindus.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

A FEW SANSKRIT PLAYS AND COMMENTARIES RECENTLY RECOVERED IN ASSAM

by

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Although several hundred Sanskrit manuscripts have been recovered and are being preserved in different antiquarian institutions, yet no serious attempt has been made to bring to light the extant Sanskrit works in ancient and medieval Assam. The manuscript library of the Kamrup Sanskrit Sanjivani Sabha at Nalbari, Kamrup, alone contains more than thousand Sanskrit manuscripts. A fairly large number of manuscripts have also been preserved in the libraries of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies and the Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati. But a greater number of manuscripts is yet to be recovered from private possessions where indifference and negligence on the part of the owners will push these works to inevitable decay and destruction.

There are, however, a few literary works composed by scholars from Eastern India, mainly from Assam which deserve our attention. A brief introduction to some of these works is given below.

(A) *Drama*: Four Sanskrit plays composed in the eighteenth century of the Christian era, have recently been recovered in Assam. They are (i) *Kamakumaraharanam* by Kavicandra Dvija, (ii) *Vignesajanmodaya* by Kavi Suryya, (iii) *Samkhacudabadha-nataka* by Dina Dvija and (iv) *Dharmodaya-nataka* by Dharmadeva Dvija.

The dramatic techniques of these four plays are similar to those of the *Ankiya-nat*, a class of Assamese devotional plays introduced by Sankaradeva, a sixteenth century saint-reformer of Assam. The Sutraddhar dominates over and remains throughout the entire show of these plays. He introduces the dramatic personae, explains and supplies the links of the various incidents of the plot and entertains the audience with frequent songs, dance and recitations. The lyrical and the narrative elements predominate at the cost of actions and characterisation. The prose element of each play consists of two types, viz., (i) dialogue and (ii) Sutraddhara's explanatory narratives. The former greatly suffers due to the over-emphasis laid on the latter. Similarly the metrical part consists of two kinds of verses, viz., (i) narrative *slokas* and (ii) lyrical songs. The lyrical stanzas are marked by rhymed moric feet. One peculiarity of these Sanskrit plays is the intermittent use of Assamese songs. This type of Sanskrit plays may, therefore, be termed as hybrid-Sanskrit drama.

No originality of plot construction or characterisation could be noticed in this type of drama. Though Sanskrit is the medium of expression, the language employed here is not of very high order. The diction is no doubt simple, but it is not spontaneous as that of Kalidasa or Bhasa.

The play *Kamakumaraharana* by Kavicandra Dvija depicts in six acts the romance of Aniruddha and Usa. The story as narrated in the *Harivamsa*, has been faithfully adopted for the dramatic purpose. Excepting one or two comic incidents, no deviation from the Purana is noticed.

The play was written under the joint patronage of the Ahom king Siva Simha and queen Pramathesvari. In the prologue the poet refers to his patrons in the following way:

“अविरत सुरवृन्दवन्दित हरगौरी चरणारविन्दमकरन्दपानोन्मत्त मधुकरेण कुन्देन्दुधवलकीर्तिं
राजिविराजित दिग्दृष्टिगत्तरेण, दोर्दण्डापितकोदण्डदण्डितदुर्वार वैरिनि वहेन, चमत्कारकरप्र
प्राग्भारभास्वर विविधविद्याविद्योतित विग्रहेण, चातुर्यां शासिताशोक लोकलाव^य लीलाकलित कलेवर
सुरसुन्दरीविराजमान बृहदाज पदप्रख्यात प्रथितगुणग्राम रामाभिराम श्रीप्रमथेस्वरी महादेवी दयितेन,
श्रीशिवसिंह महामहीमहेन्द्रेण कामकुमारनाम नाटकं नाटयितुं अदिष्टोऽस्मि”

King Siva Simha ascended the throne in 1714 A.D., but after a few years of reign he abdicated in favour of his wife queen Pramathesvari who lived up to 1730 A.D. The play, therefore, was written between 1720 and 1730 A.D. King Siva Simha was a great patron of learning and under his fostering care Sanskrit scholars translated into Assamese verses the *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, *Gita-govinda*, *Brahmavaivarta-purana*, *Ananda-lahari* and *Dharma-purana*.

The songs of the *Kamakumaraharana* are modelled on those of the *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva, as such, they are full of lyrical charm. But the dialogues are stale and devoid of dramatic quality. There are 31 Sanskrit verses, 18 Sanskrit songs with classical tunes (*ragas*) and 10 Assamese songs.

The play *Vighnesa-janmodaya* by Kavi Suryya, deals with the episode of the birth of Ganesa, son of Parvati. It depicts how the evil glance of Sanaiscara was responsible for the severance of Ganesa's head and how it was substituted by an elephant's trunk. The play consists of three acts. The poet's real name was Gaurikanta; Kavi Suryya was only his epithet.

गौरीकान्त निजाभिधानविदितो विप्रादय दत्तवान् । नाम श्रोक्विसूयं इत्यरक ब्रह्मायनौ
ब्राह्मणः । द्वाजप गोत्रजनिना बिभ्रेशजन्मोदये, नाटेबः तेनमनीषिणा विरचिते यातोऽर्यमङ्कः परः ॥

The play was written in 1799 A.D. (Saka 1721), during the reign of king Kamlesvar Simha (1795-1710). The concluding lines of the play refers to the date in which it was composed.

पृथ्वीभुजाचल शशांकमिते शकाब्दे । याते वृषम् दिनकरे द्विजराजवारे ।

यातेहनाटक इह त्रितयांक पूर्णे । मात्सर्यदोषरहिताः सुधियः भवन्तु ॥

The plot has been borrowed from *Ganesa-khanda* of the *Brahmavaivarta-purana*. Like *Kamakumaraharana* it also contains a large number of Sanskrit songs and a few Assamese songs also. The

poet here makes an unsuccessful attempt to write Sanskrit verses in Assamese meters like *Dulari* and *Lechari*. A specimen of such verses is reproduced below.

कृष्ण नारायण देव सनातन
त्रैलोक्य कारण संसार तारण जानासि
त्वमेवा॥ मादशमृत्तम वेपः ।
नवधनश्याम जगदाभिराम
कोटिभूर्यधाम परिपूर्णकाम
पञ्चातुमीश्वरी त्वामहं च नवीकेश ॥ इत्यादि

Dharmodaya composed by Dharmadeva is an allegorical play with a historical background. It depicts in five acts in allegorical form the Moamariya insurrection that took place during the reign of the Ahom king Lakshmi Simha (1769-1780 A.D.). The Moamariyas are a Vaisnavite sect having strongly orthodox views and unflinching allegiance to their religious head. In order to avenge the insults meted out to some of their religious heads and leaders, the Moamariyas in a body revolted against the Ahom power in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were successful in the initial stage of the revolt and even captured the throne by deposing the reigning monarch Lakshmi Simha. Their success was, however, short lived. The dethroned monarch was reinstated after a few months, on the throne by a successful counter-movement conducted by the royalists. The poet, a royalist, depicts the defeat of the Moamariyas, the representatives of Vice and the emergence of Virtue (धर्मोदय) with the reinstatement of the king. In the end of the first Act we find the following reference.

नम्रः कम्पदंतबुजे भगवतः श्रीधर्मदेवः
कविः यं सते कमलाप्रिया भगवती शुद्धवंशोद्भवा ॥
लक्ष्मीसिंह नरेश्वरस्य चरिते धर्मोदये नाटके
तस्यागात् प्रथमाङ्क एष विशदः कीर्त्युद्भवज्ञो महान् ॥

Samkhacuda-badha composed by one Dina Dvija under the patronage of Sandikai Barphukan of the Duwara family. This Sandikai Barphukan was popularly known as Kaliya-bhomora-Barphukan. He became a Barphukan, i.e., the Governor of the western part of the Ahom Kingdom, in the year 1795 and remained in that exalted position till 1810 A.D. The play was composed in Saka 1724 (शकेतत्त्वपुनीन्दुभिंसगणिते भाषाः विमिश्रमुद्रा) The playwright speaks of his patron in the following verse:

श्रीमान् श्रीशकवंशोद्भववृत्तिरतिक्रान्त संक्रान्तमूर्तिः
नानाभूपालशीर्ष प्रणतपदयुगोऽमिमपक्षे कृतान्तः ।
तत् श्लाघ्योऽमात्यमुख्यः सकलबुधजनप्रीतिदः शुभ्रकीर्तिः
विन्दिर्केशजन्मा जयति विमलधीः श्रीवृहत् फुकनासौ ॥

The play depicts in three Acts the story of Tulasi and Samkhacuda as narrated in the *Brahmavaivarta-purana*. No originality

in the plot construction and character painting could be noticed but it contains many lyrical songs in moric meters. But songs of pathetic sentiment, such as wailings of persons in distress, have been expressed in Assamese language. The Act I depicts the birth of Vedavati and curses pronounced on each other by Ganga, Lakshmi and Sarasvati (इति श्री ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे प्रकृतिखण्डसप्तमोऽध्याये शंखचूडाख्यवधनामनाटके गंगालक्ष्मी-सरस्वतीशापप्राप्तिवेदवतीजन्मोपाख्याने नाम प्रथमोऽङ्कः ॥)

The Act II depicts the birth of Tulasi and her marriage with the demon king Samkhacuda and the last Act depicts the death of Samkhacuda at the hands of Mahadeva and the rape of Tulasi by Krsna.

(B) *Commentaries*: Almost all the commentaries on well known Sanskrit works are fragmentary, only a few of them have been recovered in toto. *Sisupala-vivecana* by Rajyadhara Misra is a commentary on Magha's well known *kavya*. Only a part of the commentary has been recovered. At the end of the first canto the commentator introduces himself as:

इति महीन्तापनीय कविचक्रवती राज्यधरमिश्राचार्यकृते शिशुपालविवेचने नाविसमाः गमाख्यः
प्रथमसर्गः ॥

Fragments of a gloss (टीप्पणी) and a commentary on Dandi's *Kavyadarsa* have also been recovered. The gloss is by one Krsna-datta Sarma श्रीकृष्णचरणद्वन्द्वपद्मासवमधुव्रतः । श्रीकृष्णदत्तशर्मान्तः लिखति दण्डी टीप्पणी ॥ The commentary is by one Sauri Sarma. He introduces himself as the son of Rama Sarma. पण्डितः श्रीरामशर्मा सूनुश्रीसौरिशर्मा टीकेयं कियते लब्धो दण्डिनः काव्यलक्षणा ॥

Tattva-candrika by Gada Simha is a commentary on the *Kiratarjuniyam*. Dr. S. K. De has also referred to this commentary in the *History of Sanskrit Literature*, published by the Calcutta University. We find the following information regarding Gada Simha and his family.

प्रणम्य गां प्रतिपदं क्षरद्रसपयस्वती । कियते भारवेर्यन्त्राद् विवृतिः तत्त्वचन्द्रिका ॥
सन्ति प्रकाशवर्गादि टीकाद्यापि सुविस्तराः । तथापि लघुबोधार्थगदसिंहोऽकरोदिमाम् ॥
पितृकल्पाद् यथाधीतं भ्रातुः श्रीसिद्धसिंहतः
तत् पुत्रकातृजादीनां स्मरणार्थं विलिख्यते ॥

From the above lines it is clear that having studied the *sastras* from his brother Siddha Simha, Gada Simha prepared this commentary in order to teach his nephews.

One Ghanasyama Vidyabhusana has left an incomplete commentary on *Meghaduta*. A part of *Subodhini*, a commentary on *Naisadha Carita* has also been found in a pitiable condition. The

name of the commentator is not known. A complete commentary by Suryya Sarma on *Kavi-kalpalata* by Devesvara has been recovered. The colophon runs thus:

श्रीविश्वरूपमिश्रस्य सूनुना सूर्यशर्मणा ।
काविकल्पलताटीका यथामति वितन्यते ॥

Two unsoiled and complete commentaries on *Gita-govinda* of Jaydeva have been found. One is *Saravati* by Maharaja Sri-Sukladhvaya the minister and commander-in-chief of king Naranarayana who ruled in Cooch-Bihar and Assam during the XVI century of the christian era. It is a scholarly work and contains citations from and refers to many ancient and medieval works on poetics and erotics. The concluding lines are as follows:

वक्ष्या श्रीजयदेवकाण्डितकवे वाणी नवीनार्जुना
न प्रयानि निवेशितुं प्रभवती स्वयं (श्रीय) स्वयं किञ्चन
श्रीशुक्लध्वज भारतीव वसति तस्या वयस्या ततः
तात्पर्याणि गणनलसति पदं जानीत विद्वज्जना :
सद्वर्णा जयदेव पण्डितकवे वाणी निगूढाशयां
नानालङ्कृतिभूषितां गुणवतीहंया श्रमात्पराम्
क्षितिपालमौलिमुकुटा प्रशिष्ट पादयुतेः
श्रीशुक्लध्वज मूभुजो विजयतामाकल्पमेषा कृतिः

The other commentary named *Sandarbh-dipika* is by Dhrti-dasa Kavi. The manuscript copy was prepared by one Dharmaraja Sarma in *Saka* 1725 (1803 A.D.).

“वैशाखे वाणवाहुशिखरि शशियुते शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्थ्यां

The opening lines of the commentary runs thus:

मूले सूक्ष्माध्वनिरितिपदं प्राप्य विभ्राजते या पश्यन्ती या निवसति सदा
वर्णरूपेणनाभौ अध्यास्ते या पदमिति पदं मध्यमाहृतसरोजे, सा वाग्देवी जयति वदने वैखरी वाक्कृपा
श्रुतिदासकविः श्रीमानास्थासाचतुरातनंगीति करोति गौवित्द ठीकां सरर्भदीपिकां ॥

We have got another commentary by Jagaddhara on the *Gita-govinda*. The commentary goes by the name *Saradipika*. The name of Jagaddhara as a commentator is too well known to lovers of Sanskrit literature. One Ratnakara Kandali, probably the Vaisnavite poet of the sixteenth century, inserted a few lines of his own at the beginning and the end of the commentary. Probably this Ratnakara Kandali is identical with the person of the same name who helped Sankaradeva in the propagation of Vaishnavism in Assam in the sixteenth century. The present manuscript was copied by one Kamala Pathaka in *Saka* 1626 (1704 A.D.). The opening and the closing lines are quoted below:

Opening lines :

श्रीशुक्लदेवभूपालवचसा लिखति स्फुटं
 सटीकगीतगोविन्दं श्रीरत्नाकरकन्दली
 नानाटीका समालोक्य विचार्य सुचिरं हृदा
 गीतगोविन्दटीकेयुं क्रियते श्रीजगद्धरैः ॥

Closing lines :

इतिसा दीपिकासमेते श्रीगीतगोविन्दे सुप्रीतपीताम्बरोनाम द्वादशसर्गः ॥
 श्रीगीतगोविन्दकवित्वमुक्ताः टीकावचः काश्चनसन्मणीभिः ।
 श्रीकृष्णादेवस्य गुणरशेभै रत्नाकरेण प्रथितो जयन्ति ॥

Conclusion: In the above paragraphs we have given a brief introduction to some of the Sanskrit works which we have reasons enough to consider as products of Assamese scholars. There are many more works of All-India reputation which have not yet been brought to light and are lying in wait for research students to be adequately dealt with.*

* Mss. of *Samkhacuda-Vadha*, and commentaries on the *Gita-Govinda* have been preserved in the Deptt. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati. The other Mss, are in the library Sanskrit Sanjivani Sabha, Nalbari (Assam).

EMOTION IN AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE FROM POETRY OR DRAMA

by

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Emotion as an Essential Element of Aesthetic Experience

Aestheticians in both the East and the West have recognised emotion to be an essential element in the aesthetic experience, aroused by poetry or drama. In India it is the theory of Bharata, as incorporated in his famous definition of Rasa: "Vibhavanubhava-vyabhicari samyogadrasanispatih" that has been followed by all the subsequent writers. They have recognised the basic or persisting emotion, the sthayin, to be the central fact in the aesthetic experience. In the West also, from Plato to Hegel, the theory of Aesthetics has been discussed mainly in reference to the emotion that the works of poetic or dramatic art arouse.

Plato:

Plato's condemnation of dramatic art is based on the recognition of the fact that drama presents and arouses emotion. According to his philosophy human souls are partly rational and partly irrational. The irrational part is divided into two: (i) noble impulses such as anger and love of power and (ii) lower appetites such as passions, feelings and sensuous desires. Poetry and drama, therefore, are irrational inasmuch as they present the sensuous; and even when their presentations extend to the supersensuous, passions, feelings and sensuous desires, which in themselves constitute the irrational aspect of the soul, in sensuous terms, their apparent effects in facial and other bodily changes, they are irrational. For, emotions are also irrational. Further, the poetic and dramatic presentations are addressed to the irrational aspect of the soul, passions, feelings and sensuous desires, inasmuch as the aim of the dramatist is to arouse them. Thus, poetry and drama awaken, nourish and strengthen feelings and passions and impair reason. They water what is irrational instead of drying it up. Hence they should have no place in the ideal Republic.

Aristotle:

Aristotle has attempted the problem of aesthetics in the context of tragedy. And he admits that tragedy presents what arouses pity and fear and effects purification from such passions.

Plato's condemnation of the arts of poetry and drama was based on the view that they present the particular which is irrational and completely ignore the universal, the ideal, the rational and that they demoralized the youth. But Plato himself was not fully satisfied with the conclusion on art to which he came in his Republic. Therefore, he modified his position and substantially anticipated Aristotle in his subsequent works like the Laws, Symposium, Ion etc.

But the view of Plato as presented in his Republic could not be endorsed by the general public, because, independently of the rationalistic or moralistic principles which it may be holding it is extremely tender towards art and can, under no circumstances, abandon it. Aristotle, therefore, looked for a compromise. And this takes the form of the well-known Pedagogic theory of art.

Aristotle,* while agreeing with Plato that tragedy presents what arouses emotions such as pity and fear, improves upon Plato, in so far as he holds that imitation does not consist in the faithful representation of objects as they are found in nature, but in idealisation, in presenting them as they should be under the control of the 'ideas' which are immanent in them, in idealisation, in presenting the rational that controls and guides the irrational: and (ii) that tragedy purifies emotions and brings them to the "mean" and, therefore, does not demoralize the spectator but improves him morally.

Middle Ages:

In the middle ages also emotion was recognised to be the essential element of aesthetic experience. St. Augustine, for instance, maintains that the aim of poetry is to melt and to arouse, and that the poetic presentation tends to awake the idle and stimulate the dull.

Renaissance:

During the renaissance also emotion retained its prominent position in the works of poetic art. And St. Thomas, while holding that 'artistic invention' is a harmonious whole in which all parts are well related to each other and to the whole, raises the question "what is the principle of unity in a work of poetic art?" and replies that it is the emotion, which is primarily intended to be aroused in the spectator, that serves as the unifying principle of various parts of the whole. The function of every part is to contribute to one emotional effect.

Modern Philosophy:

Coming to the modern period of the Western Philosophy, we find at its commencement a person like Descartes admitting the emotion element in aesthetic experience. For, he holds that the theatrical or poetic presentations of strange adventures excite the imagination to build up a complete mental picture of the artistically presented. Consequently all sorts of passions or emotions are aroused in us according to the diversity of objects and we get intellectual joy, if the understanding is able to grasp the whole imaginative picture with all its implication and, therefore, is realised by the soul as its good possession, if there is harmony between stimulus and response. Thus, the aesthetic experience, according to Descartes, is the experience of intellectual joy, accompanied by an emotion.

It is very interesting to find that he deals with emotions in a manner very much like that followed by Bharata in his Sastra. He divides the emotions into primitive and derived, primary and

secondary and genus and species, very much as Bharata divides them into sthayin and Vyabhicarin. He divides external signs of emotions into two classes: (i) involuntary and (ii) voluntary, exactly as Bharata divides them into Sattvika Bhava and Anubhava. He distinguishes emotions from one another in terms of the conditions of heart very much on the lines of Dhananjaya who asserts:—

“Vikasavistaraksobhaviksepaih sa caturvidhah ‘
Srngaravira Bibhatsa Raudresu manasah kramat.”

He also asserts, like Indian aestheticians, that emotions are not simply states of human organism, and emphasises that the physical states involved in emotions are correlates of the state of the soul.

British Aesthetic Thinkers:

Among the British aesthetic thinkers, we find Locke, Addison, Hume and Burke recognising emotive element in aesthetic experience.

Locke holds that fancy or imagination of the artist gives false colours, appearances and resemblances to what it presents and diverts the unwary spectators from truth and that the figurative and other artificial applications of words are the means employed by the artist. Such words indirectly arouse wrong ideas, move passions, divert the mind from truth, mislead judgement and, therefore, are perfect cheats. But human nature is such that it likes to be deceived by such a presentation of creative imagination: for, such a deception is pleasant.

According to Addison the more a work of art is capable of stirring our emotions the pleasanter it is. Further, not only those emotions, which are pleasant in practical life, are pleasanter, when aroused by a work of art, but also those which are unpleasant in practical life become pleasant when stimulated to a high pitch by a work of art.

Hume approaches the problem of aesthetics from the points of view of (i) utilitarian rationalist and (ii) emotionalist. And from the latter point of view he holds that aesthetic experience consists in agreeable passion, which is aroused by a well-composed poem or drama.

Burke also holds that poetry and drama present emotions.

German Aesthetic Thinkers:

Coming to German aesthetic thinkers we find that the word aesthetic adopted by Baumgarten meant, according to Hegel, ‘The science of senses and emotion’. For, during the period of Wolffian philosophy, works of art in Germany were studied with reference to feelings of pleasure, admiration, fear, pity etc. which they aroused in the connoisseur. Thus Leibniz and Hegel particularly recognise emotive element in aesthetic experience.

Leibniz:

Leibniz holds that there are various levels in aesthetic experience, the lower of which leads to the higher, that we have sensory, emotive, intellectual and spiritual experiences from a good piece of art. Poetry, according to him, has unbelievable power to move. It can dull, excite, move to tears or laughter. And emotion, according to the empiricists, belongs to the empirical level. Leibniz, who accepts the empiristic view of aesthetic experience at the lowest level, therefore, naturally maintains that the culminating point at this level is emotive experience.

Hegel:

And according to Hegel, emotion, its physiognomical expression and the situation or environment are the important aspects of a work of dramatic art. This seems to be an echo of what Indian aestheticians say about the various aspects of Rasa. And speaking of the characteristics of tragedy, he holds that the first essential characteristic of tragedy is that it has as the content of action, which it presents and which springs from a definite substantive aim, one of those forces which carry in themselves, their own justification and which are realised substantively in the volitional activity of mankind. Such forces are the love of husband and wife, of parents and children etc. And the more the hero of a tragedy is swayed by any one of these powers, the more tragic he is. This power therefore, constitutes the distinctive characteristic of the hero.

Levels in Aesthetic Experience recognised by Hegel:

Hegel seems to recognise three levels in aesthetic experience, (i) that work of art is produced for sense-apprehension and, therefore, it has necessarily to be presented in sensuous medium; (ii) that tragedy excites and purifies emotions like fear and pity and (iii) that art is simply a stage of the Absolute spirit in its onward march to realisation of its true infinity in philosophic spirit; it is a mode of human mind, in which there is identity between the subject and the object, in which the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity is annihilated and in which mind contemplates itself in its freedom and as such is infinite and attains the stage of the Absolute spirit; it is characterised by immediacy; it apprehends the Absolute in the guise of external sense-object.

The idea that Hegel admits three levels in aesthetic experience seems to find support from the following consideration:— He holds that art presents the Absolute and that aesthetic experience is the experience of the Absolute through contemplation on sensuous presentation of it in a work of art. He admits that works of art are the products of mind in its freedom and that they have two aspects: (i) content and (ii) form. Content of a work of art is always mind in its freedom and universality. The essence, therefore, of a work of art is mind itself. It is nearer to spirit, thought or mind than external nature. It is not thought or notion as such, but an evolution of notion out of itself. It is a self-alienation, self-divestment, self-estrangement or self-objectification of mind in the

medium of emotion and the sensuous. And the form of a work of art is nothing but this medium of emotion and the sensuous, in which the spiritual content is embodied. The relation of this form with the content is similar to that of thought and expression. It is only a medium, through which mind apprehends itself.

Hegel's view about the relation between content and form will become clear if we remember that 'Will' in his philosophy is characterised by freedom; that it expresses itself in certain propensities, called inclinations or interests; that passion or emotion is nothing but an impulse, in which the whole subjectivity is merged and that soul and body are in communion, soul is aware of the changes in peripheral organ and body expresses emotion.

Therefore, if the emotive and sensuous aspects of the form of a work of art serve as medium through which the Absolute is apprehended, the implication necessarily is that mind rises to the experience of itself through the experience of the sensuous and the emotive aspects of the form. For, in the case of thought that is presented in words, we rise to the consciousness of it through the consciousness of the medium in which it is presented. Therefore, it is evident that Hegel admits three levels in aesthetic experience.

Similarity with Abhinavagupta:

We have said in Comparative Aesthetics Vol. I (P.141) that Abhinavagupta admits that there is triadic relation in the context of aesthetic experience and that there are five levels in it viz., (i) sense (ii) imagination, (iii) emotion, (iv) katharsis and (v) transcendency, and that aesthetic experience at the highest level is the experience of the Self.

Difference of views on the Aesthetic Experience of Fear:

Emotive element has been generally recognised in aesthetic experience by eminent thinkers of all ages in the East and the West. But emotions are of two types, pleasant and painful. The problem, therefore, arises: Is the aesthetic experience from the artistic presentation of the terrible, which arouses fear, an unpleasant experience? That it is not so is admitted by all. The question, therefore, arises: why is it not so in spite of the fact that fear is painful emotion?

Locke's Explanation and its Criticism:

It was Locke who first raised the problem "How can such emotions as fear and pity, which are unpleasant in practical life, become pleasant when aroused by a work of art?" And his answer is that the unpleasant emotions become pleasant, when aroused by a work of art, because they are false, because they are aroused by the illusion that art creates, because the mind is so made that it likes to be delivered in such a way. But it is an unsatisfactory explanation. For, the question arises "Is the artistic presentation an illusion from the point of view of the spectator?". "Does the spectator know the presented to be unreal?" If so, fear cannot

arise in him. For, when we know that the rope in darkness simply appears to be snake but is not actual snake, fear does not arise in us. But if he does not know it to be unreal, if he takes it to be real, the fear will arise but it will be unpleasant. For, the fear caused by illusion in ordinary life is unpleasant.

Addison's Explanations and its Criticism:

Addison simply evades the real issue. After asserting that not only those emotions, which are pleasant in practical life, are pleasanter when aroused by art, but also those which are unpleasant in practical life become pleasant when stimulated to a high pitch by art: he says that pleasure from an artistic presentation of the terrible arises, not from affection of imagination by what is terrible, but from the reflection that we make upon ourselves at such a presentation. When we see an artistic presentation of the terrible, our pleasure is due to feeling of freedom from danger and sense of safety. Does not this mean that the terrible arouses no fear? How then does it explain the pleasantness of an unpleasant emotion?

Self-Contradiction of Burke:

Burke simply contradicts himself when he attempts a solution of this problem. After saying that terror arises from the consciousness of possibility of pain and death and, therefore, operates in a manner so as to convert the possible pain into almost actual, he asserts while explaining the experience from tragedy, that terror is a passion that delights us, when it does not touch us very closely. He does not explain the matter further. His meaning is obscure. How can the touch of terror, when not very close, make terror pleasant? This needs explanation. But he does not attempt it. According to him, if we desire to understand fully how tragedy affects us when it is poetically or dramatically presented, it is necessary to know how tragedies in real life affect us. That real suffering to which we see another person subjected is a source of high delight is proved by the following considerations:—

It is a fact that crowds are drawn to sights of real distress and suffering and that men do not shun such sights. This would have been impossible if such sights had been a source of unmixed pain, if there were no element of pleasure in the experience, which such sights arouse. Further, it is also a fact that the greater is the person who suffers and the less deserving he is of the suffering, the greater is the delight that we have from the sight.

Hence, he asserts, that it is evident that "terror" is a passion that delights us, when it does not touch us very closely and that pity is a passion which is always accompanied with pleasure, because it arises from love and social affection.

Does he not contradict himself in saying "terror is a passion that delights" after the assertion in the course of its definition "terror arises from the consciousness of possibility of pain and death and, therefore, operates in a manner so as to convert the possible pain into almost actual". Of course he adds a proviso, but does not explain it.

Hegel's Explanation:

Hegel explains the pleasantness of such emotions as fear and sympathy when aroused by presentation of tragedy in terms of his own philosophy of right. He holds, like Aristotle, that tragedy excites and purifies fear and pity. But he asserts that the emotions which a tragedy excites are not merely concordant or discordant feelings with anybody's private experience and that tragic emotions are distinct from the ordinary in respect of their objective reference.

According to him, fear is possible in two ways: (i) It may be aroused when we are confronted with an object which is terrible but infinite, (ii) It may also be excited by the visualisation of that ethical power, which is at the basis of all social phenomena, the power, which manifests itself as social institutions, like family, civil society and state. Human beings, who are distinct from animals chiefly by their rationality, have to fear, not a terrible external power and its expression, which arouses fear in animals and is related to their instinct of self-preservation, but the ethical power, which is self-defined in its own free rationality, which is eternal and inviolable and which a man summons against himself, when he turns his back upon it. The fear, therefore, which a tragedy arouses, is, according to Hegel, of the latter type and refers to the might of the universal ethical power. Hence it is not unpleasant because it is not related to physical self-preservation.

Thus, Hegel explains the pleasantness of fear from presentation of a tragedy in terms of difference in the objective reference. According to him it is not unpleasant because it is not related to any finite external object but to the might of the universal ethical power. This seems to be a plausible explanation. For, while we do not wish to be in a state of fear of any external physical power, we, as moral beings, do wish to be in fear of the ethical power, because that alone improves us ethically.

Abhinavagupta's Explanation:

Abhinavagupta also seems to draw a distinction between the pleasant and the unpleasant emotions. The experience of the pleasant emotion that is aroused in the hero in a certain situation in the context of aesthetics he explains in terms of identification with the focus of the situation, viewing it through the eyes of hero and being affected by the emotion that is aroused by the situation. This has been explained in *Comparative Aesthetic*, Vol. I (Pp. 161-63). But fear cannot be experienced in such a way, because the hero of Indian drama, being an ideal person is not and cannot be afraid of anything that ordinarily arouses fear. Probably with such an idea in his mind he definitely states how does fear arise from a dramatic presentation. To explain that he takes the scene from Kalidasa's *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, in which a hermitage-deer appears, pursued by king Dusyanta in a chariot. It is running for life from the arrow of the king. It is in very great fear. As such it is represented to be responsible for the experience of the aesthetic emotion of terror "*Bhayanaka Rasa*" by the king and through him by the spectator, who has identified himself with the former.

The point that seems to be fit for emphasising is that the experience of fear is presented to be due, not to the subjective realisation of the fear, because of the effect of a terrible external object, but to the objective perception of the object, the deer, in terror. For, the king is not in terror, because there is no terrible object that confronts him. On the contrary he himself is the terrible object that has caused terror in the deer.

Abhinavagupta in the *Abhinavabharati* (280) explains the rise of Bhayanaka as follows, as has already been stated in the *Comparative Aesthetics*, Vol. I (Pp. 164-5):—

The spectator hears the verse “Grivabhangabhiraman” etc. The consciousness of the meaning of the verse as a whole arises in him. The inner visualisation of the whole takes place. The elements of time and place and so forth are inhibited, because of the element of contradiction. Time is the chief factor in the causal efficiency of the individual. The inhibition of that having taken place, the inhibition of individual naturally follows. The consciousness at this stage may be spoken of as “terrified” (Bhith). The terrified presupposes the cause of terror. That in the present case being without objective reality (aparamarthika) and, therefore the terrified being free from objective relation, it is reduced to terror. This terror, appearing in the consciousness of the spectator, who is free from all elements of individuality, affecting his heart so as to seem to be penetrating it and being visualised so as to seem to be dancing as it were before his eyes is the Bhayanaka Rasa. Thus fear is not unpleasant because it is completely universalised and is related to a subject who is free from all elements of individuality.

A RARE COMMENTARY ON VARADARAJA'S
MADHYASIDDHANTAKAUMUDI ITS AUTHOR—
SIVARAMA DASAPUTRA OF BENARAS, 1780 A.D.

by

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On Varadaraja's *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi*, a major compendium of Bhattojidikṣita's *Siddhantakaumudi*, Aufrecht records only two commentaries, viz., *Madhyamanorama* by Ramasarman and *Madhyasiddhantakaumudivilasa* by Jayakṛṣṇa¹. However, this *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi* has a further old commentary, viz. *Madhyakaumudimanjusakuncika* (lit. a key to the treasure-box of *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi*, which is not mentioned in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in posterior MSS Catalogues available to me².

This commentary is represented by a MS (Accession No. 8537) acquired by the Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, through a local collection purchased in 1951. It consists of 50 straw-paper folios, pale-white in colour, of the size $13\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with a margin of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches left on the four sides of each page. Dark-black ink is used for the text and red ink for border-lines etc. Each side of the folios contains on the average 9 lines with about 46 bold letters on each line. The script is Devanagari, the letters अ, ए, इ etc. being sometimes of the Marathi type and at other times of the Hindi type. As three independent series of folio enumeration are traced in the portions of the MS. each portion displaying a separate handwriting, three scribes appear to have shared the labour of scribing the text. The scribes do not record their names and date anywhere, but the MS. appears to be about 150 years old and is in a tolerably good condition. The MS furnishes the text in a legible and intelligible manner, mistakes being very few.

The commentary is not an elaborate exposition or a word-to-word paraphrase of the original, but is meant to be mainly a helpful brief guide to an intelligent student's study, memorization and revision of the *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi*. It well achieves its object by adopting pertinent methods of topic-wise grouping and enumerating the Sūtras, Vārttikas etc. incorporated in the *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi* and briefly recording the technical grammatical purpose served by them. Many Sūtras etc. are passed on simply with the remark स्पष्टम् (i.e. too clear to be commented upon)! Still, in the course of his own gloss on his lengthy metrical prologue to the commentary, the commentator makes a modest display of his learning and quotes Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, Bhartṛhari's *Vākya-pāṇīya*, Nandikesvara's *Kaśika*, Bhattojidikṣita's *Prandhamanorama*, etc. At the close of this gloss he also furnishes some illustrative practical hints for the use of teachers and then explicitly states that even major Pāṇḍitas, not to mention idle or ease-loving

scholars like himself, would find it impossible to pen down an exhaustive exposition of the entire Sutras etc., as several of them are too knotty and the objects served by them too numerous.

We need not further discuss here the literary merits and utility of the commentary from the point of view of the present day Sanskrit students. However, the commentary gains considerable historical interest as will be evinced by its prologue and colophons. (Folios 1 b-4a).

A metrical sectional colophon is traced only at the close of the first (Samdhi) section'. (Folio 7a-Folio 50a).

These state that the author wrote this commentary under specific instructions from a contemporary royal patron. This royal patron, referred to here as Raja Raghunatharao Subedar, hailed from the line of sage Akshapada (= Gautama), his grandfather being Damodara who was addicted to vedic rites and his father being Hari who very valiantly vanquished hostile chieftains and ably ruled from a town called Parola conferred on him by Nana, his master residing at Punyagrama. The royal patron was eldest among his father's four sons, a supreme warrior and administrator, a devotee of Siva, himself learned and extending his liberal patronage to the learned, very kind to the virtuous and an enforcer of rules of good conduct ordained by the vedas. After subduing arrogant adverse chieftains he ruled from a town called Balavan-nagara enforcing strict discipline among the neighbouring rulers and winning admiration and applause from his own subjects. As he found the local people to be rather blunt to pick up difficult Sastras, he sought various means to educate them and in that strain patronised a band of learned Panditas. He detected the want of a guide-book (*sadhanika*) to the Sanskrit grammatical treatise *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi* by aid whereof the Sutras employed in its examples could be easily brought to memory. He himself jotted down a plan in the direction of supplying this want and placed it before learned Panditas. According to that very plan the present commentary has been prepared by the author.

The royal patron is definitely identical with Raghunatharao Hari Nevalkar who was Subedar of Jhansi from A.C. 1770 to 1795 under the Poona Peshwas and founded the Nevalkar regime at Jhansi which, with various modifications in royal status, continued right up to 1857, when his nephew's widow Lakshmibai Nevalkar, popularly known as Rani of Jhansi, of sacred national memory prominently participated in the Mutiny and died fighting bravely against the British. Balavantnagara is the recorded old name of the ancient site of Jhansi. The Nevalkar family belongs to Gautama gotra and to the Karhade sub-section of Maharashtra Brahmanas. This branch of the Nevalkar family originally resided in Konkan (village Kot near Rajapur) with sanctioned priestly appointment, but had lately shifted to Khandesh in the service of the Peshwas of Poona. Damodara and his three sons, of whom Hari was the youngest, made several martial and administrative achievements in Khandesh and elsewhere on behalf of the Peshwas and their major

Sardars⁴. The jagir of village Parota was conferred on the family on account of these achievements at this stage by Peshwa Balajirao alias Nana (1740-1761)⁵. Hari and his three sons Raghunatharao, Lakshmanarao and Sivarao successfully led the Peshwas' armies in several subsequent expeditions. Raghunatharao is said to have received his early training in warfare and administration under Kanhoji Angre⁶. He, besides being a very successful general and administrator, was endowed with a creative scientific brain, inasmuch as he is said to have invented some electrical instruments in that age⁷. He incurred special favour of the Peshwas and received several distinguished appointments from them. On account of his early success as Subedar of Junnar, he was selected for putting down the rebellion of the Bundela feudatories near Jhansi and was appointed Subedar of Jhansi in 1770. He acquitted himself most successfully of this tremendous task and in a few months sorely vanquished the Raja of Orchha and brought to terms all the rebellious Bundela feudatories numbering about thirty-two. Among the noteworthy tactics resorted to by him in this supreme achievement was his recruitment of an army of monks. Peace and order were restored forthwith in the Jhansi region and further twenty-five years witnessed the glorious regime of Raghunatharao as Subedar of Jhansi. In 1795 he brought orders from the Poona Darbar sanctioning succession of his younger brother Sivarao as Subedar of Jhansi and himself abdicating the post gave up all worldly contacts and voluntarily took recourse to self-immersion (*jalasamadhi*) in the Ganges current at Brahmavartha (Bithoor) near Kanpur. The subsequent regimes at Jhansi of Sivarao (1795-1814), his eldest grandson Ramacandrarao (1814-1835), second son Raghunatharao (1835-1838), third son Rangadhararao (1838-1853) and daughter-in-law Lakshmibai (1853-1857), who ruled as Regent of her minor adopted son Damodararao, need not detain us here. It will, however, be clear that the identity of our author's royal patron with Raghunatharao Hari Nevalkar is firmly established by recorded historical evidence.

Notably enough, there is not the slightest tinge of poetical or mercenery, exaggeration in the author's eulogy of the royal patron, which, as it is, comes out to be a plain statement of facts. The royal patron's unique swordsmanship, statesmanship, enforcement of rigid discipline among feudatories, zeal for the welfare of the subjects, munificence to learned Brahmanas, devotion to Siva and other alleged details are all true to history. Observance of prescribed rites with due caste discipline is known to be enforced at Jhansi with strictness by Raghunatharao and his successors. His own learning is amply corroborated by his obvious conversance with Sanskrit grammar enabling him to chalk out a plan for a guide-book to the *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi*. An eye-witness of the 1857 events at Jhansi states⁸ that the Rani's husband and his predecessors had with an ardent zeal collected many thousand *Mss.* of oriental works on diverse subjects and that their unique Palace Library of *Mss.* was ruthlessly destroyed by British soldiers in the course of their plunder following the fall of Jhansi. The origin of this Palace Library may now well be traced back to the regime of Raghunatharao himself.

At one place in the above extracts we find a departure from the previously recorded details. Our author states in unequivocal words that Raghunatharao was eldest of Hari's four sons, while other sources⁹, which mention only three sons of Hari, give their chronology as Lakshmanarao-Raghunatharao-Sivarao. As our author being in actual personal contact with Raghunatharao is likely to be in possession of real details, the question of chronology of Raghunatharao and Lakshmanarao should be re-examined now by scholars mainly engaged in historical research.

The author of the commentary is Sivarama hailing from the Dasaputra family of Banaras, his father and grandfather being Lakshmana and Sripati respectively and his preceptor being Krpanatha. From the high words of praise associated with these names, the author himself as also his father, grandfather and preceptor all appear to be conspicuous figures in the ranks of contemporary learned Panditas of Banaras. Although these four names were probably not hitherto known from other sources, the Dasaputra family of Banaras is already known to be a celebrated Pandita family. Many members¹⁰ of this Dasaputra family are recorded to be authors of learned Sanskrit works. At present, however, no traces of this Dasaputra family survive at Banaras, except that a lane in the Deccani locality of that city is still known as 'Dasaputre Ki galli'.

The portions of the commentary referred to above at some length bear due testimony to the author's learning and conversance with higher grammatical literature and do ample justice to his self-eulogy, heritage from a celebrated Pandita family and patronisation by an illustrious historical personage.

In the light of the above identification of the royal patron, the commentary must have been composed some time during the period 1770 to 1795 and may be tentatively assigned to C. 1780.

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1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, Pp. 428a, 506a; Part II, Pp. 40b, 97b, 216a.
 2. S. K. Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, which mentions (P.51) the above two commentaries, is also unaware of our present commentary.
 3. As the due Samdhi is not effected in this reading, it may be the scribes' mistake for
or
 4. Vide S. V. Ketkar's *Maharastriya Jnanakosa*, Vol. XIV, Pp. Jha 14ff, y.R. Date and C. G. Karve's *Sulabha Visvakoas*, Vol. III, Pp. 943ff., S. V. Chitrav's *Madhyayugina Caritrakosa*, P. 676, and other works.
 5. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition (1903), Vol. XIV P. 148.
 6. *Madhyayugina Caritrakosa*, P. 676, As Kanhoji Angre died in 1729, i.e. forty-one years before Raghunatharao's appointment as Subedar of Jhansi, the latter must have received this training from the former at a tender age,
 7. *Ibid*.
 8. Vide Visnubhat Godase's *Majha Pravasa*, Second Edition (1948), Pp. 86ff.
 9. *Maharastriya Jnanakosa*, Vol. XIV, and other works.
 10. E.g., Sadasiva Dasaputra (author of *Acarasmrticcandrika*, *Asaucasmrticandrika*, *Lingarcacandrika* etc.), Trimalla Dasaputra (author of *Agrayanestiprayoga*), Ananda Dasaputra (author of *Dasaputrahnikā*), an anonymous Dasaputra (author of *Malamasanirṇaya*), etc. mentioned in CC, I, Pp. 691b, 247b, II, Pp. 51a, 53b, III, Pp. 9b, 143a and P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. I, P. 559a etc. The chronology and mutual relationship of these Dasaputras still remain to be settled.

THE THEME OF THE SAKUNTALA—A PERSPECTIVE

by

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Kalidasa's immortal fame needs neither proof nor description. It has been acclaimed and accepted for centuries in all parts of the world. Orthodox Indian commentators and critical Occidental scholars alike have subjected Kalidasa's works to the most searching scrutiny and have said all that may be said. Yet one does not feel that Kalidasa has had his due share of study and renown. One finds newer and newer thought and thrill in studying his work. Hence this venture to put forth what appears striking in the works of the master-poet, in particular in the *Sakuntala*.

Imaginativeness is said to be a vital requisite for a poet. It is defined as प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता । प्रतिभा is scintillating intellect that produces newer and newer flashes and never becomes feeble. It is the basis of a poem. With it the poet expresses one and the same thought in a variety of fascinating forms or even in one expression excites different brilliant pictures in the minds of the different readers. The poem based on *Pratibha* is like the twinkling star, continually changing its tinge, now red, now blue, now green and now yet of a different hue. This colour-effect is no less brilliant in the *Sakuntala*. From one angle we have a grand view of nature in its unmarred beauty. Changing our position, we marvel at the awe-inspiring might of holy men absorbed in selfless asceticism. Shifting still further, we face the realities of the world, the abiding forces of love and hate, cheer and despair, knowledge and ignorance, duty and dereliction, fall and redemption. If we care to have a still another perspective, we find the poet taking the role of a moral guide and giving us a picture of the outstanding ideals of a truly good life. Each perspective brings one aspect to prominence and pushes the others into the background. It is one such perspective that is sought here.

Goethe's rapturous exclamation at his discovery of the *Sakuntala* as the combination of earth and heaven has been interpreted by Tagore as deliberate judgment. "Earth is the first union in *Kanvasrama*, showing the instability of beauty and romance. Heaven is the second union in *Maricasrama*, showing the eternal heaven of moral beauty. Love from the mortal physical plane is elevated to the immortal spiritual plane."

A true poem, according to Indian standards, should be both charming and preceptive. It must conduce to the realization of the human values. Being imaginative and realistic at once, the poet should weave his ideals casually into the fabric of his work, to inspire his readers to achieve the best of both the worlds. Kalidasa is astonishingly at ease in this difficult task.

The *Rtusamhara*, *Meghaduta* and the *Malavikagnimitra* are all romantically descriptive and are concerned essentially with love in its gross form and its fulfilment. There is little charm and less sanctity in the love that forms the theme in these works. In the *Vikramorvasiya*, *Kumarasambhava* and the *Raghuvamsa* there is a more serious note. The *Vikramorvasiya* is half tragic. Though the wish of Pururavs and Urvasi is granted, it is but temporary. Their love is not sublime. It is out and out physical, as is revealed in the king's ravings. The story can also be viewed as the fall and redemption of Urvasi. Urvasi's fall from Heaven, a curse for lapse, is turned to the transient pleasure of the flesh. But strangely enough for her, her restoration to Heaven is made dependent on Pururavas beholding the face of his son born of her. The subtle implication on the birth of the son releasing his parents from bonds should not be missed. From the *Malavikagnimitra* to the *Vikramorvasiya* is the passage from gross love unconcerned with duty to love linked with an unconscious fulfilment of a duty, viz., begetting a son for the perpetuation of the line.

The *Kumarasambhava* describes the Absolute Lord and the Mother of the Universe as the supreme Lovers. Their holy love being rendered holier in the fire of their penance to win each other, their union serves to fulfil the greatest need of the universe, to bring forth a son to protect the worlds from Taraka. How Kalidasa looked upon begetting a son as the supreme duty of every individual to maintain the traditions of the family through successive generations is abundantly clear in the verse that speaks of Himavan's marriage with Mena:— स मानसीमेरुसखः पितृणाम् कन्यां कुलस्य स्थितये स्थितिज्ञः । मेनां मुनीनामपि माननीयमात्मानुरूपां विधिनोपयेमे ॥

The very title *Kumarasambhava* stresses the importance of the birth of a son.

In the *Raghuvamsa* too the stress is on "Vamsa" which is constituted by a series of births. The great anxiety of the illustrious members of the Ikshvaku line to fulfil this most sacred of duties is brought out in general in "प्रजगृह्ये हमेधिनाम्" It is repeated in describing Dilipa as "प्रजायैगुः प्रसूतये । आत्मजन्मसमुसुकः । The birth of Raghu releases Dilipa from his debt to the Manes:—

"ऋणाभिधानात् स्वयमेव केवलं तदा पितृणां मुमुचे स बन्धनात् ॥ The word Rna here instead of Dharma shows that it is an obligation. It is in keeping with the Vedic injunction:— प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सीः ।

Its appeal to Kalidasa is so great that the poet is not tired of advertising to it in a variety of ways. The Vedic exhortation to seek immortality by perpetuating oneself through his progeny आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि adds strength to the injunction. While this ideal is touched upon in the other works of Kalidasa, it is the central theme of the *Sakuntala*. The love story there is but secondary. It serves to impart colour to the ideal. As a handmaid to the fulfilment of the

most sacred of duties love acquires charm and sanctity at the hands of Kalidasa.

The denouement in the *Sakuntala* is the realization of *Dharma*. In the process of achievement it is helped by *Kama*. The son Sarvadamana is himself *Artha* or "Vittam" as mentioned by Marica. It is only fitting that the Magnum Opus of the greatest of poets should be based on the highest of wordly *Purusarthas*.

The seed of the plot is well laid in the words of the hermits:—
 “जन्म यस्य पुरोर्वशे युक्तरूपमिदं तव। पुत्रमेवंगुणोपेतं चक्रवर्तिनमाप्नुहि ॥ This, This read with a similar blessing pronounced on Raghu by Kautsa:—
 पुत्रं लभस्वात्मगुणानुरूपं भवन्तमीड्यं भवतः पितेव॥ shows what importance Kalidasa attaches to the perpetuation of noble traditions of families. Soon things begin to occur in keeping with the words of the hermits. This reminds us of Bhavabhuti's statement:— “ऋषीणां पुनराद्यानां वाचमर्थोऽनुधावति ॥ The blessing for its realization requires a “Ksetra” and the subsequent scene provides this need. But in presenting *Sakuntala*, Kalidasa uses his skill in such a manner that one is overwhelmed for a moment by the charm of the situation, forgetting the theme. The very process of the king falling in love with *Sakuntala* is planned carefully, not merely because of the poet's strict advocacy of rigorous social standards, but because it leads to a noble purpose. It is difficult to call it love at first sight. Were it so, argument and justification are out of place on the part of *Dusyanta*. The words:— “असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः। तथापि तत्त्वतः एनामुपलस्ये” ।—“वयं तत्त्वान्येषान्मधुकरा हताः” ।
 “आशाङ्कसे यदग्निं तदिदं स्पर्शक्षमं रत्नम्” । show how hesitant the king feels at first and how happy he becomes on finding that he can marry her. Thus not merely is a “Ksetra” provided, but its worthiness too is shown. The love that arises gradually and develops is for making the union delightful and not a matter of lust. Having thus clearly indicated the theme, Kalidasa builds up scenes of romance into which we lose ourselves easily. Then the poet pulls us up.

In the third Act, *Dusyanta*, happy to find *Sakuntala* pining for him, promises her friends to treat her with love and honour. His words assume a significance of which he is not aware but which is quite clear to us. He says:— परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि द्वे प्रतिष्ठे कुलस्य मे। समुद्रशनाचो र्ध्वीसखी च युवोरियम्॥ We know that the only way *Sakuntala* can raise his family to eminence is by bringing forth a son who will make it glorious. In fact, the country itself gave up its old name and came to be called *Bharata*, after her son *Bharata*. Thus the king's words take us back to the theme, from the intervening romance. It is noteworthy that the poet who did not hesitate to describe the pleasures of *Siva* and *Parvati* skips over not merely the union but also the marriage of *Sakuntala* and *Dusyanta*. Apart from dramatic convention, it shows that the union is not at all

important. It makes it clear that love is not the theme but that it is only subservient. This fact is reinforced by the revelation by Agni that Sakuntala is with child.

“दुप्यन्तेनाहितं तेजो दधानां भूतये भुवः। अवेहि तनयां ब्रह्मन्नमिगर्भो शमीमिव॥”

(Sak—4—3).

The word “Ahitā” emphasises the conception being strictly within the limits of Dharma. Kanva’s blessing too is, in the same manner appropriate:— “सुतं त्वमपि संराजं सेव पूरुमवाप्नुहि॥” The hermits bless Dusyanta that he will be the worthy father of a worthy son. Agni reiterates the same that Sakuntala and Dusyanta are becoming the parents of a worthy son. Here Kanva blesses Sakuntala that she will be the worthy mother of a worthy son. In these the plot is well knit.

Acquisition of the status of an honoured wife to a noble husband is covetable. More so is it for a wife to become consciously absorbed in the joint duties of household life. Most so is it, then to become the mother of a worthy son. This sequence of importance is borne in mind by Kanva when he says:—

“अभिजनवतो भर्तुः श्लाघ्ये स्थित्वा गृहिणीपदे विभवगुरुभिः कृत्यैस्तस्य प्रतिक्षणमाकुला । तनयमचिरात् प्राचीवार्कः प्रसूय च पावनं मम विरहजां न त्वं वत्से शुचं गणयिष्यसि ॥”

(4—18). That

the supreme goal of life is “Santi”, after one has ensured the continuance of the family is evident in his words:— “भूत्वा चिराय चतुरन्त महीसपत्नी दौष्यन्तिमप्रतिरथं तनयं निवेश्य । भर्ता तदर्पितं दुर्दुर्भरेणसाकं शालेकरिष्यसि पदं वुनराश्रमेऽस्मिन् ॥ ” (4—19).

In the fifth Act, Sarngarava, in communicating the message of Kanva tells Dusyanta “तदिदानीमापन्नसत्त्वा प्रतिगृह्यतां सहधर्मचरणाय ।” This implies that Sakuntala has already taken her rightful place by enabling Dusyanta to fulfil himself. Being in the grip of the curse of Durvasas, Dusyanta repudiates her. The preceptor suggests that Sakuntala’s claim could be proved or disproved by waiting till childbirth and seeing whether the child bears the marks of a king or an ascetic. The child should resolve the tangle.

In the sixth Act, the king’s memory returns at the sight of the restored ring. His remorse then is so full of love that we again miss the theme. Hence is the introduction of the report of Dhana-mitra’s death. The king then laments not so much the loss of Sakuntala as the loss of the child in her womb:—

“सरोपितेऽप्यात्मनि धर्मपत्नी त्यक्ता मया नामकुलप्रतिष्ठा॥” “नूनं प्रसूतिविकलेन मयाप्रसिद्धं धौताश्रुशेषमुदकं पितरः पिबन्ति ।”

It is noteworthy that these are the thoughts of the king when his attention is diverted by the pranks of Matali to solicit his services for Indra. This fits in well with the development in the

final act viz., the king's union with his son. Dusyanta's penitence described in the sixth Act no doubt elevates his love for Sakuntala from its grossness. But more than that it is to prepare him for the union with his son. In other words, it is a preparation for the denouement.

The clever design of the playwright in building up the first and the last Acts of the Sakuntala in such likeness and yet with so much difference is fascinating. In both there is gradualness of emotion and a process of ascertainment. At the very first sight of the boy Sarvadamana, the king exclaims:—

किंनुस्त्वलु बालेऽस्मिन् आरस इव पुत्र सि ह्यति मेसिमनः ?

His love for the boy makes him almost jealous of people who have children of their own. The talisman which slips from the boy and which the king picks up unharmed reveals the king's identity as the father of the boy. Dusyanta is overwhelmed. He says to himself:— कथमिव संपूर्णमपि मे मनोरथं नाभिनन्दामि ? This is just

like the usual expression found in dramas before the भरतवाक्य,

“ किमतः परमपि प्रियमस्ति ? ” This is a definite indication

that the actual theme has ended. The reunion of Sakuntala and Dusyanta, though drawn out at length and full of noble and pure love, does not have the charm of the union of the king and his son. Marica blesses the union of father, mother and son as a holy union श्रद्धा वित्तं विधिश्चेति त्रितयं वः समागतम् (7—29). When the

king says of the boy to the sage:— “ भगवन् ! अत्र खलु मे वंशप्रतिष्ठा ! ”

we are strongly reminded of the king's promise to Sakuntala's friends in the hermitage that Sakuntala would be the “Pratistha” of his family. Thus the plot which begins with the benediction of the sages:— “ पुत्रमेधंगुणोपेतं चक्रवर्तिनमाप्नुहि ” aptly finds

its fulfilment in the “Putrapti” in the last Act and is blessed by the great sage Marica.

Dusyanta's love for Sakuntala becomes ideal love because it is moral in its origin, purified in the fire of penitence and more than that purposeful in providing the world with a mighty protector and an upholder of the glorious traditions of the Puruvamsa.

The central theme of the Sakuntala is the realization of *Dharma* that is enjoined on every individual by the scripture. *Kama* or *Srngara* is not the theme, but it steps in to make the realization of *Dharma* delightful.

SRNGARAHARAVALI, A NEW SRNGARASATAKA AND ITS AUTHOR SRIHARSA

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While examining the mss. in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha (Ahmedabad), I found one having the following colophon 'iti srisrinharsaviracita srngaraharavali samapatah (ta)'.

The name of the author aroused my curiosity and so I undertook to study the same. Finding the work interesting, I thought of editing it. For that purpose I inquired from the curators of the several mss. libraries about other mss. of this work. I, however, did not succeed in getting any. As this mss. was on the whole very good and fairly correct, I prepared a press copy of the same. Acharya Shri Jinavijayaji, the Honorary Director of the Rajasthana Puratattva Mandira, Jaipur, obliged me by accepting it for publication in the Rajasthana Sanskrit Series.

The work consists of 101 verses with two more verses in Sarag-hara metre in the colophon. The little of the work is amply justified as far as its subject matter goes; but it has only 101 verses and not 108 as the title haravali would require. In fact, the work is a srngarsataka.

The work opens with two mangala slokas in which the blessings of Makaradhvaja as Istadevata are invoked. Then it proceeds with pictures of the beauty of women and the depiction of the passion of love as it varies with the changing seasons of the year, and of the joys of the fruition. Throughout the work the poet exhibits delicate observation of Nature with loving sympathy. He reveals the relation of the diverse moods of the seasons of the year to the moods of the lover and the beloved.

The Srngaraharavali is essentially a collection of pictures of love and it differs from the work of Bhartrhari. Bhartrhari deals rather with general aspects of love and women as factors in life. Srngaraharavali paints the relation of lovers and takes no thought of other aspects of life. The love which Sriharsa likes is gay and high-spirited, one delighting in tiny tiffs and lovers' quarrels, but ending in smiles; the poet hardly ever contemplates the utter disappearance of love; the maiden may be angry but she will relent, and she is angry indeed when her lover takes her too seriously.

Comparing Srngaraharavali with similar other works in Sanskrit literature, I find that it is on the model of works like the Srngarasataka of Amaru or Amaruka. The Srngarasataka of Bhartrhari as noted above deals in a general way with the subject of *amour*; while this work, like the Amarusataka, depicts the *amour* more concretely through the mechanism of nayaka-nayika.

Technically this work is a collection of muktakas in which each verse is complete in itself; as Hemacandra says: 'ekenac-

chandasa vakyarthasamaptau muktakam. Yatha-Amarukasya srngarasate rasasyandino muktakah (Kavyanusasana Ad. 8 su. 11). This is the *anibaddha* variety of *kavya* according to Bhamah. In this work there are 4 to 5 *yugmas* or more technically *sandani-takas*.

In order to judge the literary quality of these *muktaks*, a few verses may be quoted here:

Slo. 2: svargadapyatidurlabham karatalaprapta srikam parthivam
Here the author says ordinarily a heavenly thing is more difficult to get than any earthly things but in this particular case the bliss of the earthly love is more difficult to get than even heaven.

Slo. 4: kah sakhi sakhi yasya puspamabhavat puspayudhasya-yudham// chinne tatra cirannirayudhadasam dhatte sa cittesayah//
Here the poet describes the pang of the arrow of the love which is so unbearable to the lady that he wants to find out the tree whose flower has become cupid's arrow, so that she may uproot it.

In Slo. 8 the young wife going to her father's house sees her dear husband in the presence of the elders. So she is not able to give expression to the grief freely. So even though weeping since long, she has to smother her cry in her throat.

Slo. 9 gives a dialogue between a lover and a friend of the beloved. The lover asks about his beloved of her friend. She answers that she is enjoying amorous sport. This naturally irritates the lover, who asks with whom she plays. The friend answers that she plays with him as he is constantly with her. In fact she is so much engrossed in him that she forgets her food, dress and decoration, constantly wears a bashful expression on account of her feeling of shame for her engrossment.

In verses 42 and 43 the author compares the pearl necklace of the young lady to the Ganges, the darkish hair on the body (*romali*) is compared to Yamuna, while her speech is called Sarasvati. All the three constitute in the *Nayika*, a *tirtha*; so she becomes *sevyā*.

In Slo. 45 there is a dialogue between an innocent girl describing the manifestations of her budding youth as if they were the symptoms of some disease, and an elderly woman who reassures by saying that these things happen when one passes from childhood to youth and that her lover would be the proper physician to cure the trouble.

Slo. 68 is a complete *Rupaka* in which the young woman is compared to a river of love. Her beauty is water and her *vilasa* is *lahari* and her moving eyes are the fish.

In Slo. 70 the young lady is compared to a chariot. Her braid of hair is the whip, while her necklace is the reins.

The text of the last verse is corrupt and the meaning of it obscure. The *Srngaraharavali* is compared to a pearl necklace. Just

as a hole in the pearl is made by piercing it with a fine instrument, similarly in this case of the pearl of a poem the instrument is imaginative sense.

At the end of the ms. we find two slokas in the Sragdhava metre as said above. The first sloka describes the Nagara women of Vadanagara (N. Gujarat) carrying home on their heads water pots from its lake (which still exists and is known as sarmistha). In the second sloka, a cowherd woman is described as surpassing in her beauty, the divine damsel Ghrtachi.

The normal metre in this work is Sardulavikridita. Harini, Vasantatilaka, Sikharini and Sragdhara, Malini and Vandakranta are also used in varying numbers.

Now we come to the important question of authorship. The colophon clearly suggests that the name of the author is Sriharsa and not merely Harsa because it calls him Srisriharsa. The last verse reads in the ms. as follows:

Unmilanmatiyantarantrasuksmavivara sanandamutkarsitah
prapyocairvilasatsuvarniguninim khelanmanobhumanim
sriharsam suhrdam vibhusanakrte sadvakyamuktaphalai-
yadgranthadvijam rajarociramalam srngaraharavalim-/

As emended by me it reads thus:

Unmilanmatiyantarantrasuksmavivaram sanandamutkarsitam
prapyocairvilasatsuvarniguninim khelanmanobhu-
manim/
sriharsahs suhrdam vibhusanakrte sadvakyamuktaphalai-
ragrathnad dvijarajarociramalam srngaraharavalim//

Whether my emendation is correct or not the mention of the name of Sriharsa is beyond doubt clear.

Now Sriharsa is a well-known name in Sanskrit literature. Several persons who might have lived centuries apart, have borne this name. In fact, we know at least two great Harsas: One the emperor Harsa of Kanouj (6th cent. A.D.) and the other Sriharsa (12th cent. A.D.) a great poet and Vedantist-the author of Naisadiyacarita and Khandana-khandakhadya. Scholars have discovered several other Harsas also. Our problem is to find out whether Sriharsa of this work is a new find or one of the known Harsas.

The colophon, and the last verse make it clear that the name of the author of Srngaraharavali is Sriharsa. This would incline one to identify him with Sriharsa the author of Naisadhiya.

There is, however, one difficulty in taking the Srngaraharavali as a work of the author of Naisadhiya. In Naisadhiya the poet refers to his other works by name. Srngaraharavali does not find any mention in this connection. This absence of reference, however, may be explained by saying that either the Srngaraharavali was not regarded as a work of such importance by the author as

to be mentioned along with his major works or that it might have been a work of his later days when he might have relaxed from his scholastic pride. I think the former alternative more probable.

As however, in addition to the mention of the name, there is no further objective evidence, I tried to see if a comparison of works gives some corroboration.

A comparison of S.H. with the plays of Harsa of Kanouj leaves the impression that the author of the plays is not the author of the S.H. A comparison with N. does not give any definite objective clues which would lead us to identify the authors.

There is one point, however, which may be, noted here. It is well known that Sriharsa in his N. uses many Desya words in their Sanskritized forms. Similarly the author of the S.H. also uses such words, e.g., Ghusrna* which is used by the author of N. also. There are other such words: Nirangika (slo. 12); Hamsaka (Slo. 82). In the second sloka of the footnote we find the words like vatsovali, cancukam, cira.

If, however, my subjective impression gathered from a comparison of S.H. and N. may be stated, I may say that I feel that the author of N. might have written this work in his early years to emulate Amarusataka.

Taking all these points into consideration I am inclined to identify Sri Sriharsa of S.H. with the Sriharsa of N. instead of adding one more to the number of Harsas suggested by scholars.

Whoever Sriharsa of S.H. may be the local colour of the Muk-takas reminds one of Maru and Gurjaradesa. Consider the following verses: Slo. 12 (Nirangika); Slo. 46 (Jambutaru); Slo. 73 (Manjistha); Slo. 73 (Patantenavrttya).

The reference of Karnati in Slo. 30 can be explained as something conventional because it is a sort of *kavisamaya*.

If the proposed identification proves correct, we have one more work of good literary quality to the credit of the author of N. I must, however, say in conclusion that more evidence is necessary to settle the question finally**

1 Ghursna (slo. 59))-saffron: This is a word of rare occurrence. It is used by Kashmir poets. See Bilhana's Vikramankadevacaritam-XI-I See also for unusual words, the vocabulary of Sriharsa given by Handuqu.

2. In the first additional verse after the Puspika 'nagaryyah svrnagauryo vadanagarabhava.....are mentioned. This somehow connects the ms. with Vadanagara. Probably, the copy of the ms. might have been made at Vadanagara or its owner may have been a resident of that place. I mention this fact because Sriharsa the author of N. had a great vogue in Gujarat and the oldest commentaries on N. were written in Gujarat. So if S.H. is a work of the author of N. it would be no surprise, if its only known Ms. was copied at Vadanagara.

THE SONG OF HAMSAPADIKA

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The fifth act of *Sakuntala* opens with a song. As the curtain goes up, Dusyanta and his friend the Vidusaka are seen seated. From behind the curtain comes the strain of a melodious song floating on the air:

Ahinava-mahu-loluvo tumam

Taha paricumbia cuamanjarim/

Kamala-vasai-metta-nivvudo

Mahuara, vimharidosi nam kaham||

Hamsapadika, one of the queens of Dusyanta, is singing the song. Her voice can be recognised. The song is sung scientifically. Its music enthralls the mind. However, Hamsapadika is not practising music merely. The song is surcharged with emotion; and this fact does not escape the attention of Dusyanta. The Vidusaka digs at Dusyanta and asks him: "Did you understand the meaning of the song?"

The meaning of Hamsapadika's song is very plain:

'You are greedy for ever fresh honey; but having kissed the mango-blossom with such passion, you are now finding blissful happiness in the sheer company of a lotus; how could you forget the mango-blossom, O Bee?'

Of course, Dusyanta has understood the meaning of the song. He turns to the Vidusaka with a smile and says, "Once I loved this Hamsapadika passionately; but now I spend my time in the apartment of Vasumati; and so she is taunting me." But Dusyanta is courteous; he immediately sends the Vidusaka to Hamsapadika in order to comfort her wounded heart. The Vidusaka is unwilling to go; he is afraid that the maids of Hamsapadika will overwhelm him, pull his hair, rain blows on him, and like an ascetic caught by the heavenly nymphs, he will have to give up all hope of liberation. Dusyanta waves these protests away and forces the Vidusaka to go to Hamsapadika. The incident is over. What must have been the intention of Kalidasa in putting this song?

One dramatic purpose served by the song can obviously be seen: The Vidusaka is removed from the scene. The Fifth Act is mainly concerned with the repudiation of Sakuntala. Dusyanta has lost his memory as a result of the curse of Durvasas. He does not remember to have married Sakuntala; and if so, he cannot bring himself to accepting a woman who is a 'stranger' to him, especially when she is pregnant. Had the Vidusaka been present on this

occasion he would have reminded Dusyanta of his woodland love; and yet Dusyanta's mind would have been blank as a result of the curse. And a situation which was morally very embarrassing would inevitably have resulted; because whereas the Vidusaka's remembering the love affair would have lent support to Sakuntala's contention, while the King's failure to recollect anything would have appeared as downright meanness. The repudiation of Sakuntala is based on Dusyanta's loss of memory and on the inability of Sakuntala to produce a tangible sign of recognition. On this background Dusyanta's attitude will appear to be perfectly moral; for, his statements proceed from a genuine conviction that he could never have been connected with this strange woman. At the same time, Sakuntala was, from her own point of view, manifestly above suspicion. The meeting between Dusyanta and Sakuntala in the Fifth Act is thus a clash of *'two rights'*. It is this element that makes the conflict so terrific and tragic; and it upsets the emotional balance of both the parties. For this exciting dramatic effect as well as for the terrible consequence to which the situation leads, it was artistically necessary that both Dusyanta and Sakuntala were confident of their own moral positions. The opposition of the Vidusaka would have disturbed the perfect balance of this poignant situation and made Dusyanta's own defence ridiculous. It was therefore of great importance that the Vidusaka was not present on the scene when Sakuntala arrived. The song of Hamsapadika provides a natural excuse for keeping the Vidusaka away from the scene of repudiation and thereby removing the threat of moral embarrassment, which would have been so damaging to the character of Dusyanta.

This however is an obvious and an external consequence of the song. Its subtle significance is psychological. The delicacy of Kalidasa's art consists in the suggestion of the consequences on the subjective side.

In turning from the Fourth to the Fifth Act, we are entering into a new atmosphere. The innocent, sensitive and peaceful atmosphere of the penance-grove has now been replaced by the aristocratic, indifferent and distressed atmosphere of the palace-life. The Nature which responds to human sentiments by the voice of the cuckoo is absent here; nor is there the philosophic melancholy which can console the parental sadness at the departure of a beloved daughter. On the contrary, there are bees here that wander in search of fresh honey; there are hearts that burn with the anguish of unsatisfied love; there is uncontrollable passion; the distress and the suffering of the agonised mind. The song of Hamsapadika is as it were an inauguration of this new and strange atmosphere.

The reader naturally senses the suggestive sadness of this atmosphere. What is going to happen to the simple and innocent girl from the woodland in this new atmosphere of estranged love? As this dreaded doubt dawns on the mind, we recall the dig that the Vidusaka had given to Dusyanta. It is plain therefore that the song of Hamsapadika is equivocal: The allusion to the bee, the

mango-blossom and the lotus in the song appear to be too obvious to be mistaken even by the so-called dull-headed Vidusaka. Dusyanta must have wandered like a bee in the garden of life; he met an innocent Hamsapadika whose youth was opening like a mango-blossom; out of passion he tasted the honeyed pleasure in her company; he installed her in his harem and left with her a memory of passionate love that could not be forgotten. But now this bee has sauntered away in search of fresh honey; he has turned to the lotus-like Vasumati and has apparently forgotten Hamsapadika, the mango-blossom. The agony of the broken heart of the young blossom is voiced in Hamsapadika's song. Does the bee remember?

But the song is not only a reflection of Hamsapadika's heart; the simple and loyal heart of Sakuntala seems to be speaking to us through this song. Sakuntala has left the penance-grove with her heart heavy with sorrow; she is overwhelmed with the sense of separation; there is unexpressed hope in her mind about her new home; but there is also nervous fear. As thus Sakuntala arrives at the threshold of Dusyanta's palace, we too seem to catch her fear; for the suggestion in Hamsapadika's song has given us a shock. Is Dusyanta really like a bee? If the mango-blossom like Hamsapadika were to be callously neglected, will this new blossom, namely Sakuntala, meet with similar fate? The reaction of Dusyanta to Hamsapadika's song gives us another shock. The song has created an inexpressible yearning in Dusyanta's mind, but there is no consciousness of a 'separation from the beloved'.² Whatever little hope the anxious reader may have entertained is smashed by this remark of Dusyanta. It is a warning and a suggestion: The repudiation of Sakuntala that follows is foreshadowed by Hamsapadika's song. The song is thus a symbol.

However it is very necessary to analyse the implications of this symbolic song, especially as they reflect the character of Dusyanta. The song apparently represents Dusyanta as a bee, full of passion but callous. This is the verdict of all the critics too. They picture Dusyanta as a selfish bee, hasty and passionate and enraptured by the prospect of sweet honey only. The confession of Hamsapadika seems to strengthen this impression. The transformation that takes place in the psychological life of Dusyanta starts, according to these critics, from the Sixth Act, when with the recollection of Sakuntala his mind is tortured by the blunder he had committed in repudiating his lawfully wedded wife.

However, if Kalidasa intended to represent Dusyanta really in these colours it will be difficult to harmonise some facts given in the play. If Dusyanta were like a bee by nature and if turning from Hamsapadika to Vasumati he were not to feel any genuine pinch of conscience, then he could as well reject Sakuntala for still

(2) Read: 'राजा—(आत्मगतम्) किं नु खलु गीतमेवंविधार्थमाकर्ण्य इष्टजनविरहाद् ऋतेऽपि क्लृप्तदुःखितोऽस्मि ।' Act V.

a new-found love. But then, why does he experience an unaccountable yearning and talk of 'loves in previous lives'.³ This surely is not the way a honey-mad bee would behave, and especially when fresh honey could be had for a song. Further, what particular purpose is served by the solemn machinery of the curse and by making the repudiation a direct result of it? Does the pleasure-loving bee require any excuse to discard one flower and go to another? These considerations are very vital to the proper understanding of Kalidasa's version of the *Sakuntala* story. The ultimate picture of noble love and of permanent union that Kalidasa paints would be certainly lop-sided if one of the partners of love, namely Sakuntala were perfectly noble and innocent and the other, namely Dusyanta, were a passionate but unsteady lover devoid of a serious purpose in life. A noble love that develops into a permanent union surely ought to be a sincere *mutual* love.

Now, Kalidasa has touched in a number of places the noble shades in the character of Dusyanta. The most important of these however concerns the love-life of Dusyanta. It is a very pertinent question whether Dusyanta is really an unsteady lover, selfish like a bee. I am afraid that the answer which Kalidasa has provided in his play to this question would go against the common verdict of the critics.

Kalidasa cannot help the fact that Dusyanta is polygamous. The story that Kalidasa has selected for his drama and especially the setting he has provided for it make polygamy an inevitable social fact. Leave aside Dusyanta; the entire artistocracy of that social period practised polygamy, and the case of Dhanamitra, who carried a flourishing maritime trade, cited in the Sixth Act, is an instance in point. In the particular social atmosphere it was unavoidable that a rich person was prone to a polygamous and therefore perhaps to a varied love-life. Dusyanta moreover has the temperament and passion of an artist who loves beauty.⁴ To say therefore that he was averse to the pleasures of love would be unrealistic and contrary to human nature. Dusyanta has certainly indulged in the sport of love and perhaps the episode of Hamsapadika is a peep into this aspect of Dusyanta's life. But what is of utmost significance is to understand that, even in the lives of men of the type of Dusyanta, who have roamed like a bee from flower to flower in the garden of life, a situation arises and a turning-point comes which make these care-free wanderers pause and look inside their own hearts. They seem to grasp as it were in a flash the profound significance of love. Their attitude immediately becomes grave and serious and a transformation takes place in their lives. Such a transformation is not unnatural and is

(3) cf. Act V. v. 2, and esp. 'तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदाणि ॥'

(4) cf. Dusyanta's appreciation of Tapovana life l. 14, 15: of the loveliness of the Asrama girls: आहो मधुरमासां दर्शनम्', his confession, l. 17; also l. 20.

vouched for by the facts of human psychology. I feel that Dusyanta has already gone through a psychological transformation, and that Kalidasa has indicated it in this drama by select subtle suggestions.

The most important suggestion in this regard is the fact that Dusyanta has no son. It is probable that this fact is not a matter of private sorrow merely; it means that there is no successor to the vast royal riches and the powerful empire that Dusyanta has built up during his career by dint of his personal prowess. It is quite possible that it is in view of this larger aspect that Kalidasa has harped on the 'childlessness' of Dusyanta. The blessing that the ascetics confer on Dusyanta, in Act I, is that he may obtain a son.⁵ It implies not only the wish that the serious gap in the private life of Dusyanta may be filled; it is also a wish that the spiritual duty of the king to protect the religious life of his own people may not suddenly come to naught for want of a royal successor. When the Vidusaka is sent back to the capital, in Act II, along with the army and the royal paraphernalia he boasts, "I have now become the Heir-apparent."⁶ This casual remark conceals the personal tragedy of Dusyanta: How otherwise could the stupid Vidusaka usurp, may be in joke, the title of 'Yuvaraja'? The poor old mother of Dusyanta is wearying herself by the observance of vows with the sole hope of securing the continuance of the family line.⁷ Dusyanta is keeping himself busy with the round of his onerous duties,⁸ apparently unconcerned about this serious void in his life; but the fact must be continuously present in his sub-conscious mind: When the case of Dhanamitra forces the dread reality on his conscious mind, Dusyanta, the mighty hero of many an uncommon battle, collapses into a swoon.⁹ That this pillar of strength should crack before our very eyes is not a cheap melodrama intended for a theatrical effect of pathos. It only shows that when the awareness of the void of childlessness reached the level of consciousness, even the mighty life-force of Dusyanta could not endure the blow. It is this consciousness that could check the irresponsible search for mere pleasures and force any man turn within for a real search for happiness. This was what had happened in the life of Dusyanta. The significance which Kalidasa attaches to this perfectly human emotion should be clearly realised. The suggestive but eloquent indications that the dramatist has given in the play, along with the picture of Dusyanta melting under the rush of parental love, in Act VII,¹⁰

(5) cf. I. 12: 'पुत्रं एवगुणोपेतं चक्रवर्तिनमाप्नुहि ॥'

(6) cf. 'तेण हि जुवराओ म्हि दाणिं संसुत्तो ।'

(7) cf. The message which Karabhaka brings from Dusyanta's mother: 'आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपिण्डपालनो नामोपवासो भविष्यति ।' Act II.

(8) See, Act V, verses 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

(9) See, Act VI, 25, and the following stage-direction, 'मोहमुपगतः'

(10) cf. 'किं नु खलु बालेऽस्मिन्नौरस इव पुत्रे क्षिप्यति मे मनः ।' and verse 17 (आलक्ष्यदन्तमुकुलाव) Act VII.

leave no doubt that Kalidasa's Dusyanta is already a transformed man. If it were not so, and if the loss of the beautiful Sakuntala and the consequent sense of repentance alone had transformed the bee-like attitude of Dusyanta, the refrain of Dusyanta's suffering occurring in the sixth act would at best be melodramatic in the right literary tradition. What is more, it will inevitably lead us to suspect that Sakuntala may become another Hamsapadika one day. Such a suspicion will not be unnatural if Dusyanta of the first five Acts were taken to be a selfish pleasure-seeker, and the transformation in his nature were traced to the influence of repentance in the sixth Act only. And such a suspicion is apt to destroy the higher values of life in *Sakuntala*.

It is essential for aesthetic criticism that the character and romance of Dusyanta are judged from the angle which the dramatist himself has provided. It is an incorrect moral approach, based on considerations which do not belong to Kalidasa's times, that has, in my opinion, led to the misunderstanding of the character of Dusyanta. It is necessary to remember that the gallant approaches of Dusyanta, in Act I, originate in the first instance out of his keen and sensitive appreciation of beauty; for, Dusyanta is a lover of beauty.¹¹ When his appreciation of Sakuntala's beauty turns unconsciously into a desire for possession—psychologically, a natural and legitimate desire—Dusyanta is already considering Sakuntala as a prospective wife.¹² There is neither the irresponsible desire for a mere gratification of the senses, nor the passionate rush for a rash and illegal possession. Will it then be too much to say that the subconscious sense of the void in life must have moulded, of course unawares, Dusyanta's desire and given his unexpected passion a seriousness of purpose? Already the ascetics of the Tapovana had blessed Dusyanta with the blessing of a son. The incorporeal voice, in the fourth act, predicts that a son will be born to Sakuntala.¹³ The suggestions in these allusions are irresistible.

The song of Hamsapadika must now be interpreted in the light of these suggestions. It is not surprising that Hamsapadika dubs Dusyanta as a bee, as *no one else in this drama does*. She is singing a wailful song of her wounded heart. How could she see beyond herself? And how could she understand the deeper motive why her 'bee' had turned to the lotus from the fresh mango-blossom? She was incapable of relating, in her self-centred sorrow, that a subconscious revolution had changed Dusyanta's nature; so that the attractive 'blossom' had lost its significance for him, and that his soul was yearning unconsciously for the mellow 'fruit'. Unable to fathom the depth of Dusyanta's desire, she takes him to be a callous bee. But a careful examination of the symbol that the dramatist has used in the song should reveal the inner motive of

(11) See, the references quoted under foot-note (4).

(12) cf. I. 22, 'असंज्ञयं क्षत्तपरिग्रहक्षमा' etc.

(13) Read : 'दुष्यन्तेनाहितं तेजो दधानां भूतये भुवः । अवेहि तनयां ब्रह्मजन्मिणीं शमीति॥'

Dusyanta's attitude. The 'mango-blossom' is a symbol of the advent of spring, of budding youth. On the contrary, the 'lotus' suggests the mature growth, adult life. Hamsapadika is a girl in blossoming youth; Vasumati is a mature lady. Hamsapadika is referred to in the play by the formal honorific title, *tatrabhavati*, which as Dusyanta's queen was due to her; but Vasumati is addressed as '*devi*' a title which the crowned queen alone deserves. These titles are obviously indicative of their respective ages as of their positions. And so, if Dusyanta were a selfish pleasure-seeker, running merely after the gratification of his passion, he ought to have spent his leisure in the apartment of Hamsapadika, enjoying the beauty of bursting youth, the fresh loveliness of the mango-blossom. But Dusyanta has turned his back on the tingling pleasure of a hot 'kiss'; he has, on the contrary, turned towards the cool and mellow 'lotus'; it is a pleasure of mere company ('*vasati*'); but living in Vasumati's apartment gives Dusyanta the highest pleasure ('*nirvrti*'). This is Hamsapadika's own confession. That Dusyanta should turn away from the intoxicating pleasures of youthful enjoyment and prefer the quite solace of mature company is a mystery to Hamsapadika. She is hurt by this preference of Dusyanta. But just as the pride of her youth makes her incapable of bearing this humiliation, it is equally responsible for her failure to understand the motive behind this change of attitude. We do feel sorry for Hamsapadika and sympathise with her. But does that give us any justification for misunderstanding Dusyanta's character and behaviour? Do we want to commit the same youthful error which Hamsapadika did in her blindness and sorrow?

The song of Hamsapadika is thus one more subtle, and perhaps a very significant, suggestion through which the dramatist reveals the psychological transformation of Dusyanta. The neglect of Hamsapadika is *not* due to the bee-like, selfish temperament of Dusyanta; it is the unconscious reaction of a sub-conscious frustration, a frustration that has created a tragic void in the life of Dusyanta. On this background alone can we properly understand the unaccountable restlessness that Dusyanta experiences by hearing the song. If the final meeting of Dusyanta and Sakuntala is a permanent union of two loving hearts, it necessarily presupposes a complete transformation; and such a transformation can not be the result of mere separation and suffering. It is therefore necessary to admit, on the strength of the textual evidence, that Kalidasa conceived his Dusyanta as a transformed lover from the beginning of his story. Thus considered, the song of Hamsapadika is a poetic symbol of Dusyanta's psychological transformation.

THE RELATIVE POSITION OF DANDIN AND BHAMAHA IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

by

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In this paper I have made an humble attempt to show, on the basis of a fresh finding, that Dandin can, in no case, be brought to a period later than Bhamaha. A lot of controversy has been ensuing for settling the priority of one to the other. Dr. A. Shankaran has rightly remarked that no definite data are yet forthcoming to solve the problem.

Mr. K. B. Pathak said in his Introduction to Kaviraja Marga that Bhamaha is prior to Dandin. But Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar went to prove that the reverse is the case. He observed that a close comparison of the works of Dandin and Bhamaha has enabled him to collect several cumulative evidences in favour of his contention that Bhamaha should be placed after Dandin. For he maintains that Bhamaha's work is full of criticisms against the views of his predecessors and most of them are unmistakably aimed at Dandin².

But Mr. Narasimhiengar found his arguments strongly refuted by Mr. K. P. Trivedi and many others.³ I, however, do not like to encumber this short article with the statements of all the views held either against or in favour of Dandin's priority. For Dr. Kane has collected the arguments on either side and scrutinizing all such views with admirable impartiality declares himself in favour of Dandin's priority over Bhamaha. He holds that the reasons so far assigned for Dandin's priority are far more weighty (though not thoroughly decisive) than those assigned for Bhamaha's priority.⁴ It is, however, up to us to agree or disagree with his view. But on the basis of what we have been able to find out, we can assert that Dr. Kane is justified in arriving at the aforesaid conclusion. I, however want to add a few words to what has been stated so far, which will go to ascertain that there is no doubt that Dandin flourished before Bhamaha.

Bhamaha in his Kavyalamkara often refers to his predecessors and at times quotes them even by name. We come across the

1 Mr. Pathak seems to have changed his earlier view later on as stated by Dr. Kane in his History of S. K. Poetics. See p. 96.

2 Vide the article "Bhamaha the Rhetorician" in the J. R. A. S., July 1905. pp. 536-37.

3. See Kane's History of SK. Poetics. P. 96.

4. Ibid. P. 108

following couplet in which Rama Sharma is mentioned along with his work named 'Achutottara'.

‘नाना धात्वर्थगम्भीरा यमकव्यपदेशिनि ।

प्रहेलिका सा ह्युदिता रामशर्माच्चतोत्तरे ॥’ K. AL. II. 19.

And in some other context we find a complete verse of Rama Sharma¹ quoted by Bhamaha which is evidently from Achutottara wherein, as the name itself suggests, the poetic figures seem to have been exemplified in the garb of the poetic-description of the later-life (uttaracharita) of Shri Krishna.

Moreover it is gratifying to note that the discovery of the Avanti Sundari Katha of Dandin has lent us a helping hand, so to say, when we have been stumbling on the way to find out the exact solution of our problem at hand. A Ms. of the work was discovered by the Curator of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library and was first published by Mr. R. K. Kavi in 1924 under the Daksina Bharati Series. It is evident from the said Ms. that it was written by Dandin, the author of the Kavyadarsa. There we find express mention of a certain Ramasharma as one of the friends of Dandin. Prof. R. K. Kavi, in his paper on the “Avanti Sundari Katha of Dandi”, alludes to the fact that Dandin had as his friends several Nambudri Brahmins of Malabar and among them was Ramasarma, the son of the military commander of the Pallavas².

That Rama Sharma had some Alankara work to his credit is proved by a reference made by Acharya.

Sangha Raksita in his Subodhalankara, a Pali work on Rhetoric:

‘रामसम्मा दलङ्कार मन्ति सन्तो पुरातना ।

तथापि तु बलञ्जन्ति सुद्धमागधिका न ते ॥’

On scrutiny we find that Acharya Sangha Raksita in this work closely follows Dandin's Kavyadarsa, with this difference only that his examples relate to Buddhism wherever Dandin touches the Hindu religion and he selects examples relating to 'Santa Rasa' wherever Dandin has erotic verses. It shows that Dandin and Rama Sharma had identical views with regard to the Alamkara-Sastra.

All this, therefore, may safely lead us to conclude that Dandin, who made friendship with scholars and poets of great renown had Rama Sharma the same Alamkarika as his friend whom Bhamaha seems to keep in view while referring to the work Achutottara.

If this be the case, the theory of Mr. Trivedi and many others who place Bhamaha before Dandin proves no longer tenable. For on the evidence of what we have seen so far, the priority of Dandin to Bhamaha is settled beyond any doubt.

1 Vide Kavyalamkara Chapter II, Sl. 58,

2 See the Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, 1922. Page 193.

JAYADEVA—WHO IS HE?

by

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Jayadeva is one of the most celebrated and popular poets in Sanskrit. His soul—stirring compositions have inspired many mystics and devotees.

It is widely held that Jayadeva was born at Kendubilwa (Kenduli) on the bank of the river Ajaya in the Birbhum district of Bengal, that he was the son of Bhojadeva and Vambadebi, and that he was the court-poet of Lakshman Sen, the Vaidya king of Bengal¹. But Mr. R. C. Majumdar and Mr. Jagabandhu Singh differ from this view of Bengali Historians and scholars and savants like Sir William Jones, Mr. Edwin Arnold, Mr. Lassen and Mr. Peterson and maintain that tradition has preserved a verse to be a part of an inscription according to which Jayadeva was with Gobardhan, Sarana, Umapati, and Kaviraj, attached to the court of one Lakshmana Sen.² Mr. R. C. Majumdar adds. "Each and every event of Jayadeva's life as depicted by Navaji, Chakradutta Mahipati and Ramdas of Orissa in their life story of Jayadeva was so to say, interwoven with Lord Jagannath and the Emperor of Orissa. The events can not be ignored as legends as claimed by some writers." Mr. Jagabandhu Singh, a prominent pleader of Orissa, remarks, "Jayadeva is a poet of Orissa and was born at Kendubilwa (Kenduli) in the Puri district and an Oriya Brahmin."³

In the face of these two divergent views, one asks: Is Jayadeva a court-poet of Lakshmana Sen, the Vaidya king of Bengal or of the Utkal Kings?

Madala Panji (Palm-leaf records), the Orissan Chronicle, provides concrete records of Lord Jagannath and Ekajata-Kamadeva who was a Vaishaba and reigned from 1144 to 1150 A.D.⁴ and never took his daily food without hearing musical notes of Gitagovinda⁵. King Ekajata Kamadeva became a favourite disciple of Jayadeva and built temples to encourage the Vaisnava cult in his own kingdom particularly at Madhupur Patana situated in the Chudangasahi of Puri city. He is more connected with many valuable gifts to Vaisnavas, as this fact is revealed from the copper-plate grants discovered at Puri and Kendupatana.⁶ These facts clearly bear testi-

1 Dr. M. K. Chaitar's History of Classical Sanskrit Literature. p. 337.

2 Gobardhanaecha sarano jayadeva umapati, Kahirajascha ratnanisambitau lakshmansaya. cha:-Birabhuma Bibarana and Bachapallabayatyumapati-rah sandarbhasudhigiram, etc.: -Gitagovinda.

3. Prachina Utkal of Jagabandhu Singh, p. 58.

4. Eraja bada Vaisnav acharana kale-Madalapanji (Published).

5. Records from Madala Panji. (Unpublished).

6. R. D. Banerjee's History of Orissa. p. 254.

mony to the popularity of Jayadeva both as a poet and as a religious guru of King Kandaewa (1144-1150).

Moreover the work "Avinabagitagovinda" of Rajaraja II (115-1154 A.D.) alias Purusottama Deva, also known as Madan Mohan, it is believed, was introduced by Purusottama Deva in place of Jayadeva's Gitagovinda because Jayadeva has in his Dasavatara-stotra regarded Buddha as an incarnation of Vishna. Balarama, Achyutananda Pratapa and other literary giants invoked Lord Jagannath as a Buddha as the notion was extremely popular among the followers and supporters of Bajrajana School of Orissan Vaisnavism. Jayadeva was disliked by the Brahmins and other Saivites of the period for regarding Buddha as an avatar of Hari; so Abhinavagitagovinda was sung in the Jagannath temple out of dire necessity to satisfy some sections of the people of Orissa; but such an action wounded the inner sentiments of Vaisnavas of the time and there was agitation against this innovation with a demand for reciting Jayadeva's Gitagovinda before the Lord Jagannath. This struggle ended with compromise effected by the Lord Jagannath between the king and the poet. Later, however, Gitagovinda of Jayadeva was re-introduced in the temple as before. Ramadasa in his Dardhyatabhakti Rasamrta², the Nirnayasagara edition of Gitagovinda³ and Chandradutta in his Bhaktamala⁴ have narrated these facts. As a result of the divine compromise between the two devotees of the Lord Jagannath, each chapter of Gitagovinda consists of a beautiful verse of the Abhinavagitagovinda of the king Purusottam and this fact is again supported by Kavicharita in

- 1 Javadeva's Dasavatara-stotram, Gitagovinda 11, 9.
- 2 Suvila akasa bachana, To grantha kali mun grahana.
Dwadasasarga parimana, Jayadevara grantha jana.
Barasagara adye tora, Rahiba barasloka tara.
Rajahoina ethe tosa, Gamila apana uasa.-Dardhyatabhaktirasamrta.
- 3 Itham kelitati bihrutya jamunakula samam, radhaya.
Tadromabali mauktikabali yuge benibhramam bibhrati.
Tatrahladi kuchapratyagafalayorlipsabato hastayorbyaparah purusotta-
masya dadatu sphitam mudam sampadam. Gitagovinda.
- 4 Punarbakshyami tasyibacharitam paramabdbhutam.
Jayadevasya biprasya Gitagovindasambham.
Ekadagitagovindam srutwa rajatiharsatah.
Nijagre sthapayitwa tatka byam tadrusamebaccha.
Swayam nirnaya bidwadbhyo dadabangyam nrupah punah.
Adyarambhya mameitadbei Gitagovindanamakam.
Prathyatam giaytam sarberanyatha dandabhabhet.
Ityangyapya dwitiam tadgitagovindanamakam.
Prakhyapayamasa nrupah kabyam swakrutamebacha.
Jayadevakrutou koepi najagou nrupasasanat.
... ..
Parantu matkrutenayam yatha tusyati Keshabah.
Na tatha twat kruteneti parikshya kriyatamiha.
... ..
Rajacha Jayadevacha je chanye tatlabai dwijah.
Agre sthitwa khsanam tatrodhasritam swayamecbahi.
Kapatam mandire yatah sarbe rajapurasarah. CH. 40.

Marathi and Alankarasekhara of Keshaba Mishra of the 16th Century A.D.¹

From these direct evidences it is to be concluded that the Utkal king, Purusottama Deva, was distinctly mentioned in the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva, who by the time has obtained high esteem as a court-poet of Ekajata Kamadeva.² The salient features of poetic excellences of Gitagovinda which has created an epoch of the Bhakti cult have been enacted also in the characters and inscriptions granted by Kavi Narasingha, Kapilendra and Prataparudra Deva.³ Besides this the inscription on the leftside reveals the record of accepting Jayadeva's Gitagovinda sung daily before the Lord Jagan-nath as a routine work after His Badasinharabesa⁴: and this practice is still observed in the Jagannath temple.

The idea of attributing Jayadeva to the court of Lakshmana Sen, the Vaidya king of Vanga, by Bengali scholars and historians is quite spurious on the ground that the Sakti religion was more powerful during his reign. People of his country were very much fond of Tantrism and as a result they observed the Agama cult and took Panchmakaras which later on gradually influenced the Vaisnavism of Bengal. To enable then the degenerated societies, Halayudha, the royal and learned Pandit in the court of the king Lakshman Sen, wrote 'Matsya Sukta'. If Jayadeva were in the court of Lakshmana Sen, it would have been quite possible to mention such a learned scholar Halayudha, who influenced greatly the mass of Bengal; but on the other hand neither Halayudha nor Jayadeva had mentioned names of each other, though Jayadeva narrated much about Acharya Gobardhana, a Brahmin of Utkal.

Gitagovinda exerted a great influence both in form and matter on Roy Ramanada of the 15th and 16th century A.D. as can be found in his Jagannathaballava Natakam; on Banamali of the 15th century A.D. as seen in his Krisnalilamruta in Sanskrit (unpublished); on Jatindra Raghunath of Puri in the 17th Century A.D. as in his Mukundabilasa in Sanskrit (unpublished); on Dharanidhara Das and Sadananda Kabisurya of the 17th century A.D. as seen in their Gitagovindas in Oriya. The Gita Govinda of Uddhaba Das of the 16th century A.D. and the works of other Oriya poets also, have been influenced by Jayadeva. Debadurlabha Das of the 16th century A.D. in his Rahasyamanjari and Dinakrusna Das of the 17th and the 18th century A.D. in his Amrutasagara and Pindika Srichandana of the 17th century A.D. in his Vasantarasa have greatly adopted the subject-matter, the manner of narration and even the sweet and sonorous language of Jayadeva's Gitagovinda.

Sisusankara's Ushabhilasa (1555 A.D.), is quite identical with Jayadeva's Gitagovinda and displays the enchanting scenery, the

1 Prakpratyak pruthibivrutoh parisadi prakhyatasamkyabatah, (1-19).
Mahanayadbhutataarkakarkasataya bichchidya bidyamadam.
Ye ke pyutkalabhupate taba sabhasambhabita panditah.
Patram srijayadevapanditakabistanmurdhni binyasyati.

2 Prachina Gadyapadyadarsa ed. by Mr. A. B. Mahanty.

3 Vaisnavism in Orissa pp. 42-pp. 43.

4 Prachina Utkal by Jagabandhu Sin Singh.

ornamental expression, overflowing music and amorous love of Radha and Kṛṣṇa with a slight difference in name of the hero and heroine as well as the mode of expression and sweet language. Usa, the daughter of Banasura, and Aniruddha, the grandson of Sri Kṛṣṇa, fell in love with each other. The vernal beauty is conducive to love and the melody, raga and tala of the songs are quite in keeping with the entertaining mood of the lover.

The ideas in Uṣabhāṣa ch III, 14-20 bear a close resemblance to Gitagovinda Ch. I. 3-32. Aniruddha repented very much for his illicit amorous connection and sought pardon of Usa, and the same method of satisfying Radha is accepted and narrated picturesquely in the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva.

Both Gitagovinda and Uṣabhāṣa are love lyrics in praise of Lord Sri Kṛṣṇa. Love as narrated is divine but purely sensible with the estrangement of lovers and their final reconciliation. Compare Uṣabhāṣa Ch. VII, 5, 15-16, 41-45 and Gitagovinda Ch. X, 3-4 for justification.

The ennobling influence and overwhelming popularity of Jayadeva's Gitagovinda in every nook and corner of Utkal even from the beginning of the 16th Century A.D. onward is thus clear. Clearly it must have taken at least 150 to 200 years to achieve such a level of popularity.

This conclusion is further testified by various palmleaf mss. found in different parts of Orissa along with the Bhagabatagadis in the houses. Bamadeba Mishra wrote a short commentary in Sanskrit with an attractive and true translation of original texts with various readings of *Gitagovinda*. So far as I know another anonymous prose translation also exists. Numerous Oriya poets¹ have made successful renderings of the same volume into Oriya language and referred to him too in their original works. People of Utkal were much familiar with Jayadeva like Jagannātha, the author of Bhagabata; but none in Bengal seems to be acquainted with him. Birabhum Bibarana has² rightly remarked, "We have come across some works written on Jayadeva by Bengali writers but none of them have given any reference to any event before the time of Chaitanya." Jayadevacharitam of Banamalidasa, written in Bengali and published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, is supposed to have been composed in the 17th Century A.D. The publication was made only out of one manuscript as no other mss. of the same could be found in any place of Bengal. It does not mention at all the life-history of Jayadeva—not even the most interesting events which occurred in relation to either the Lord Jagannāth or the Gajapati Emperor of Orissa. A ludicrous account Jayadeva's

1 Gitagovinda by Dharanidhara Das of the 17th Century A.D.

(a) Rasabariḍhi by Brundabana Das of the 15th. Century A.D.

(b) Gitagovinda by Uddhaba Das of the 16th. Century A.D.

(c) Gitagovinda by Trilochan Das of the 17th. Century A.D.

(d) Gitagovinda by Sadananda Kavisurya of the 17th. Century A.D.

2 Birabhum Bibarana:—pp. 310 (Foot-note).

marriage with Padmavati contained in Bemalai shows how it is unacquainted even with significant events in his life.

Viswanath Kaviraja¹ (1190 A.D. 1250 A.D.) the Sandhibi-grahika in the royal court of Raja Narasingha Deva, has quoted a sloke from Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda* and discussed the poetic qualities in his *Sahitya Darpana*. This clearly certifies that Jayadeva was prior to him and a man of Orissa, because Viswanath had adorned the court of Raja Narasingha Deva whose predecessors had devoted themselves to cultural and architectural pursuits.

Scholars of the East and the West like Sir W. Jones, Mr. Edwin Arnold, Mr. Lassen and others have based their conclusions on the nativity of Jayadeva mainly on the sloka,

Bachah pallabayatyumapatidharah sandarbhasuddhigiram,
Janite Jayadeva eba saranah slyaghyo duruhadruteh;
Srungarottarasatprameyarachaneiracharya gobardhanars-
pardhi kopi na bisrutah srutidharo dhoyi kabikshmapatih.
Gitagovinda (Nirnayasagara Edt.) Sloka 4.

The above verse is most probably a traditional one like that of "Dhanwantarikhsapanakamarasinghasankubetabhattaghatakar para kalidasah, Khyato barahamihiro nrupateh sabhayam ratnani bai bararuchinnababikraasya. No historical element is blended with these two verses; as contradictory evidences are apparent either from inscriptions or other historical and literary records.

When Lakshmana Sen, the last Vaidya and Hindu king of Bengal, was attacked and defeated by the Muslims of Delhi, he took shelter in the royal court of Anangabhim Dev (1154-1181) and through his courtsey and that of his successor Rajaraja Deva (1181-1216 A.D.), Lakshmana Sen remained in that court with his kingly status and spent the later part of his life as a devotee of Lord Jagannath at Srikshetra (Puri).

Anangabhim Deva had a number of learned scholars, illustrious poets, leading historians and social reformers in his court. He was hailed the Vikramaditya of Orissa. It was at his court that Lakshman Sen came in contact with the poet Jayadeva for a period of sixteen years and admired the poet's talents. With the royal aid from Anagabhimadev, Jayadeva spent a few years of his life on

- 1 Unminanmadhugandhalubdhamadhupachyadhutachutankura.
Kridakokilakalikalakaleirudgirnakarnajavarah.
Niyante pathikeih kathakathamapidhyanabadyanakshana.
Praptapranasamasamaganamarasollaseiramibasarah. SAHITYA DAR-
PANA. Chapter X. Pp. 475-476.

- 1 (a) Madala Panji.
(b) History of Utkal by Krupasindhu Mishra, pp. 110.
(c) History of Utkal by Pyarimohan Acharya. pp. 74-75.
(d) Prachina Utkal by Jagabandhu Singh.

the banks of the river Ganges included at that time in the expanded Gang Empire. The brief narration of Chandradutta rather is more favourable to the account of Jayadeva's overwhelming popularity which travelled far and wide of the greater Orissa then known. So the verse "Bacham pallabayatuma mapatidharah, etc., Gitagovinda, sloka. 4" proves, as if Umapati, Gobarddhana and Dhoyi were the court poets of either the Utkal King or the king Lakshman Sen, who spent his later life as a guest in the court of the Utkal king. The other possibility might be inferred that Umapati, Gobardhan, and Dhoyi were the native poets of Utkal and received royal honour during their life time from the Utkal King due to brilliancy of thought, evergreenness of muse and nectar-flowing expressions. But the latter one is more definite and conclusive; because Gobardhana was the contemporary of Jayadeva and court poet of Raj Raj II. His Aryasaptasati and Gobardhan Sataka furnish us a definite and reasonable information that Gobardhana is a man of Puri (Sri-khsetra) and achieved poetic talents being patronised by Rajaraja II. He has mentioned Udayana Acharya¹ and Balabhadra of whom the former is his brother and the latter is his favourite disciple; and both are the inhabitants of Srikhsetra (Puri). Further proof assigns Gobardhana as the court-poet of the Gajapati of Utkal; as he is clearly mentioned while he uttered some praiseworthy words to Lakshmana Sen to accord the decency of honour to a guest. Moreover no Acharya Brahmin is seen anywhere except Utkal; and therefore there is no reasonable background and historical certainty to conclude without a least thinking that Gobardhana was the court-poet of Lakshmana Sen, the Vaidya King of Bengal. This is more strengthened when we know certainly that Acharya Gobardhana is the son of Acharya Nilambara, a permanent inhabitant of Utkal. Like Acharya Gobardhana, I am also definite about other two poets that they are natives of Utkal. Hence the sloka No. 4 as interpreted by scholars is quite absurd and unconvincing.

Sanatana Goswami(1) has nowhere spoken about anything of the poet's works except only his name. This greater inconsistency provides an adequate scope to understand that these statements attributing to or associating with the name of Sanatana Goswami are spurious, which is again supported by the earliest commentator Maharana Kumbha of the 15th Century A.D.; as his commentary runs, "Idanim kabih kabigananayam pareirapi kabibhiraham pariganita iti swaprasansartham *kshepakamapi tatkrutam* slokam swagranthasya kurbannaha."

The popularity of Jayadeva in Utkal is definitely proved for a period of not less than 200 years; and as a result valuable pieces of lyrics and popular verses were composed by various authors irrespective of caste and creed on the model of Gitagovinda; and a con-

1 Megheswar and Sobhaneswar Inscriptions of Bhubaneswar./4 anka, etc.

1 Aneke balen sripada sanatana-goswami naki nabadwipa nrubasabhadware nimnokta slokati khodita dekhiyachhilen. "Gobardhanascha, etc."—Introduction to Kavi Jayadeva and Sri Gitagovinda by H. K. Mukherjee and Srirupasantana sridhamanabadwipa Lakshmanasener sabhagruhadware nimnokta slokati ankita dekhiyachhilen-Gobardhanascha, etc. Vide p. 196, Birbhumi Bibarana.

solidated list of authors as available from the different records is given below.

1. Gitagauripatti by Bhanudatta. 2. Krishnagita by Bhanudatta. 3. Krishnagita by Somanatha. 4. Gitaraghaba by Harisankara. 5. Gitaraghaba by Pravakara. 6. Gitaraghaba by Ramakabi. 7. Gitagirisha by Rama. 8. Sangitamadhava by Gobinda Das. 9. Gitavitaranga by Abhinava Charukriti. 10. Gitagangadhara by Kalyana. 11. Gitagangadhara by Rajasekhara. 12. Gitagangadhara by Chandrasekhara Saraswati. 13. Sivagitimalika by Chandasikhamani. 14. Ramodharanagitakabya and Sivastapadi by Venkatappa Naik of Mysore. 15. Gitasataka by Sundara Acharya. 16. Sangita-Raghunandana by Viswanatha. 17. Sangita-Sundara by Sadashiba Dikshita. 18. Mukunda Vilasa by Viswanatha. 19. Sankarisangita by Jayanarayana, etc. Besides original productions, there were a number of commentaries on Gitagovinda. Udayana Acharya, Krisnadasa, Gopala, Narayan Das, Bhavacharya, Ramaratna, Ramadutta, Rupadeva, Vitthala, Yibeswara, Salinath, Hrudayabharana, Tirumat Ray, Srikantha Mishra, etc., are some of the commentators.

The view that Jayadev hailed from Bengal is made to hinge on two slokas; and it has already been shown that this is untenable because one of them refers to him as a court-poet of Utkal Kings of the Ganga Dynasty. In further support of this it may be said that in the Nirnayasagara edition (2) of Gitagovinda the definite name of the native village of Jayadeva is described as Kindubilwa; as it originated from the great ocean. Mr. Mangalesh Ramakrishna Telanga and Wasudeva Laxman Sastri Pansikar, the Joint Editor of this edition have provided another reading as Tindubilwa (1) of Kindubilwa. The same edition again describes, "Jayati padmabatiramana Jayadevakabivarativani tamatisaatm" which explains that Padmabati is the wife of Jayadeva. It is interesting to note that Kendulisasana in the district of Puri has a village named Kenduli in Birbhum district and which holds Jayadeva in great esteem, on the river Prachi and near the Bay of Bengal. In and near about Kenduli there are many antiquated and historically prominent temples including those of Vileswapr, Vasudebanarayana and others, and this is the most suitable place by its artistic and religious environments for a human being to be properly qualified so as to become a life-long true devotee of Visnu. So there is no justification to bring a far-fetched idea about the birth place of the poet Jayadeva in a remote village of Bengal.

Padmabati is the wife of Jayadeva and a daughter of a Dravidian Brahmin of Andhra. In the past Dravidians had marriage

1 See page of this paper (Foot-Notes)—Pp. 11 (Note—1) and pp. 9, Sloka. No. 4 from the Gitagovinda of Nirnayasagara Edition.

2 Barnitam Jayadevakena hareridam prabanena.

Kindubilwa samudrasambhabarohiniramanena, Hari hari.....10. Gitagovind. pp. 58.

1 Ibid Gitagovinda. pp. 58. "Tindubilwa" Kendubilwa iti pathou.

alliance with the Brahmins of Utkal but not with Bengalis. This is still prevalent among the Brahmins of Utkal. Bhaktamala of Chandradutta describes Jayadeva's parentage as enumerated below:—

“Jagannathapuriprante desachaibotkalabhidhe,
Vindubīlwa iti khyato gramo Brahmanasankulah.
Tatrotkale aste dwijo Jayadeva iti srutah,
Vidyabhyasaratah santah purusottamapujakah.
Atha tatraiba bipronyo debasarmeti visrutah.
Anapatyo bahuba san Jagannathamupagatah.”

There is a Brahmin village near Jagannath Puri in Utkal. In that village lived Jayadeva, a practiser of Sanskrit learning and a devotee of the Lord Jagannath. Debasarma worshipped Him, as he had no issue. Lord Jagannath was satisfied with Debasarma and granted a son who is no other than Jayadeva. Bindubilwa is a corrupted form of Kendubilwa as 'K' is pronounced as "B" which is very common with the Mithila people due to dialectical variations.

In view of the above arguments 'Jayadeva' is undoubtedly an inhabitant of Kendubilwa of Puri district and a royal court-poet of Ekajata Kamadeva of Utkal.

Further, many scholars have wrongly estimated that Jayadeva took his theme for Gitagovinda from the Bhagabata Purana and Basantarasa described in Gitagovinda is purely done by the meetings of Sri Krishna and Gopi just after the death of Dantavakra. Rasa-Lila as described in Gitagovinda is not connected with the autumn as in Phagabata Purana; but interlined with the vernal season of Brahmavaivarta Purana, as described below:

“Rasostabam mahatramyam sarbesam harsabardhanam;
Purnachandrodaye naktam basante rasamandale. Brahma-
vaivarta Purana. Ch. XIV.
Ekadasriharivaktam banam brundabanam yayau.
Subhesuklatrayodashyam purachandrodaye madhau;
Yudhikamadhabikundamalati puspabayuna.
Vasitam kalanadena madhupanam manoharam. Ibid. Krs-
najammotaba, Ch. XX.

The above references show clearly Jayadeva's Rasa-Lila lasted for three nights instead of five nights of the Satarasa as described in the Bhagabata Purana. Many Oriya writers appreciated this theme and as a result we see that all of them have followed the same custom even after Jayadeva. Rasakalpadruma of Jagannath Mishra has many of these verses of Piyushalahari.

Navaji of Gawalior has spoken of Utkal as Jayadeva's birth country. Mahipati of Maharashtra in his Vaktavijaya describes

Jayadeva as an incarnation of Vyasa belonging to a village 'Tindubilwa' near the sacred city of the Lord Jagannath. Gada in his *Kuladipika* speaks of Jayadeva as a devotee and a man of Utkal. The tradition still runs in Assam that Jayadeva is a native of Utkal.

Gitagovinda is a lyrical drama with celestial songs in praise of love of Lord Sri Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. It consists of 12 cantos and 24 *Astapadis*. The whole work is viewed from four aspects, viz., literary, devotional, musical and mystical. The mystic element is exhibited in the beginning and at the end of the book, and the middle is full of expositions of all the four elements. Rādhā is not a woman of ordinary type, but symbolises unending love for Kṛṣṇa in the world. The whole story is a gradual development of a holy soul who sees only a path of glory for everlasting peace and the most desired salvation.

"Sādhvīmādhvīkacinta na bhābati bhābataḥ sarkare karkarasi,

Drakhye drakshyanti ke twamamrutamrutamasi khiraniram rasaste;

Sanandakrandakantadharadharanitalam gachcha yachchati yabat,

Bhābah srungarasaraswatamiha Jayadebasya viśvakha-chansi."

Gitagovinda-Ch. XII, 29.

Padmāvatī, wife of Jayadeva, danced with her husband in accompaniment to his tunes. It is as if Jayadeva and his wife Padmāvatī took the role of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; and exhibited the sentiment of love with an allegorical explanation of divine philosophy and each one in the world is longing for union with the divine. The melody is of southern variety. The various ragas assigned to different *Astapadis* have got marked similarity with the musical tunes of Southern India.

Thus *Gitagovinda* marks the transitional period between pure lyric and pure drama and occupies the first place in the domain of the lyrical literature in the world. It has no dialogue in the strict sense of the word, and only there are three characters who were engaged in a kind of lyrical monologue of which one of the other two acts as an auditor and some times even no auditor at all.

The most striking fact is that, "the sexual ideas¹, apparent in the verses have received in the hands of Indian commentators, an allegorical explanation of divine philosophy, as the longing and union of the supreme and the individual souls."

Piyushalahari is a one act drama and called *Gosthirupaka*. It is recently discovered and definitely considered a work² of Jayadeva,

1 C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar.

2 Aho bhagabato bhagabatajanasitamayukhasya nilachala maulimandapamane garudadhvajasya prasade prasadamilitah samajikah.

Kimcha—Chitram chanchalamchanchaleba chatula chetaschamtkarini.

the author of Gitagovinda. It is played by a party of his own in the temple of the Lord Jagannath and this possibly may be a Vaisnabasagosthi, the example of which is followed by the Orissan Vaisnabas of Achyutananda school which performs the Nitya-rasahla of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with the chief cowherdess, Rādhā. It describes the vernal sport of Śrīkṛṣṇa with his beloved Gopies, with Rādhā as queen-head of love. Fourteen worlds are enlightened with the divine lustre of the words of Jayadeva as a monumental work of Piyushalahari and the moon, as well as the hardest stone of the world may be melted. The stage manager of Piyushalahari says:

“Sutrādhara-Aswadrabikartumimau samarthau chaturdash-
anamapi pīṣṭakanam,

Aham bāhobhirjayadebanamakarachchatabhi schatusara-
dhama. 8.”

Like Gitagovinda it displays the unknowable form and the pervading nature of Mūrārī whose flute gives the highest perfection of the flow of nectar to the animal and natural kingdom. All are enjoying the pleasure abode of Nīlāchala and the antagonistic animals even have renounced their ferocity not through fear of chastisement but the power of supreme and formless love. This blue brilliance has enraptured both Jayadeva and his wife to such a degree of perfection and bliss that they have totally forgotten the rules and regulations of social life and are attracted to stage the drama of Rāsa-festival even at the cost of vehement criticism from their opponents. Kālidāsa saw his poetical creation with the delight of the eye, the delight of the ear and the entire satisfaction of imagination and taste; but Jayadeva, as revealed in Piyushalahari, is more famous for his philosophical dialogue than anything in this world. This dialogue has been enriched with beautiful flowers of emotion and sensuous ideality. The end of the play¹ is marked with the religious intent, the manifestation of the fruitful penance and purity as symbolised in the Lord of the universe, in His guise of wooden image.

Piyushalahari is an introduction of Rāsahla of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā. It is a drama of high category and quite fitting for theatrical performances and every letter of which is a feast to the ear like the few frequent utterances of a lovely-faced lady. The spiritual instruction is blended with an object of love for the celebration of an annual festival of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and the drama provides materials to remove and remodel the lines of Mr. Macdonell²

¹ Subhamastu sarbajagatam nirantaram na riporapi spuratubāipadam, Jagadishwara kapatadarubigrahaḥ karunakatakshyalaharim bimunchatu. Piyushalahari, Sloka. 56.

² Mr. Macdonell:—History of Sanskrit Literature. pp. 344.

uttered in connection with Gitagovinda; as he has said, "Gitagovinda marks the transitional stage between pure lyric and pure drama—a lyrical drama, which though dating from the 12th Century A.D. is the earlier literary specimen of a primitive type of play that still survives in Bengal and must have preceded the regular dramas". This conclusion is now untenable and baseless; as from the internal and external evidences, it assures us that Gitagovinda deals with the last stage of sportive and encircling dance (Rasalila) and Piyushalahari is an introduction to Gitagovinda. These two works originated at the Nilachaladhama (Sriksheṭra) and its justification, I have mentioned only to remind, is given by these lines, "O the audience' assembled through divine grace in the temple of the great Lord, who has the form of Garuda emblemmed on his banner; and who is to the devotees like the moon to the Chakora birds and who is like the crest-jewel Nilachala, the blue mount. The opera party of Jayadeva⁴, a jewel among the learned scholars, is ready to perform theatrical performances. Their dance swift like lightning in its graceful movements is capable of delighting the hearts. The graceful movement is as pleasant and limpid as the lustre of the moon. They are pleasing to the sight as the quick glances of ladies whose eyes resemble those of antelopes."

Ramagitagovinda, Radhakrusnabilasa and Alankarasataka are also attributed to Jayadeva and these works deserve the careful attention of research scholars.

From the above materials it must be concluded that Jayadeva is a poet of high merit in the courts of Ekajata Kamadeva, Purusottama Deva and Anagabhima Deva, the Gajapati Kings of Utkal as the royal poet, and a native of Kendubilwa, near Sri Kshetra (Puri) in the Puri District. Like Kalidas he was a poet of unsurpassed excellence.



3. Aho bhagabata bhagabatajanasitamayukhasya nilahamauhimandapamane garudadhwajasya prasade prasadamilitah samajikah. (Stagemanager).

4. Kimcha:—Chitram chanchalachanchaleb chatulachetasi matkarini,..... Gosthi Sri Jayadebapanditamaneh sabartate nartitum.
Piyushalahari. (3 and 4).

BHARTRHARI'S INTERPRETATION OF 'GRAHAM SAMMARSTI' AND 'BASUNA YAJETA'

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It is an accepted fact that the *ekatvasankhya* (number one) conveyed by the accusative case-suffix *am* in the word *graham* in '*graham sammārsti*' is *avivaksita* (not taken into account), in view of the fact that there are many *grahas* (soma vessels) to be utilised in the Soma sacrifice and that all those *grahas* are to be consecrated by the *sammarga* (cleansing by the cloth *dasapavitra*), but the same number conveyed by the instrumental suffix *na* in the word *pasuna* in '*pasuna yajeta*' is *vivaksita* (taken into account). What is the criterion by which one can understand that the number conveyed by the case-suffixes is to be taken into account or not?

Mimamsakas explain in *grahaikatvadhikarana* (III. i.) that if *ekatva-sankhya* is *vivaksita* in *graham sammārsti* the fallacy of *vakyabheda* would arise by taking *graha* and *ekatva* as two separate *uddesyas* (chief objects) in relation to *sammarga* enjoined by the injunction. Generally the *bhavana* to which all other objects are to be related is *eka-karmaka* (possessing one *karma* or *uddesya*) and when it is explained as possessing two *karmas-graha* and *ekatva*—, as explained by the two separate words, *graham* and *ekam*, which cannot be mutually associated as being *karakas*, there would arise *vakyabheda* (sentence-split) as *graham sammārsti* and *ekam sammārsti*. To avoid this, *ekatva* is described as *avivaksita*.

This explanation is based on the assumption that the injunction *graham sammārsti* is only a *gunavādhī* in the sense that only the *sammarga* is to be enjoined in relation to *graha* which is already enjoined by another injunction '*grahir juhōti*' as the accessory of the Soma sacrifice. Here *ekatva sankhya* belongs to the *uddesya*, the chief object, and if the attributes like *sankhya* are taken into account, they should be specifically mentioned as given above. This would result in the fallacy of *vakyabheda*. But in the instance *pasuna yajeta* which enjoins *pasu* as the accessory of *yaga*, the *ekatva-sankhya* conveyed by the instrumental suffix is *vivaksita*, since it belongs to the *upadeya*, viz., *pasu*, newly enjoined. Here it is explained that one and the same case-suffix conveys the *karana-karaka* and *ekatva-sankhya* and they are known as mutually related to the *karaka* as the chief sense and the *sankhya* as its accessory. Though the *sankhya* belongs to the *pratipadikārtha pasu*, yet its relation to the *pasu* is effected only after its relation to the *karana-karaka* by *samanābhīdhana-sruti* (the same case-suffix). So according to the Mimamsakas the *sankhya* belonging to the *uddesya* is *avivaksita* as in the example '*graham sammārsti*', while the *upadeya-gata-sankhya* (*sankhya* belonging to *upadeya*) is *vivaksita* as in the instance '*pasuna yajeta*' (cf. IV.i.)

It is also said that the *sankhya* and the *linga* would be *vivaksita* in those instances when they are needed as the accessories of the chief object and that they would be *avivaksita* when there is no need (*akanksa*) for the. In the instances cited above, there is in the instance '*pasuna yajeta*' there is *akanksa* for the *sankhya* because without it the conception of *pasu* would not be complete while in the instance '*graham sammarsti*' it is not needed since the *graha* is already known as possessing *bahutva* in its *utpattivakya* (vide *Mimamsakaustubha* I.iii.3. p. 52).

The same conclusion is explained by the grammarians, chiefly by Bhartrhari. In the *Jatissamuddesa* of the third kanda of his *Vakypadiya*, he incidentally discusses this point rather very elaborately and it is very interesting to note how he comes to the same conclusion by the same arguments and by his own ways of interpretation.

He first speaks of *sankhya*, *kramatva* etc. conveyed by the case-suffixes being intended for *sabda-samskara* or being *avivaksita*: for this he accepts *laksana* on those suffixes. So says he:—

Laksana sabdasamskare vyaparah karyasiddhaye/
sankhyakarmadisaktinam srutisamyē 'pi drsyate // III.50.

He observes that the *sankhya*, *karman* etc., are conveyed by one and the same suffix, *srutisamyē'pi*, yet they are only for *sabda-samskara* and so *avivaksita* in view of the fact they are either in conflict with the *sankhya* already known or cannot be *karman* or *uddesya*. In the example '*graham sammarsti*' *ekatva* is *avivaksita* because the *grahas* are known in their *utpattivakya* as associated with *bahutva* by the injunction '*grahair juhoti*' or by the injunction '*nava dasa va graham grhniyat*' which specifically mention the *sankhya*, *navatva* or *dasatva*. And the injunction '*graham sammarsti*' is only a *guna-vidhi* enjoining the *guna*, viz., *sammarga* to the *grahas* already known. So this injunction has no authority to speak of anything in reference to the *sankhya* already known or enjoined by the *ulpatti-vidhi*. The reference by the word *graham* in singular number is to be interpreted by *laksana* either as *avivaksita* or meaning *bahutva* such as *navatva* or *dasatva*.

In the instance '*saktun juhoti*' the *karmatva* conveyed by the accusative is again *avivaksita* since *saktu* cannot be the *karman* or the *uddesya* of the *homa*; on the other hand *homa* is the *karma* or *uddesya* or *saktu*. Though *karmatva* in the sense of *ipsilatmatva* can be interpreted as the best desired object as the chief accessory of *homa* it cannot be the *karman* of *homa*; if so, nothing would come out from *saktu* if it is consecrated by *homa* since it would be reduced to ashes by *homa*. If on the other hand *saktu* is taken to be accessory of *homa* then at least some *adrstaphala* can be expected from the *homa* to be produced in the *yajamana* on the authority of the injunction and *saktus* will have their best utility in the *homa* since *homa-ispraksepa*—followed by *tyaga* of the oblation to the deity in question. So it is said that the *karmatva* conveyed by the

accusative in 'saktun juhōti' is *avivaksita* and is to be taken in the sense of *karmatva* by *laksana*.

On the contrary to these two, in the instances '*pasuna yajeta*' and '*vrihin avahanti*' the *ekatva-sankhya* conveyed by the instrumental suffix *na* in *pasuna* and the *karmatva* conveyed by the accusative in *vrihin* are *vivaksita*; in the former it belongs to the *utpattivakya* of *pasu*; when the *pasu* is first enjoined as the accessory of the *yaga* it is first known by the instrumental singular as associated with the *karanatva-karaka* and with the *ekatva-sankhya* and it is not in opposition with any other *sankhya* as in the case of *graha*. And the enjoining and the conception of a *dravya* as an accessory will not be without its association with a *karaka*, *sankhya*, *linga* etc. So whatever things are known from the word *pasuna* are to be taken as enjoined and *vivaksita*. Hence the rule: *Upadeya-gata sankhya vivaksita*. Similarly in the injunction '*vrihin avahanti*' the *karmatva* is *vivaksita* since it is known already as a *prakṛti-dravya* of the main oblation *purodasa* in the *darsapurnamasa* sacrifice by the injunction '*vrihibhir yajeta*'.

If *sankhya* is however conveyed by a separate stem like *eka*, *dvi* etc., then it is *vivaksita*, since it is done by a separate effort. In the example '*tam caturbhir abhrim adatte*' the word *caturbhir* enjoins the *catustva-sankhya* in reference to the mantras and so it is *vivaksita*. It therefore means that all the four mantras combined are to be utilised in the *abhriadana*. But in the example '*yasyobhayam havir artim arccenet aindram pancasaravam odanam nirvāpet*', the words *ubhayam* and *havir* are taken in the sense of a group of oblations and so the sense of *ubhaya* (both) is not *vivaksita*, since even when one of the two oblations is lost the group can be said to be lost.

Here the Mimamsakas explain *vakyabheda* fallacy if *ubhaya* is *vivaksita* as the attribute of *havir*, since both of them (*ubhayam* and *havir*) being *karakas* cannot be mutually related, as being the qualifier of the other unless it is found in a compound like *asvabhidhanim*' (vide P. M. VI).

From what has been said, it can be said that in instances where *sankhya* is conveyed by the case-suffix, it is *vivaksita* if two conditions are found: (i) *purvam anirjnatatvam*—it is not already known or enjoined by any other injunction, and (ii) *apradhanatvam*—state of not being a chief object or *uddesya* in the injunction. This is what is emphasized by Bhartṛhari in the following lines:

vajet pasunety atra samskarasyapi samhave/
vathajatis tathāikatvam sadhanatvena gamyate // III.55 //
anyatravihitasyaiva sa vidhiḥ prathamam pasoh/
kriyayam angabhavas ca tathaitat syat vivaksitam-// III.57 //

In the example *pasuna yajeta*, which is a *gunavidhi* in the sense that the *pasu* is newly enjoined the accessory of the sacrifice, the *pasu* has not been already enjoined by any other injunction: here the first condition, *purvam anirjnatatva*, is satisfied. Again in

this injunction, the *yaga* is the *uddesya* of the *bhavana* and *pasu* is only a *sadhana* or *karana*; it is *apradhana* in relation to the *uddesya*, namely, *yaga*; so the second condition, *apradhanatva*, is also found. So the *sankhya* conveyed by the *ekavacana* in the word *pasu* is *vivaksita*. Here Mimamsakas say that the *upadesyagata-sankhya* is *vivaksita* (vide VI.1). But in the injunction *graham sammārsti*, which enjoins *sammarga* in relation to *graha* as *uddesya* which is already known or enjoined by another injunction '*grahair juhōti*' etc., these two conditions are not found, since *graha* is *uddesya*; so it is *pradhana* and it has been already enjoined or known as the accessory of the *soma-yaga* by another injunction. So there is no *purvam ajnatatva*. Here the *sankhya* conveyed by *bahuvacana* is *avivaksita*. This is what is explained by Bhartrhari in the *karikas*.

grahas tv anyatra vihita bhinnasankhyah prthak prthak /
prajapatya navety evamadibhedasamanvitah // (III.58)
angatvena pratitanam sammarge tv anginam punah /
nirdesam prati ya sankhya sa katham syad vivaksita // („I

What has been said here is based on the chief nature of the object (*vastu-nistham arthapradhanyam*), i.e., *graha* is the chief object (*uddesya*) of the *bhavana* which has *sammarga* enjoined as its own *karana* while the *pasu* is the *karana* and therefore *apradhana* of the *bhavana* which has the *yaga* as its *pradhana* or *uddesya*. Bhartrhari then proceeds to explain the *pradhanya* and *apradhanya* as known from the *sabda*. He considers what is newly enjoined by an injunction is *pradhana* and what is known as the *uddesya* and *bhavana*, (as it has already been known by some other injunction) is *apradhana*. He says.—

apurvasya vidheyatvat pradhanyam avasiyate /
vihitasya pararthatvat jneyabhavah pratiyate // (III.69.)

In '*pasunayajeta*' *pasu* is *vidheya* and is newly enjoined as the *karana* of the *yaga* and here it is *pradhana* and its *sankhya* is *vivaksita*. But in '*graham sammārsti*', *sammārsti*, is *vidheya* and *graha* is already known and as such *uddesya*, and its *sankhya* is *avivaksita*. This is explained in the *karika*:—

sammargasya vidheyatvad anyatra vihite grahe /

vidhivakye sruta sankhya laksanayam na badhyate // (III.70.)
It explains that the *sankhya* nine or ten enjoined by the *grahotpatti vakya* is not sublated by the *ekatva-sankhya* in the *sammarga-vidhi* since it belongs to the *uddesya* and as such *apradhana*. So the *ekatva-sankhya* in '*graham sammārsti*' is to taken by *laksana* in the sense of *bahutva*, nine or ten, as enjoined in the *utpatti-vakya*. In the instance of *pasu*, one and the same *sankhya*, *ekatva* is known by its *utpatti-vakya*, even if '*pasuna yajeta*' is taken to be the *yagotpatti-vakya*. This interpretation of Bhartrhari also goes in quite consistence with the Mimamsaka view that the *upadeya-gata sankhya* is *vivaksita* and the *uddesya-gata-sankhya* is *avivaksita*,

“BHARATA”

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विदितमिदं सर्वेषां सहृदयानां श्रीमद्रामायणपरिशीलनरसिकानां यद्भरतस्साधूना-
मादर्शभूतः ज्येष्ठे श्रीरामचन्द्रे निरतिशयभक्तियुक्तः परमेण स्नेहेन तमनुवर्तमान आसीदिति ।
को वा भ्राता भरतादन्यः अयत्नादागतं राज्यं कालकूटविषमिव परिहरन् भ्रातुः पूर्वजस्य
पादुके राज्येऽभिषिच्य तदधीनः पृथिवीं शासितुमुत्सहेत । श्रीराघवे भरतस्यानितर-
साधारणः प्रतिपत्तिविशेषः तत्र तत्र श्रीमद्रामायणे सुस्पष्टमवगम्यते ।

ईदृशं महानुभावं भरतं केचिदत्यन्तान्तरङ्गभूता अपि प्राकृतमिव राज्यकामुकं दुष्टं
वञ्चकञ्च मन्यन्ते । कस्तत्र हेतुः स्यात् ? किमस्ति तत्र औचित्यमिति विमृशामः ॥

तत्रादौ भरतगुणाः कथं तैस्तैः तत्र तत्र प्रशंसिताः ? कथं च भरतस्तत्र तत्र
श्रीरामभक्तिमात्मीयां प्रकटीकरोतीति प्रदर्शयामः ।

अयोध्याकाण्डे दशरथः कैकेयीं रामप्रवाजनं भरताभिषेकञ्च सनिर्बन्धं प्रार्थयमानां
सान्त्वयन् एवं भरतगुणान् प्रशंसति । न रामादृते भरतो राज्यमावसेत् । रामादप्पय-
मतीव धार्मिकः, रामप्रवाजनं यदि तस्याभिमतं स्यात्तर्हि न मे स और्ध्वदैहिकं कुर्यात् ।
नूनं तस्य इदं अभिमतं न भविष्यति इति ॥ (1) ॥

तथा श्रीराघवः कौसल्यां मातरं स्वप्रवाजनश्रवणदुःखितां बहुभिः सान्त्वयन्नैरनु-
नयन् भरतं श्लाघते । “ धार्मिकाग्रणीः भरतः मदसन्निधानेऽपि प्रियवचनैः त्वामाराध-
यिष्यति ” इति ॥ (2) ॥

वनवासाय प्रस्थितमात्मानमनुगच्छतः पौराण्विवारयन् श्रीरामचन्द्रः एवमाह ।
“ वयसा बालोऽपि ज्ञानेन वृद्धः कल्याणचरित्रो भरतः । स युष्माकं प्रियाणि हितानि च
यथा-वत् करिष्यति । मयि या प्रीतिर्भरते सा विधीयताम् ” इति ॥ (3) ॥

1. रामा. अयो. का. स. १२, श्लो. 62 and 93.
2. अयो. का. स. २४, श्लो. 22
3. अयो. का. स. ४५, श्लो. 6 to 8

तत्रैवाधोव्याकाण्डे कंकयभ्यः प्रतिनिवृत्तो भरतः पितुर्भरणवार्तां श्रुत्वा अतितरां दुःखितो भूत्वा श्रीरामचन्द्रे वनं प्रस्थितमाजानन् मातरमेवमाह “ मदागमनं क्षिप्रं तस्मै श्रीराधवाय निवेदय । यो मे भ्राता पिता बन्धुश्च भवति, यस्य चाहमस्मि दासः ” इति ॥ (४) ॥

भवतोराज्यलाभाय मया श्रीराधवस्सीतया लक्ष्मणेन च वरद्वयप्रार्थनाव्याजेनारण्यं प्रापित इति मात्रा निवेदितो भरतः अतीव रुष्टो भूत्वाविष्ट इव बहुधा मानसमधिक्षिपन् ब्रवीति “ कीदृशी मम प्रतिपत्तिः श्रीरामचन्द्रे इति राज्यकामुका त्वं न जानीषे ” इति ॥ (५) ॥

अनन्तरं कौसल्यां रामप्रवाजनं भरतस्याप्यभिमतं स्यादित्यन्यथा शङ्कमानां सान्त्वयन् भरतः आत्मानमदुष्टमविदितरामप्रवाजनवृत्तान्तं निवेदयन् प्रस्तौति “ राधवे विपुलां मम प्रीतिं जानाति भवती । मा नाम स द्राक्षीत् रामपट्टाभिषेकं यः रामप्रवाजन मन्वमन्यत ” इति ॥ (६) ॥

रामपट्टाभिषेकादर्शनं महतः पापस्य फलं मन्यते भरतः । ततो भरतः कृतौर्ध्वदेहिकः ग्रामावसाने सूतमागधानां वाद्यघोषानात्मसम्बन्धिनीं स्तुतिं च गीयमानां शृण्वन् सहस्रोत्थाय नाहं राजेत्युत्तवा तत्सर्वं प्रत्यपेधत् (॥ (७) ॥

अनन्तरंच अराजकमिदं राज्यं त्वयैव पालनीयमिति सभायां सर्वेषां पौरजनानां पुरस्तात् वसिष्ठेन कुलगुरुणा प्रेरितो भरतो महात्मा शोकाविष्टः बाष्पाकुलया वाचा गुरुमपि वसिष्ठं विगर्हमाणः सभामध्ये आत्मनो दास्यं स्वामितां च राधवस्येत्यं प्रकटयत् विलपति “ गुरो ! सम्यगस्तत्कुलस्य हितं चिन्तितं पुरोहितेन भवता । रामवियोगादुत्तरक्षणे प्राणास्त्यक्तवतो दशरथाज्जातोहं कथं रामेण रहितं राज्यं प्रतिगृह्णीयाम् । शेषवस्तुषु किमेकमेकस्थेष्टे । राज्यं चाहं च रामस्य शेषभूते । शेषवस्तूनां न मिथो गुणप्रधानभावः । “ गुणानां च परार्थत्वादसम्बन्धस्समत्वात्स्यात् ” इति हि भीमांसान्यायः । राज्यमेव वा किमिति मां न रक्षति । सर्वे समेत्य सभामध्ये मम पारतन्त्र्यधनमपजिहीर्षन्ति । किमिदमतिसाहसम् ” इति ॥ (८) ॥

4. अयो. का. स. ७२, श्लो. 32

5. अयो. का. सं. ७३, श्लो. 13

6. अयो. का. स. ७५, श्लो. 20 & 29

7. अयो. का. स. ८२, श्लो. 10 to 12

8. अयो. का. स. ८४, श्लो. 5

अथ श्रीराघवमरण्यादयोध्यामानेतुं ससैन्यः प्रस्थितो भरतः गङ्गामेत्य तत्रैव सेनां निवेशयति । तत्र च महतीं सेनामवेक्ष्य गुहस्साशङ्को भूत्वा एवं चिन्तयति । “ अकण्टकं राज्यं भोक्तुं कांक्षमाणः कैकयीपुत्रः दाशरथिं हन्तुमायाति ” इति ॥ (९) ॥

अनन्तरं भरतस्यादुष्टतां सान्त्विकाग्रेसरतां च सम्यक् विनिश्चिन्वन् तं बहुधा-
प्रशंसन् विना स्वायं भ्रातृ रक्षणे लक्ष्मणस्य जागरूकतां प्रातस्तथोभ्रात्रोः जटाधारणं च
भरताय कथयति⁽¹⁰⁾ ॥ जटाधारणश्रवणेन अत्यन्तदुःखितो रुदन् तोलादित इव द्विपः
सहसा भरतः तत्रैव पतति⁽¹¹⁾ ॥ कुच्छ्रेण कौसल्यादिभिस्तथापितः बहु विलप्य तदा-
प्रभृति स्वयमपि भूमौ शयनं प्रतिज्ञाय जटामण्डलानि धारयति⁽¹²⁾ ॥ पश्यत ! भरतस्य
काष्ठां गतां रामभक्तिम् । अनन्तरं च गुहेन गङ्गां सन्तारितो भरतः ससैन्यः भरद्वाजा-
श्रममागत्य तेन च प्रथमं भरतस्यादुष्टतां प्रति साशङ्केनापि पश्चादवगततदीयनिर्मल
सात्वोत्तरस्वभावेन आतिथ्याय निमन्वितः तत्र सेनानिवेशमाज्ञापयति । भरद्वाजः भरतं
परीक्षितुकामः स्वश्रोतमहिम्ना अपरमिव स्वर्गं विश्वकर्मादिभिस्सद्यः निर्माय तत्रात्यद्भुत
सिंहासनं राजोपवेशनाहं परिकल्पयति । इतरे सैनिकाः तथा सन्तर्पिताः भक्ष्यभोजन-
लेखनोप्यपेयादिभिः, यथा ते रामसमीपमगोध्यां वा गन्तुं विमनस्का बभूवुः⁽¹²⁾ ॥
भरतस्तु सिंहासनं रामाधिष्ठितमिव अनुसन्धाय प्रदक्षिणं कुर्वन् शेषत्वानुगुणं वालव्यजन-
मादाय सविवासनमधिष्ठिति⁽¹³⁾ ॥ सर्वेषु सानन्दं भुञ्जानेषु भरत एव निर्विघ्नमनाः
विलम्बमसङ्मानः भुविवाक्यमतिक्रान्तिमुपारयन् कथमपि कालं यापयति । ईदृशी भक्तिः
कस्य वा भरतादन्यस्यास्तीति विमृशन्तु रसिकाः ॥

आरण्यकाण्डे हेमन्ते कदाचित्प्रभातप्रायायां शर्वर्यां स्नातुं गोदावरीं गच्छन्तं
श्रीराघवमनुगच्छन् लक्ष्मणः स्मृतिपथारूढभरतकल्याणगुणगणस्तमेवं वर्णयति । “ सर्वान्
राज्यभोगान् परित्यज्य शीते महीतले शयानः भरतः अपररात्र एवालब्धनिद्रः उत्थाय
प्राप्तनवबंधयेव योपिदस्यामेव वेलयां मनुष्यसञ्चारात्पूर्वं प्रकृतिभिस्तद्विपदमाशङ्कमानाभिः

9. अयो. का. स. ८६, श्लो. 24

10. अयो. का. स. ८७, श्लो. 3

11. अयो. का. स. ८८, श्लो. 26

12. अयो. का. स. ९१, श्लो. 59

13. अयो. का. स. ९१, श्लो. 39

परिवृतः सरयूमवगाहते ' इति⁽¹⁴⁾ अथ प्रसङ्गात् कैकेयीं यदा सौमित्रिरूपालब्धुमारभते “ कथं कैकेयी दशरथं भर्तारं भरतं च तनयमासाद्य तादृशी क्रूरदर्शिनी बभूव ” इति, तदा रामः मध्ये प्रतिषिध्य आह “ मास्तु कैकेयीप्रस्तावः श्रोत्रयोरमृतधारास्मिञ्चन्ती सैव भरत कथाप्रस्तूयताम् ” इति⁽¹⁵⁾ ॥ सुन्दरकाण्डे “ सीता अपि नाम भ्रातृवत्सलो भरतः मां मोचयितुमक्षौहिनीं प्रेषयिष्यति ” इति हनूमन्तं पृच्छति । युद्धकाण्डे च विभीषणसङ्ग्रहमन-
नुमन्यमानेषु सुग्रीवादिषु वानरवीरेषु श्रीरामचन्द्रः तस्यादुष्टतां दुष्टत्वेऽपि तत्परिग्रहस्या-
वश्यकर्तव्यतां च सनिदर्शनं निरूपयन्नभिधत्ते “ न सर्वे भ्रातरः भरतोपमा भवन्ति ”
इति ॥ ⁽¹⁷⁾ ॥

सत्यपि सन्निहिते सदा परिचरणपरे लक्ष्मणे भरतमेवोत्तमं भ्रातरं वर्णयति भगवान्
रामचन्द्रः । एवमेव रावणवधादनन्तरं विभषणेन माल्यचन्दनादि प्रतिग्रहाय प्रार्थितो रामभद्रः
एवं वदति “ मम हांतोरत्यन्तमात्मानं क्लेशयन्नस्ति सुकुमारो भरतः । तं विना
नैतानि बहुमतानि भविष्यन्ति । ” इति¹⁸ । एवंविधं च भरतं सात्त्विकानामग्रगण्यं न
केवलमविशेषज्ञाः विशेषज्ञाश्च अस्थाने क्लृप्तमतयः अन्याद्येन मार्गेण राज्यमात्म-
सात्कर्तुमीहमानं मन्यन्ते । हन्त ! विधिविलसितमेतत् । अथवा तस्यैव साधोभरतस्य
प्राक्तनदुष्कर्मपरिपाकेन तेषामियं विपरीता बुद्धिः ।

तत्रादौ बालकाण्डे दशरथः भरतस्वभावं सम्यक् जानानोऽपि मातुलगृहात्तदाग-
मनात्पूर्वं रामाभिषेकं निर्धत्तनीयं मन्यते⁽¹⁹⁾ । आगतो भरतो विकृतचित्तः कदाचिद्रामाभिषेकं
विघटयेदिति दशरथस्याभिसन्धिः—प्रसङ्गादिदमुच्यते यद् दशरथेनात एव हेतोः कैकेयाधि-
पतिः इन्द्रशूरः सम्बन्धी च विदेहाधिपतिः पट्टाभिषेकाय नाहूताविति । कदाचित्कैकेयाधि-
पतिः आहूतः पूर्वं प्रतिज्ञातं आत्मनो दौहित्रस्य राज्यशुल्कं प्रार्थयेत् । तथा जनकोऽपि
वेदान्तप्रवचनपरः विरक्ताग्रणीः यथा प्रतीज्ञातं भरतायैव राज्यं देयमिति निर्बन्धीयादिति
दशरथस्य भीतिः । —तथोरनाह्वाने त्वरामेव कारणं पश्चद्दृश्याम इति दशरथो मन्यते—⁽²⁰⁾

14. आर. का. सा. १६, श्लो. 27 to 30

15. आर. का. स. १६, श्लो. 37

16. सु. का. स. ३६, श्लो. 24

17. सु. का. स. १८, श्लो. 15

18. यु. का. स. 124 श्लो. 5, 6,

19. आ. का. स. 4 श्लो. 25

20. आ. स. 1 श्लो. 48

तथा राघवो वनं गमिष्यन् सीतामन्दिरमागत्य वनेवासमात्मनः प्राप्तं निवेदयन् तामेव-
मनुशास्ति । “श्वश्रोः शुश्रूषयाऽत्रैव त्वया स्थातव्यम् । भरतस्य पुरः नाहं त्वया श्लाघनीयः ।
ऐश्वर्यं प्राप्ताः परेषां श्लाघनमन्यैः क्रियमाणं न सहन्ते । ” इति । (21) रामगुणाः कीर्तिताः
भरतमानन्दसागरन्मिमं कुर्युरिति हन्त । आतापि रामचन्द्रो न जानाति ।

उक्तं च भरतेन न मन्थराया न च मातुरस्या दोषो न राज्ञो न च राघवस्य ।
वनप्रवेशोरधुनन्दनस्य मत्पापमेवात्र निमित्तमासीत् ॥ इति ।

अनन्तरं पितुरौर्ध्वदेहिकं निर्वर्त्य रामं प्रत्यानेतुमागच्छन्तं ससैन्यं भरतं दूरात्प-
श्यन् गुहस्तमन्यथा शङ्कमानः स्वपरिवारानेवमाज्ञामयति ” प्राप्तराज्यो भरतो दुर्बुद्धिरस्मान्
दाशान् हिंसितुमथवा प्रतिष्ठितं राज्यं काक्षमाणः अस्सत्प्रियतमं श्रीराघवं हन्तुमायाति ।
गङ्गनूपे यूयं सन्नद्धा भवत । यदि अदुष्टचेता ज्ञायते तदा तारयामो वयं गङ्गाम् । अन्यथा
चेत्तमद्यैव ससैन्यं हनिष्यामः” इति (22) अत्र द्राविडकविचक्रवर्ती कम्बन् महाशयः
वाल्मीकेः पदमनुसरन् गुहस्य भरते प्रवृद्ध कोपातिरेकमनितरसाधारण्या सरण्या
अतिगम्भीरं वर्णयन् सहृदयचेतस्यावर्जयति ।

तदनु गुहेनावगतभरतपरिशुद्धाशयेन गङ्गां सन्तारितो भरतः भरद्वाजाश्रममागतः
तेन महर्षिणा एवं पृच्छयते” राज्यं प्रशासतस्ते किमत्र वने कार्यम् । महती सेता शङ्कां
मे जनयति । अपि रामाय सभ्रातृक्राय द्रोग्धुं गच्छति भवान्” इति (23) महर्षिदं शोचनीयम्
यद्विज्ज्ञानसम्पन्नोऽपि गुह इव गहनगोचरो भरतमन्यथा सम्भावयति महर्षिः इति ।
तथा अवाल्याद्धरतस्य सात्त्विकप्रकृतिं सम्यग् जानन्नापि लक्ष्मणः वृक्षमारूढः कोवि-
दारध्वजं सेनाञ्च महतीं भरतस्य दूरात्पश्यन् सम्भ्रान्तचित्तः राघवमेवमाह-—“अग्निमार्गश्-
शमयतु । सीता गुहां गच्छतु । आवां हन्तुं कैकयीपुत्र आगच्छति” इति (24)
चिरपरिचितोऽपि लक्ष्मणः हन्त अनभिज्ञ इव भरतस्वभावस्य एवं परुषं वदति ।

एवमेवारण्यकाण्डे मायामृगस्य हा सीते लक्ष्मणेत्यार्तस्वरं शृण्वन्ती सीता भृशमा-
कुलचित्ता भर्तारं प्राप्तापदं मन्यमाना झटिति तत्साहाय्याय गन्तुं लक्ष्मणं देवरं प्रेरयति ।

21. आ का स 26 श्लो 24

22. अयो का. स. 84. श्लो 3 to 8

23. अयो का. स. 90 श्लो 13

24. अयो का. स. 96 श्लो 14+17

निर्जने वने तामसहायां विहाय गन्तुमनिच्छन्तं रामन्यान्वैरर्धषणीयतां च निवेदयन्तं तं अवाच्यैः अनुवदितुमप्यनर्हैः क्रूरैर्वचनै रेवं विनिन्दति," मम हेतोः गूढाशयः त्वं राम-भन्तुगच्छसि । अथवा भरनेन प्रयुक्त एव माचरति भवान् । युवयोस्समीहितं न कदाचित्-सेत्स्यति" इति⁽²⁵⁾ अत्र सीता द्वादश वत्सरान् भर्तृगृहे वसन्तीमात्मानं रावणाय विवेदयन्ती⁽²⁶⁾ कथं देवयोस्स्वभावमविज्ञाय एवमाहेति चिन्तयते चेतः । तथा रावण-संहागदनन्तरं पुष्पकेन विमानेनायोध्यां गन्तुं प्रनिवर्तमानश्श्रीरामः मार्गमग्रे भरद्वाजा-श्रममधिवसन् भरताशये जिज्ञासमानः हनूमन्मेवमादिशति । "गुह्यमकाशादध्यामार्ग-मुपलभ्य भरतमुपेत्य तस्मै मदागमनं रावणमन्तरादिकञ्च निवेदनीयम् । एतच्छ्रुत्वा यमाकारं भजते भरतः स त्वया सूक्ष्मबुद्धिना निपुणं वेदनीयः यदि विरपरिचयाद्राज्यं स्वयमेव शासितुमीदृते कामं म एव प्रशाभन्तु वमुधाम् । यथागतं वनमेव वयं गमिष्यामः" इति⁽²⁷⁾ लज्जानोऽयोध्यां प्रति प्रस्थाने काले भरतमात्मनो हेतोः तान्त्रन्तं वदन्⁽²⁸⁾ रामचन्द्रः कथपकाण्डे राज्यार्थेनमिव तमिदानीं शङ्कते--हन्त ! भरतस्य दुर्दैवविल-सितम् ।

अत्रैवं विवर्शिका निवृत्तिरिति "किं ते पापभाजो न भवन्ति ये भरतं परमसात्विक-मदुष्टं दुष्टं मन्यन्ते" इति अत्र च भरतभक्ताः के चिदेवमभिप्रयन्ति--सत्यं ते तीव्रेण परमभागवतापचारमुद्रितेन पापभाजो वस्तुतः पापफले चान्वगच्छन्ति । तथाहि--युद्ध-काण्डे मुहुरपु विश्वासशान्तिप्रविश्रान्तं क्षयहेतुं वदति विभीषणः⁽²⁹⁾ तथा अत्युत्कटैः पुण्यपापैरहेव फलमश्नुते" इत्युत्कटानां पुण्यपापानामिहैव फलप्राप्तिं वर्णयति मर्ह्यः । सद्य एव भागवतापचारफलमनुवभूव दशरथः रामभक्तं भरतमतिशङ्कमानः । ---समीहितः पट्टाभिषेकः प्रतिहतोऽभूत् । रामधिरजं भोऽन्तिकित्स्थं व्याधितस्य प्राणान् जहार-- श्रीरामपट्टाभिषेकसन्दर्शनमागच्छति ममार । रामाभिषेकोत्सवमेवाहानिर्न-हतः पापस्य फलमिति भरतवचनादवगम्यन् इति पूर्वमस्माभिरावेदितम् ।³⁰

25. आर. का. स. 45 श्लो 21 to 25

26. आर. का. स. 47 श्लो 4

27. यु. का. स. 128 श्लो 5 to 17

88. यु. का. स. 124 श्लो 5 6

29. यु. का. स. 87 श्लो 23. 34

30. अयो. का. स. 75 श्लो. 29

तथा 'भरतस्य समीपे तु नाहं कथ्यः कदाचन' ³¹ इति सीतां वदन् रामो न वस्तुतो भरते दोषमुत्प्रेक्षते, उपदेशेन स्वानुष्ठानेन च लोकशिक्षणमेवावतारफलमित्यवताररहस्यवेदिनो वदन्ति अन्यथा सङ्कल्पमात्रेण निर्धर्तनीये रावणादिवधेऽवतारो निष्प्रयोजनो भवति। उक्तं च 'मर्त्यावतारस्त्वह मर्त्यशिक्षणम्' इति,। सर्वैः कामैस्समृद्धाः पदंचात्युन्नतं प्राप्ताः परेषां प्रशंसां न क्षमन्ते इति लोकरीतिं सीताव्याजेनास्माकमुपदिशति श्रीरामचन्द्रः। अथवा लोकनाथस्य तस्य मर्कटाधीशो जलाशये च शरणवरणं तथा सीतापहरणादिव्यसनं च भरतापचारफलं वक्तुं शक्यते। एवं कौसल्यापि पतिशोकातुरा पुत्रव्यसनकशिता च भूत्वा शून्यहृदया भरतं रामप्रवाजनमनुमन्यमानमाश-शङ्के⁽³²⁾ पश्चाद्भरतं नानाविधैश्शपथैः निर्दुष्टं निश्चिन्वन्ती एवमनुजग्राह' दिष्ट्या न धर्माच्चलितो भवान् सत्यप्रतिज्ञस्सतां लोकानवाप्स्यति''इति ⁽³³⁾

इदमत्र चिन्तनीयम्—यत्कौसल्या रामेणात्मनो वनगमनं पूर्वं सनिर्धन्वमायाचमाना श्रीराघवेण भर्तृशुश्रूषायाः परमधर्मतां बोधयता प्रतिपिद्धा⁽³⁴⁾ कथमिदानीं विनष्ट-भर्तृका चित्रकूटभागता रामेण वने वासं मनसाप्यस्मरन्ती भरतेन वितथमनोरथेन पुनरयो-ध्यां प्रस्थितेति? अथवा इदमपि भरतेऽतिशङ्कायाः फलं यद्विना रामं तस्याः चतुर्दश वत्सरानयोध्यायां वास इति।

अथ सीतां प्रति विमृशामः—

लक्ष्मणे महापचारेण तस्याः 'भव मै थिलि भार्या मे,' ⁽³⁵⁾ चारुस्मिते⁽³⁶⁾ चारुदति'' इत्यादीनामसभ्यानां वचनानां दशाननाच्छवणं राक्षसीनां तर्जनेन हृदयसन्तापः सोढु-मशक्येन शोकभारेणोद्ध्वन्धने प्रवृत्तिः संवत्सरमेकं प्रियेण विरह इत्यादिकमनुभाव्यमासीत्। लक्ष्मणादपि सात्त्विकतमे भरतेऽसह्यापचारेण अभिप्रेकादनन्तरं शाश्वतिकः रामद्वियोग-स्समभूदिति भागवतापचारकौर्धवेदिनो वदन्ति॥

31. अयो. का. स. 26 श्लो. 24, 25

32. अयो. का. स. 75 श्लो. 11

33. अयो. का. स. 75 श्लो. 62

34. अयो. का. स. 24. श्लो. 13,

35. सु. का. स. 20 श्लो. 16

36. सु. का. स. 20 श्लो 29

अथ गुहभरद्वाजाव धिक्कृत्य विचारयामः । गुहः पूर्वं भरतमन्यथा शङ्कमानोऽपि तत्समीपमागत्य तस्य दैन्यं कार्श्यं रामसन्दर्शनौत्सुक्यं चाध्यक्ष्यन् प्रीतमनाः प्रसन्नो भूत्वा तमेवं प्रशंसस—“ त्वमेव धन्यः पुरुषः, यस्त्वमयन्नागतं राज्यं विहाय रामं प्रत्यानेतुमिच्छसि । शाश्वतो कीर्तिस्ते भविष्यति ” इति⁽³⁷⁾ ॥ न सहस्रपामि रामाः भरतेन तुल्या भवन्तीति गुहो भरतमस्तौदिति द्राविडकविः कम्बो वर्णयति⁽³⁸⁾ ॥ भरद्वाजोऽपि भरतस्याध्यवसायं तन्मुखाच्छ्रुत्वा प्रसन्नचेतान्तमाह “ जानेऽहं ते हृदयम् । तद्दृढीकरणायैव मयैतत्पृष्टम् । सत्कुलप्रसूते त्वयि सर्वमेतदुपपद्यते ” इति⁽³⁹⁾ ॥ अतः पूर्वं कृतापचारावपि तौ पश्चादनुतापेन निर्दोषौ जाताविति न भरतापचारफलभाजावभूताम् । अत्र रामाभिषेकोत्सवसन्दर्भे कुहो गुहभरद्वाजौ नागताविति चिन्तनीयं त्रिमर्शकुशलैः । आगतयोन्मत्तोर्नाम निर्दोषं किं विसस्मार महाकविः श्रीवाल्मीकिः—वसिष्ठो वामदेवश्च ’ इति अन्ये महर्षयः कीर्तिताः । पश्चाद्भरतमुष्टं परमभागवतं निश्चिन्वानयोरपि गुहभरद्वाजयोः पूर्वं प्रसक्तो भरतापचारः अभिषेकोत्सवसेवाभाग्यं प्रत्यवध्नादिति भरतपक्षपातिनः कथयितुमुत्सङ्गन्ते । पट्टाभिषेकादर्शनं पापफलमेवेति भरतवाचा⁽⁴⁰⁾ अवगतमस्ति । अत्र औचित्यं रसिका विमृशन्तु ॥

भरद्वाजाश्रममागतस्य श्रीरामचन्द्रस्य भरताशयपरिज्ञानाय पूर्वं हनूमतः प्रेषणे औचित्यं पर्यालोचयामः—अयमाशयश्श्रीराघवस्य अभ्यूह्यते—चिरं विरहकर्षितः भरतः झटिति यदि आतरं श्रीराघवं निवृत्तवनवासं सीतालक्ष्मणाभ्यां सहितं विजयिनमागतं पश्येत्तदा आनन्दातिरेकेण स्फुटितहृदो भवेत् । उन्मत्तकस्सन्नोपातिशयः दुःखातिरेको वा अतर्कितमापतितः प्राणवियोगहेतुः कदाचिद्भवति ; अतः क्रमशस्सन्नोपवार्ता दुःस्ववार्ता वा निवेदनीया । अतो भरतस्स्वीयमागमनं चिरप्रार्थितं सङ्गसा पश्यन् मूर्छितो मृतो वा भवेदिति पापमाशङ्कमानः पूर्वं हनून्तन्मुखेन राघवः स्वागमनं निवेदयितुमक्रामयत । एवमेव श्रीकृष्णः हस्तिनपुरमागमिष्यन् मध्ये कुशस्थलमधिवसन् आत्मन आगमनं पूर्वमेव विदुरादिभ्यः निवेदयति⁽⁴¹⁾ ॥ सङ्गसागमने सन्नोपातिशयेन तेषां प्राणा विनिर्गता

37. अयो. का. म. ८५, श्लो. 12, 13

38. अयो. का. स. ८५, श्लो. 12, 13

39. अयो. का. स. ९०. श्लो. 20, 21

40. अयो. का. स. ७५, श्लो. 29

41. उपप्लवादिहृक्षन्तः उपयातो महायतिः । कुशस्थले निवसति सच प्रातरिहैष्यति ॥

भवेयुरिति कृष्णाशो वर्ण्यते रसिकैः । ए अन्येतु भरतस्याध्यवसाये श्रीराघवस्य सन्देह-
मयुक्तं मन्यमानाः भरतेतिशङ्कां राघवस्य जातां दोषमेव पश्यन्तः अभिषेकानन्तरं
आत्यन्तिकं सीतावियोगं अपचारफलं मन्यन्ते ॥

वस्तुतस्तु दशरथादीनामत्यन्तान्तरङ्गभूतानामितरेषां च भरतविषये समुदितां शङ्का-
मेवमस्मत्पूर्वाचार्यास्समादधते :— श्रीरामचन्द्रे सर्वेषां जीवितनिर्विशेषः प्रेमातिशयः । स
एवास्थाने मनसः कालुष्यमुत्पादयति । प्रेमान्धाः पुरुषा अनवसरे भगमाशङ्कन्ते ।
अत्यन्तप्रेम्णास्वभावोऽयं यदनुकूलानां सकाशादप्यनिष्टाशङ्कनमिति । विषयसौन्दर्यं च
तत्रापराध्यति । विषयसौन्दर्येणापहृतचेतसः सर्वत्र पापमाशङ्कन्ते । अत एव दशरथः
प्रेमान्वहृदयः भरतादपि पापमाशङ्कमानस्तदागमनात्पूर्वमभिषेकं निर्धर्तयितुमैच्छत् ॥

तथा गुह्यलक्ष्मणभरद्वाजातीनां भरतेऽन्यथा प्रतिपत्तिः रामे निरतिशयस्नेह-
निबन्धना । तत्रत्यः कथासन्दर्भः इभमाशयं दृढीकरोति । राणागमनसमये तत्र वृत्तमिति-
वृत्तं भरतेन पृष्ठो गुहः इत्यभावेदयति । स्वास्तृते बहिर्हि रामे सह सीतया शयाने
सौमित्रिर्भयि वनचरे पापमाशङ्कमानस्सायुधस्तं प्रदक्षिणीकुर्वन् मया सम्भाषमाणस्सर्वा रात्रिं
जागरणेनैव व्यनपीत् ! आतापं भरत इव श्रीराघवे किमप्यन्याय्यमाचरेदिति अहमपि
लक्ष्मणमतिशङ्कमानस्तस्य पदमनुवर्तमान आसम् । प्राणिवधेन देहयात्रां कुर्वाणोऽयं
गहनगोचरोगुहः, ज्ञातिजनश्च लक्ष्मणः श्रीरामचन्द्रे प्रकृतिसुकुमारो द्रोहं कंचित्कदा
चिदाचरेतामिति आवामुभावपि परिशङ्कमानः परिजनो मन्दीयः उभयोरावयोः पदवीमनु-
सरन्नवर्तत—स्नेहातिशयः विषयसौन्दर्यं च कं कलुषितचित्तं न कुरुतः ? अयमर्थः
वाल्मीकिना व्यङ्ग्यमर्यादया प्रकटीकृतः⁽⁴²⁾ विवृतश्च गोविन्दराजव्याख्यायाम् । निगूढं
वाल्मीकिहृदयं सम्यग्जानता द्राविडकविना अयमर्थः सुस्पष्टं प्रत्यपादि⁽⁴³⁾ ॥

एवमेव भक्तिसारनामकः भक्ताग्रणीः द्राविडकविः स्वीये प्रबन्धे श्रीवागुदेवं
श्रीवैकुण्ठे शेषभोगे शयानं वर्णयन् शेषमेवं ब्रवीति । नित्यसूरिभिरुच्चैर्गीयमानं सामधोप-

42. अयो. का. स. ८७, श्लो. 23

43. தும்பியின் குழாத்தில் சுற்றும் சுற்றத்தன் தொடுத்த
வில்லன் வெம்பி வெந்து அழியாநின்ற நெஞ்சினன்
விழித்த கண்ணன் தம்பி நின்றானே நோக்கித் தலைமகன்
தன்மை நோக்கி அம்பியின் தலைவன் கண்ணீருவிசோர்
குன்றி நின்றான்.

மதவா த்ரவிக்ரமாபாடானம் த்ருஷ்வநாதிசேப: பகவநே த்ருகுமாபுசுதாமசுராணாம் காஸாஹல இதி
 ஆம்யந்நஸ்தானே பீத: தானு ப்ரதியோத்ஸு விபானலஜ்வாலாவலீமுஸ்வேம்ய உத்ஹிரதி ' இதி⁽⁴⁴⁾ ॥

ததா பகவதோ திவ்யாயுதானி ஶாந்நிசுக்ராதிநி அஸ்தானே பயமுத்ஸுபேக்ஷமானானி ரக்ஷாய
 அத்யந்நம் ஜாகரூகாணி பவந்நீதி ப஢ுபராசுராணாயநுபவ:⁽⁴⁵⁾ ॥

அத: ப்ரேமணா நிரவதிகேந வ்யாமுத்யஹதயா: விபயஸாஸ்த்ரீயாபஹதசேதோவ்ருத்தயசு
 கலுபிதஸ்வாந்நாஸுஸர்வத்ர ப்ரியவஸ்துந: பாபமாசுசுக்ருந்நே இதி சர்வேஸுபி பூர்வாக்நா நிர்஢ுஸ்தா எவேதி
 சர்வம் சமஜசம் ॥



44. ஆங்காரவாரமது கேட்டு அழலுமிழும் பூங்காரவணையான்
 நான்முகன் திருவந்தாதி 10

45. த்ரீசுநரஶுக்ரஸே-ஸுநேஹாஸ்தானரக்ஷாவ்யஸநிபிரபயம் ஶாந்நிசுக்ராஸி முக்யை: ।

The Need for Revising the *Muntakhab* & editing the *Nafā'is*

BY

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The chief source of information on the poets of Akbar's reign is the second half of the third volume of Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* whereof the Persian text, edited by M. Aḥmad, was published in Calcutta in 1869 and whereof an English translation by Sir Wolseley Haig appeared in 1925. Unfortunately the Persian text has been badly edited and contains many errors : these have faithfully passed into the English translation and have lent their weight to the errors of the translator. For example the half-a-dozen pages dealing with the lives of Ghazālī and Kāhī contain the following errors :

1. " When the imperial army marched to Gujarat ", writes Badā'ūnī (Vol. III, pp. 175-176), " Mullā Ghazālī accompanied it in the early stages of the journey. It so happened that a false report of the death of Mullā Qāsim-i-Kāhī was spread abroad and when Ghazālī heard it, he composed the following chronogram which though far-fetched and based on a false rumour is not without elegance :

" The wretched Kāhī left the world.
Should you wish to know the
date of his death,

رفت بیچاره کاهی از دنیا
سال تاریخ او اگر خراهی

Know that since he could not go
but go he was constrained and
' Qāsim-i-Kāhī went from the
world."

چون به ناچار رفت شد ناچار
از جهان رفت قاسم کاهی

After giving this translation Sir W. Haig adds the foot note:
" The chronogram gives the date 984 equal to 1576-77 ".

Apparently Sir Walseley has been guided by Pien who says in his *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum* p. 736 : “A chronogram for A.H. 984 given in the *Riṣāḍu'sh-Shu'arā* f. 384, viz. *از جهان رفت قاسم کاهی* is stated by Badā'unī. Vol. III, p. 172 to have been composed by Ghazālī on a false rumour of the poet's death.” It never occurred to Rien and Haig, however, that as Ghazālī died in Aḥmadābād on Friday night, 27 Rajab, 980 A.H. (*Muntakhab*, Vol. III, pp. 170–171) how could he have composed a chronogram which gives 985 A.H. as the date of the current year? This glaring anachronism follows in the wake of a pretty chronogram which even a poet-laureate cannot always produce, for apart from the play on the words *بیچاره* ‘poor’ and *ناچار* ‘inevitably’, there is also a pun on the two *nachārs* in the third hemistich for the first *nachār* means ‘inevitably’ and the second *nāchār* (since *na* نا and *bī* بی are interchangeable, for example *nātars*, *bītars* : *بی پروا*, *نا پروا*, *bīparwā*, *nāparwā* ‘بی ترس’, *nāparwā*, *bīparwā* is identical with *bi chār* [بی چار] meaning ‘without four’. Therefore, Ghazālī's chronogram contains in addition to punning the ‘device of subtraction’ known as the *صنعت تخریج* and its correct translation is :

Poor Kāhī left the world. If you require the date of his death

Then, since he left inevitably, is : “Without four, Qāsim-i-Kāhī left the world”

In other words, the third and fourth hemistichs are inter-linked and the date of the chronogram is : Qāsim-i-Kāhī left the world *از جهان رفت قاسم کاهی* (equal to 984) without or minus four *i.e.* $984 - 4 = 980$. This hemistich of original beauty was afterwards borrowed by a Mughal poet in his chronogram on Fayḍī's death cited by Badā'unī, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, text, p. 301 :

“Since he left inevitably, the date of death is : “Without four, he is for ever in fire.”

چون به ناچار رفت شد ناچار
سال تاریخ : خالد فی النار

Here again the two hemistichs are interlinked: "He is forever in fire" is equal to 1008; and 1008 without four is equal to 1004. The editor of Badā'unī's text, however, gives the reading : خالدا في النار ; and Sir W. Haig produces the translation, p. 415¹.

"Since he could not choose but go, there is no help but that

The date of his death should be found in the words :
'He is for ever in fire.'

And as خالدا في النار is equal to 1007, Sir Wolseley adds the foot-note : "Three years in excess." Actually, however, there is no excess because خالدا في النار which does not even permit the hemistich to scan, is a textual error for خالدا في النار, 1008 and ناچار is 'minus four'—giving the correct date of Fayḍi's death, 1004.

2. Though Kāhī was a mystic and though mystics are asked to die before they die, he so intensely resented the death forced upon him that to requote Badā'unī: "He composed a chronogram on the death of Ghazālī by way of revenge and a second one by way of atonement." The vindictive chronogram is :

Last night, Ghazālī, that accursed dog, drunk and polluted went to tell

دوش غزالي آن سگ ماعون
مست و جنب شد سوي جهم

Kāhī wrote the chronogram of his death : "a vile heretic left the world." [980]

كاهي سال و ذاتش بنوشت
ملحد دوني رفت ز عالم

An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—and a premature obituary notice for a premature obituary notice. But the false notice proved correct for Ghazālī died suddenly at Aḥmadabad on 27 Rajab 980 A.H. and was buried in the Sarkhej royal cemetery of that city. Thereupon, Kāhī wrote by way of atonement.

Ghazālī was a treasure-house of meaning: his burial-place is the pure earth of Sarkīj
 بود گنجی غزالی از معنی مدفنش خاک پاک سرکیمج است

The date of his death with the difference of only one year is: "Aḥmadābād and the earth of Sarkīj."
 بعد یک سال سال قاریخش احمدآباد، خاک سرکیمج است

'Aḥmadābād and the earth of Sarkīj' gives 981 and 981 with the difference of one year is 980. The printed edition however gives a corrupt reading, which Sir W. Haig (translation, Vol. III, p. 241) renders as follows into English:

"Ghazālī was a treasure-house of hidden meaning: his resting-place is the pure earth of Sarkej."
 بود گنجی غزالی از معنی مدفنش خاک پاک سرکنج است

The date of his death, with the difference of one year only, is given by the words: "Aḥmadābād and the dust of Sarkhej."
 بعد یک سال قاریخش احمدآباد، خاک سرگنج است

And then he adds the foot-note: "This chronogram is entirely wrong. Both the text and the Mss. have 'Sarganj' for 'Sarkhej', and the rhyme necessitates this reading, which, if adopted, gives the date 1021. If the current name of the place, Sarkhej, be substituted we get the date 986—still six years wrong." Sir W. Haig has not noticed that سرگنج is a textual error for سرکیمج and Sarkīj is the Persianized form of سرکیمج also that سال قاریخش should read as: بعد یک سال سال قاریخش. Therefore the chronogram is not only not wrong but is actually extremely fine and pretty!

3. The failure to recognize the Persianization of Hindi words has produced the following corrupt text and translation

of a satire maliciously ascribed to Kāhī (text, *Muntakhab*, Vol. III, pp. 199–200 and English translation, Vol. III, pp. 276–277) :

Shaykh Ḥasan, the little decree-writer, with his poisoned pen spreads on all sides false news and slanderous whispers.

شیخ حسن چک زنہ بزہری
چک چک بسمارو چکا جاتہ

The babbling dolt has been struck on the head with a mallet : there is no need to answer his foolish chatter.

چک زدہ آن ابلہ بیہودہ گوی
ایس جواب لخرافاتہ

The word بزہری is an obvious error for ہرہری and though in Persian چک is a mallet and چک زدن is 'to slap', the word here is the Hindi جھک *jhak*, 'nonsense'; and as the Hindi جھک مارنا *mārna* is the Persian *zadan* چک زدن *(jahk zadan)* 'to talk nonsense' has been Persianized into چک زدن *jak zadan*. So the emended reading and translation is :

Shaykh Hasan is an uncouth prattler—and his excessive and meaningless chatter (goes on).

شیخ حسن چک زنہ ہرہری
چک چک بسمارو چکا جاتہ

That fool of a chatterer has been talking nonsense, and no reply is the only reply to his nonsense.

چک زدہ آن ابلہ بیہودہ گوی
لیس جواب لخرافاتہ

4. When the verses are enigmatic and when the translator writes (English translation, Vol. III, p. 244): "I have not attempted to solve either this enigma or the next", how can the translation be correct? Here are the specimens unsolved by Haig: both of them are by Kāhī. On Allāh. *Either* :

None is aware of His existence :
eternally He has been ; there
is no limit to Him.

نہست ازہستم پیش کسی آگہ
ابد آکان — لا نہایہ لہ

Or :

None is aware of His existence : نیست از هستیش کسی آگاه
 eternally He has been (the
 formula beginning with) ابداً کان لما ، نهان که لاه
 where of the end is لا (i.e.
 لا اله الا الله) : there is no
 God but God.

On the Prophet. *Either.*

Ever since I told the path of the قاره شرح ارشاد فتنه ام
 Religious Law, I have drawn a
 line between Prophet and از محدود بی هکافتنه ام
 Muḥammad.

Or :

Ever since I told the path of the قاره شرح ارشاد فتنه ام
 Religious Law, I have aligned my-
 self with the Prophet Muḥammad. از محدود بی هکافتنه ام

5. Kāhī had compared himself to Nawā'ī and Ghazālī to Jāmi whereupon the poet Bayāḍī had said (*Muntakhab*, text, Vol. III, p. 195) :

Kāhī and Ghazālī, those کاهی و غزالی آن دو لایعقل مست
 two drunken fools have
 slandered Jāmi and در غمبت جایی و نواهی زده دست
 Nawā'ī.

There has been nobody در دهر کسی بمثل ابهان ذکذشت
 like them in the
 world : What a man کاهی چه خس است و هم غزالی چه سگ است
 of straw is Straw and
 what a dog is Gha-
 zālī !

Sir W. Haig identifies this Nawā'ī (English translation Vol. III, p. 271, n. 3) with Mīr Muḥammad Sharif Nawā'ī, a minor poet of Akbar's Court, whereas he is the famous contemporary of Jāmi, the poet and premier Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī of Herat.

It will be noticed that it is the best verses which have suffered most at the hands of the Persian editor and the English translation of the *Muntakhab*. In a qasidah of 31 verses of Khwājal. Husayn Marwī, the first hemistich of each couplet should give 963 A.H. the date of Akbar's coronation, and the second hemistich 977 A.H. the date of Jahangīr's birth, for as Badā'ūnī says, the qasidah consists of chronograms throughout. "But this is not so", writes Sir W. Haig (English translation Vol. III, p. 248 foot-note). And what else could he have written when because of the corrupt text 15 hemistichs do not yield the requisite date? The Emperor Akbar had given away two lakhs of tankahs equivalent to Rs. 10,000 for this masterpiece and yet in the form in which it has come down to us 50% of it is incorrect. As the *dī Nan* of Marwī has perished and as the existing Mss. of the *Muntakhab* are no better than the printed edition, I published the qasidah with my own emendations in my *Mughal Poetry*. Some of these proved correct; others went wrong, e.g.

سبزه با گل هم زبان گو گو بسگو هر کرد یار (977)

دایة ابر بهار از مهر با نیهای فضل (1673)

I had suggested : دایة ابر بهار , مهر با نیهای رب (963) but the correct form is دایة ابر بهار از مهر با نیهای فضل (963) — which is the reading as given in the *Nafā'isu'l-Ma'āthir* to which I shall now proceed.

Prof. E. G. Browne rightly describes the *Muntakhab* as a mine of information. (*Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV) But whence does this mine of information derive its information? Badā'ūnī begins his account of the court poets of Akbar with Ghazālī and he begins his account of Ghazālī with the following preface (text, Vol. III, p. 170) :

"A full account of the poets of the reign of the Emperor Akbar is given in the *Nafā'isu'l-Ma'āthir*, well-known

as the *Tadhkirah* of Mīr ‘Alā’u’d-Dawlah which is the source from which the materials for this brief account are extracted.”

Mīr ‘Alā’u’d-Dawlah was the brother of Akbar’s tutor, Mīr ‘Abdu’l-Laṭīf of Qazwin. “His *tadhkirah* here referred to”, writes Sir W. Haig, n. 1, p. 239 translation Vol. III, “I have never seen and do not know where a copy of it is to be found.” Fortunately two copies of the *tadhkirah* exist in India: One of them is in the Rāmpūr State Library; and the other is in the Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh. The value of this *tadhkirah* which was completed before 990 A.H. i.e. 14 years earlier than the *Muntakhab* cannot be over-rated. It is a history of Babur, Humayun and Akbar with an account of the celebrities of that period. This latter portion has been utilized by the *Muntakhab* and the utilization extends to an 80% reproduction of the poetical extracts contained in the *Nafā’is*, which thus becomes an invaluable guide for revising the *Muntakhab* itself. The unavoidable conclusion therefore is that while the need for re-editing and re-translating the *Muntakhab* still remains, in the first instance the *Nafā’is* of Mīr ‘Alā’u’d-Dawlah which is an original, unutilized, independent source of Mughal history from Bābur to Akbar should be critically edited and translated into English. On this ambitious project the Persian Department of the Aligarh Muslim University has been working for the last 2 years but obviously its completion, that is the actual publication of the Persian text and the English translation, is not possible without the liberal financial patronage of the Government of India.

A brief introduction of the Khulāsāt ul - Ash'ār — a general biography of Persian poets by Taqi Kāshāni — and some of its rare Mss. in various libraries of Iran.

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Taqi-ud-Din,¹ Muhammad with the penname² Zikri was the son of Sharaf-ud-Din Husaini Kashani. He was born in A.H.³ 946/1539 and died before A.H.⁴ 1022/1612. We learn from his *Tazkira* that in A.H. 987 he was in Isfahan, in A.H. 990 at Nejaḥ and in A.H. 992, 999, 1002, 1004, 1011, 1013, 1014, and 1016, in his town of birth, viz., Kashan. He was friendly with Aqa⁵ Khizra of Nahavand, the Governor of Kashan and wrote his "memoirs" under the title of "ماثر خفريه". Taqi was a good penman and copied his own *Tazkira* a number of times. The *diwan* of his teacher, Muhtasham is also preserved in Taqi's hand in the Kitab Khana-i-Milli, Tehran. Muhtasham is stated to have sent for him

¹ The author and his *tazkira* has been described by N. Bland, J.R.A.S. (1948). Vol. IX, pp, 126—134. I also published an article on the same topic in *Maarif*, Azamgarh, Nov. 1952

² He has been dealt with as a poet in some biographical works like the *عرفات اوحدي* and *صحف ابراهيم* but he composed less poems (مورتيكيب شاعري كمنتر شده). In the latter full ghazal with this opening line, is quoted :

ا كدام مائة بطلعت چرخ مائة من با هدا كه حسن شاهره من شمع انجمن باشد

³ Or about A. H. 943 (vide Persian Liter. Story, Vol. I, Part II, p. 304 + n. 1.)

و درين از منم شنيد كه شده كه بحق پوستم

⁴ Vide *عرفات* where such words are found :
and it was written after A. H. 1022.

⁵ He was the elder brother of Abdul Baqi, the author of the *Maasir-i-Rahim*. He was appointed to this post in A.H. 1000 and was killed in 1016. (Vide *ماثر رچهي*, Vol. III, pp. 1530—1545.)

during his illness and asked him to collect and arrange his poetical works. This he did and wrote a preface which is prefixed to the British Museum copy of Muhtasham's *diwan*⁶.

Taqi had gained wide reputation in *Tazkira* writing and spent nearly the whole of his life in collecting material for the *Tazkira* and arranging, modifying and adding to it. At one place he himself says⁷ :—

اکنون قریب بیچهاروه سالست که فقیر بعد از مطالعہ کتب
معنواولہ معقول و منقول از تفہام الہی مرثکب انتخاب
اشعار معتقزمین و متاخرین است و بنوشتن حالات سابقین و لاحقین
مشغول دوریں مدت یک لحظہ فراغ بال نہ سمیت و یک لحظہ
ندانست کہ فراغ بال چیست

من اشک بیدلان را خندہ می برداشتم اوزی
کنون ہر میدہد تخی کہ من میگاشتم روزی

He has been much admired by his contemporary Taqi⁸.

Awhadi in these words : جامع متبا مع گوہر افشانی عمان گوہر
کامل بیای میہر تقی المہرور کا شانی میر تکرہ - بسار مردی
فاضل کا مل قابل ہوں - متبع دوا وین و قواعد کردہ اشعار بیساری
از استخوان دیدہ تکرہ نوشتہ از شعر قدما ہرچہ یافتہ در تکرہ
مزکور سافتہ و الحق آن مجموعہ از بیساری شعر از لباس ذکر
شعر ابر آمدہ و وی در ان نسخہ ہرچہ یک از قدما ہموہ عشقی
ارزم ساختہ و از عہدہ آن نیکو برون آمدہ -

Abdul Baqi Nahavandi who was Taqi's friend and admirer has consistently termed him as "تکرہ نویس کا سعی"

Taqi wrote his *Tazkira* under the title of *Khulasat-ul-Ash'ar u Zubdatul Afkar* which is a remarkable book "con-

⁶ Rieu, Vol. II, p. 605.

⁷ تذکرہ نویس کا سعی which was written in A. H. 993.

⁸ عرفات اوحدی (Account of Taqi)

⁹ Vol. III, p. 1543, ماثور رحیمی

taining the fullest biographical details, the most copious and best chosen extracts (seldom less than a thousand verses and in all 35000 couplets), the soundest critical and the most exact and complete bibliographical remarks on the Persian¹⁰ poets." It is divided into a (a) *Muqaddama* (reasons for writing the work), (b) four *fasls* Ish'q :

در تقسیم عشق (iii) در تعریف عشق (ii) در بیان انواع و
عشق و معرفت (i) , در شرائط محبت (iv)

(c) Selection from Hazrat Ali's *diwan*, (d) four *Rukns* :

(1) [Mujallads 1 and 2] 54 ancient poets mainly *qasidah* writers from the time of Subktagin to the 8th century.

(2) [Mujallad 3] 42 *ghazal* writers and later *qasidah* writers of the 8th and early 9th century.

(3) [Mujallad 4] 49 poets of the 9th and a few of the 10th century.

(4) [Mujallad 5] 101 poets from the time of Sultan Husain to that of the author.

and (e) a *Khatimah*¹¹ dealing with contemporary poets devoted to Kashan (two *fasls*, 54 poets), Isfahan (two *fasls*, 47 poets), Qum (15 poets), Sawa (14 poets), Qazwin (24 poets), Gilan (18 poets), Tabriz (34 poets), Yazd (38 poets), Shiraz (32 poets), Hamadan (15 poets—three *lahigas*, 30 poets), Ray (two *fasls*, 31 poets) and Khurasan (59 poets) with ذیل and تزئین (selections from diwans of various poets without biographies).

¹⁰ Sprenger, Oude Cat. pp. 14—15. For the distinctive qualities of this book, please see my article, Maarif, Vol. 70, No. 5, pp. 346—48.

¹¹ It is divided into 12 Asls (in respect of 12 town) the number of poets given in the bracket is taken from Sprenger, which has in some cases, been increased when compared with other Mss.

The first four *Rukus* were completed in A.H. 985¹² and the *Khatimah* was written in A.H. 993 but the author went on adding to it till A.H. 1016. This is the chronogram :

چوں پنہنج کتابہم تقی تزکرہ سنہج در مذنون جلد جا گرفت چرون گنج
تا هر يکي را درست باشد تا ريم برينج کتاب تقی افزودم پنہنج
“پنہنج کتاب تقی” gives 988 and by adding 5 to it we get 993 which is the year of the completion of the *Khatimah*. The second edition of the *Khatimah* was prepared in A.H. 1016 and ‘ست مجلدات لازم’ gives its date.

The Mss. of the *Khulasat ul Ash'ār* are scattered all over the world and only the following are known to us :

1. Bland's Ms. Lindesiana p. 233 no. 312 lacking *Ruku IV*, dated 1038-39.
2. Kings of Oudh Lib., Sprenger (Oude Cat. pp. 15 onwards) 8, 9. 1st Ms. containing *Mujallad* iii and *Khatimah* and the second complete without poetical selections, dated 1004.
3. Etke, India Office No. 667 lacking *Ruku iv*, dated 1038 No. 668 same as referred to by Sprenger, only *Khatimah*, dated 993.
4. Blochet iii 1242, a part of *Ruku i* only.
5. Bankipur, *Ruku iii* (*Mujallad iv*) revised by the author.
6. Dorn 321, *Ruku iii* (*Mujallad iv*), a wrong date 933 is given, but certainly an old and reliable copy.
7. Rieu, Supplement 105, introductory chapter and *Mujallad I* (defective at the end).
8. Berlin 647 and 647^a, only *Khatimah*.
9. Ivanow, Supplement, 932 fragment of *Ruku III*.
10. Rampur (Riza Library) only *Khatimah*, defective at the beginning and end.
11. Patiala Archives, 13 poets of *Ruku iii* and 47 poets of the 1st Asl of the *Khatimah*.

¹² In the earlier edition the dedication طمہ سپ while in the later it is to Shah Abbas. In the Bland's Ms. *Ruku II* opens with a dedication to Shah Abbas, but at the beginning it seems to contain no mention of him and in its place we find a dedication (dated 1006) to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Mr. Bland did not hold him identical with Ibrahim Adil II of Bijapur (A.H. 988—1037 ; but the author of the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* thinks as such. But even if this dedication is genuine Taqi's going to India is certainly doubtful. The *Khatimah* of the Majlis Ms. is dedicated to Shah Abbas.)

In Tehran I have studied the following four Mss :—

1. Kitabkhana-i-Majlis, No. 334 (Vol. II, pp. 195–197). It is the first part of the *Khatimah* containing 1st seven Asls (biographies of 200 poets) in a clear Nastaliq hand transcribed by one Ibn Mirza Nizam Muhammad on Tuesday 23rd Rajab 1013, as the following words clearly indicate¹³ :

تم لصف الاول من مجلد السادس من كتاب خلاصته الاشعار وروضة
الفكار بعون الملک استار علي يد العبد الصنميت النحيف
المنتاح الي رحمة الله الملک
† الطيف ابن مهرزاد نظام محمد شرف الشرف في تاريخ
يوم الاربعاء ثالث والعشرين شهر رجب المرجب سنة ثلث
وعشروا الف الهجرية النبوية

This is preceded by the author's following remark¹⁴ :—

اطمد الله والمنعم به بتوفيق ملك خلاق قلم تحقيق مسؤدين
وراق حالات شعراي دار السلطنة تهريز ونواحي آن در سلک
تحریر کعبه و اشعار بلاغت نشان فصحا اي آنرا را در ذيل اسمي
ايست آن درج گروايد - انعماء الله تعالي بار ديگر قلم مشکين تشمامه
از چشمه دوات رشتم بخش گشت - عذبان بجانب شعراي وار العبادة
يزو . . . منقطف مهگز داند -

Foll. 614 ; ll. 25 ; Size 20 cm X 11 cm.

2. Kitab Khana-i-Majlis, No. 982 (Muhammad Sadiq, cat.). It is a very rare copy of an abridgement of the *Khatimah* made, transcribed and revised by Taqi himself in A.H. 1011 in Kashan as the following words appearing at the end¹⁵ obviously point out :

¹³ fol. 613^b ¹⁴ Ibid seem to be proper name of the scribe.

† The words الملک الطيف appear to be two صفت for the word اللام. It does not

¹⁵ p. 517.

قیمت الانتخاب من جملة خاتمه كذب حلاله صتم الله شوار و زبدة
 الله فحکار علي يد موافق و مصنف و منتقد اقل عبادات الهاك الفنى
 تقى الدين محمد بن شرف الدين علي الحسيني في رابع عشر
 شهر جمادى الاولى سنة ١٠٠٠ من المائة الهادي عشر من هجرة
 النبوة في بلدة المومنين كاشان حواء الا تعالي عن آفات الزمان
 و تفر الدوران بحق محمد و اله المقصومين

This note is followed by a qitra of 11 lines in the same hand, beginning :

لواحد من القدر
 درين سمنه گن کن بحشم معني بهن
 ک رشک لعبت مائي و صورت چمن است

It is defective at the beginning (and even in the middle) and opens abruptly with Muhtasham's following line of a *qasidah* :

و آن نظم مدح بکت ستائي بود ک- او
 از بهر نکت وان دل و کف بجوگان دهد

The contents of the Ms. are these :

I. 1st Asl. the following ten poets of Kashan (pp. 1—206)

(1) Muhtasham (biography missing)—selections from his *qasidah* and *ghazals*—alphabetically, pp. 1—80; at this stage some foll. are missing. Only two lines of the 1st *ghazal* of *radif* 'ل' are available while the *ghazals* of *radifs* 'ن', 'م', 'و', 'ه', and 'ي' are completely missing. (2) Haidar-i-Rafi'yi¹⁶ (biography missing)—Only 23 lines from his diwan are quoted, beginning : (p. 81)

(بابا) خاکماریه سر بکیوان از سجد آزارت افسر خبر شید
 (3) Mirza Hisabi, p. 82. (4) Fahmi,

¹⁶ As in the *Khatimah*, Muhtasham is followed by Refi'yi, it is certain that no other poet intervenes between them.

p. 92. (5) Tashbihi, pp. 118—124. At this stage the Ms.¹⁷ is defective. p. 124 opens with these words : نظم تو تیب داد شعیر غصمفر کلجاری انج appertaining to Ghazamfar, pp. 125—137, (7) Hatim, p. 137. (8) Hasrati, p. 155. (9) Rizai, p. 173. (10) Shuja', p. 186.

II. Asl II One poet of Isfahan (pp. 204—225). It opens with these words : اصل دوم در ذکر شعرای دارالسلطنت صفاهان و درین اوراق یک کس مزکور رمی شود

(1) Qazi Nurud Din, p. 204.

III. Asl III the following 5 poets Qum (pp. 225—296).

(1) Malik, p. 225. (2) Walihi, p. 236. (3) Ali Naqi Kamrah, p. 248. (4) Shani, p. 270. (5) Rashki, p. 288—296.

IV. Asl IX¹⁸ two poets of Shiraz (pp. 296—334)

(1) Ghairate, p. 296, (2) Urfi, p. 307—334.

V. Asl XI poets of Ray and Astrabad (pp. 334—479).

(1) Qasim Beg Halati, p. 334. (2) Sahabi, p. 361, (3) Salehi¹⁹, p. 368. (4) Zuhuri, p. 375. (5) Aqdasi, p. 417. (6) Muhammad Hashim Mardi, p. 429. (7) Nisbati, p. 435. (8) Subuhi, p. 439. (9) Amin Zanqi, p. 442. (10) Syed Muhammad Jamabāf, p. 445. (11) Sh. Rubai, p. 461. (12) Mukhlisi, p. 468.

VI. Laheqah (pp. 479—501). It opens thus :

لاحقہ در ذکر بعضی از شعرای متفرقہ کہ درین سفیدہ حسب الدران مسود این اوراق نوشتہ شدہ

(1) Sh. Abdus-Salām, p. 479. (2) Jalbi Beg, p. 501

¹⁷ By a comparison with the *Khatimah*, it is concluded that no other poet intervenes here.

¹⁸ The Ms. is not defective at this stage ; the author has purposely omitted Asls IV—VIII.

¹⁹ From Nos. 3 onwards belong to اصل XII, but the Ms. is not defective here. •

VII. Faidah

(1) Mawlana Amir Muhammad Baqir with the pen-name Ishraq and the Ms. finishes on p. 517.

3. Dr. Bayani, kitab *Khana-i-Milli* (Tehran). A rare copy of the 1st part of the *Khatimah* in the hand of the author himself, as its writing is exactly the same as that of the foregoing one: unfortunately it is defective at the beginning and the end and even in the middle; the leaves are so inter-mixed all together as they could not be brought to their actual position even after many days' efforts. However its contents are these: —

Asl I, fasl 1,²⁰ 15 poets of kashan (scattered all over the manuscript).

(1) Muhtasham (biography and part of selections missing), (2) Qazi Burhan, (3) Mir Yaqubi, (4) Jamalud Din Muhammad, (5) Nizam Hashimi, (6) Fahmi, (7) Ghazanfar, (8) Maqsud, (9) Khwajgi Inayat, (10) Fakhri, (11) Rukuud Din Masud, (12) Hasrati, (13) Rizai, (14) Shu'aib, (15) Jalalud Din Masud.

fasl 2, one²¹ deceased poet (defective)

(1) Mawlana Shujā'

Asl II, fasl 1, nine²² alive poets of Isfahan (scattered).

(1) Zamiri, (2) Mir Baqir Ishraq, (3) Tajud Din Hasan, (4) Malik Muarraf, (5) Fikri, (6) Dai', (7) Durwish Ghazi, (8) Baba Shah, (9) Shifai.

fasl 2, 24²³ dead poets of Isfahan (only beginning defective).

²⁰ 28 poets more are included in the *خاتم*; it cannot be said whether all these were actual in the Ms. for Muhtasham is followed by *باقر* here (without any defect) while in all Mss. he is followed by *رفعی*.

²¹ In the *خاتم* there are 11 poets.

²² In the *خاتم* there are 20 poets.

²³ Only one poet missing.

(1) Talib (defective), (2) Bahari, (3) Shah Mahmud, (4) Mirza Ibrahim, (5) Shah Mir. (6) Sadiq, (7) Mazaqi, (8) Muffeh, (9) Fazlullah, (10) Salik, (11) Shah Husain Saqi, (12) Yaqini, (13) Piri, (14) Jalaluddin Muhammad, (15) Ayati, (16) Wahid, (17) Muqimi, (18) Harimi, (19) Muhammad Qasim Razi, (20) Firaqi, (21) Hilmi, (22) Qasmi, (23) Lawhi, (24) Ramzi.

Asl III, seven²⁴ poets of Qum (scattered).

(1) Huzuri, (2) Walihi, (3) Sultan Muhammad, (4) 'Arizi, (5) Asli, (6) Ansari, (7) Wahidi.

Asl IV, 12²⁵ poets of Sawa (scattered).

(1) Harifi, (2) Ahdi, (3) Suzani, (4) Sarfi, (5) Judai, (6) Zarifi, (7) Pairawi, (8) Qudsi, (9) Bazili, (10) Kamali, (11) Mirki, (12) Mansuri.

Asl V, 13²⁶ poets of Qazwin (scattered).

(1) Ibrahim Mirza, (2) Mustafa Mirza, (3) Hasan Mirza, (4) Mirza Sultan, (5) Mirza Jafar, (6) Bahsi, (7) Farughi (8) Sharmi, (9) Durwish Kaka, (10) Haji Beg, (11) Faizi, (12) Hairati, (13) Hatifi.

Asl VI, 14²⁷ poets of Gilan (scattered—only 4 missing).

Asl VII, 30 poets of Tabriz (only 4 missing).

Foll. 253; large size : 26 ll ; 4 columns,

4. Kitabkhana-i-Malik No. 4078. Another selection of the *Khatimah* in which two Indian²⁸ poets, viz. Faizi and Nami have been given a very prominent place. The selection

²⁴ In the *خاتمه* there are 16 poets.

²⁵ Only two poets are missing.

²⁶ 11 poets are missing—beginning and end intact.

²⁷ In the *خاتمه* there are 18 poets.

²⁸ There was no occasion for their inclusion in the *خاتمه* for it deal exclusively with the poets of Irom and not of India.

was made by the author himself and the Ms. under consideration though copied by an unknown scribe, has been carefully revised by Taqi Kashi himself. It contains the biographies and selections from the respective *diwans* of the following poets :

(1) Faizi, (2) Amir Ma'sum Nami Bakkari, (3) Urfi, (4) Zuhuri, (5) Naziri, (6) Aqdasi, (7) Jalalud Din Hasan, (8) Shifai, (9) Shakebi, (10) Shani, (11) Qasim Beg Halati, (12) Shehabi, (13) Musuin Hussain Yazdi.

The poets are not arranged geographically, it is quite different from one preserved in the Majlis. Beginning :

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

شعری ابوالفیض فیضی خلف ارجمند و فرزند سادات مند جناب
شیخ مبارک انخ

At the end of the Ms. we find these words in the hand of Taqi :

قابل اصله حرس مولفہ تقی الدین محمد الحسینی فی ۱۰۰۱ ۴۱ سنہ

This hand is exactly the same as that of the Mss. Nos. 2 and 3 above.

The following note is found on the fly-leaf in a different hand :
حرضہ سیادت و نقابت پناه و حمد الزمانی فریدالدورانی
امیر تقی الدین محمد ۱۰۰۰ این طبع را از اصل خود انتخاب نموده

Towards the close of Shifai's biography Taqi writes :

بنا برین مقدمات درین اوقات را قم این حرف بعد از اتمام این نسخه
نامدار و بازداشتن قام از ذکر شعری تازه این روزگار بار دیگر قام
رقم را از چہمہ دوات رطب اللسان ساختہ اسم نامی حکیم زاده بالغ
طبعیت را اضافہ این کتاب دلکش و قلا دہ این عقدہ بمفض گر و اندیس
باوجود آنکہ چند نسخه ازین خالد صد باطراف عراق و خراسان رفتہ

²⁹ One of the dots may be on the "ن" of the سنہ. In some places we have some additions in the hand of تقی himself.

بود و الحال اضافہ مستحسن نہی نمود این اشعار منتخب آن جذاب
را بہتر آزد منظر ناظران رسانید

This note indicates that the author included Shifai's life afterwards ; but it has nothing to do with this selection for Shifai is already included in the second edition of the Khatimah with the same note (which was copied here verbatim).

Foll. 218 ; good Nastaliq hand ; transcription before 1014 ; ll. 27 to a page.

The following two Mss. were not available to me till now :

1. Dr. Abbas Iqbal Ashtiani. This copy is also in the hand of Taqi Kashi ; but as the owner is out of Iran I am unable to give the details. ,

2. Aqa i Sadiq Ansari. About this copy Dr. Sadiq Kia has supplied this information :

نسخہ ای از بخشی کے از دورہ ہای پیش ازین زمان
(قرن دہم و یازوہم) است — آقامی صادق المعاری داند
(نقطویان یا پیسغا نیان ص ۱۳ حاشہ - نمبر ۳)

PALI & BUDDHISM SECTION

A Note on the Kalacakryana of Tantric Buddhism

SHRI BISWANATH BANERJEE

SANTINIKETAN

Esoteric Buddhism has generally been divided into three schools viz., Vajrayana, Sahajayana, and Kalacakrayana. Their teachings are based on the practice of *yoga* and they draw inspiration from the *yogacara* and the *Madhyamika* philosophy. These three schools are of the same stock and it is not easy to distinguish one from the rest.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain when, how, and by whom the Tantric elements were introduced in Buddhism. According to Tibetan and Chinese traditions Asanga is held responsible for the introduction of Tantric elements in Buddhism; others hold Nagarjuna, the exponent of the *Madhyamika* school, as the real founder of the esoteric school of Buddhism.

Buddha is also said to have introduced Tantric elements in Buddhism for the sake of disciples of less intellectual equipment. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya quotes Kamalasila and Santaraksita in support of this. It is true that various revolting and mystic practices prevalent in, and previous to the time of the Master have been referred to in Pali canonical texts² and some of them are truly Tantric in character. But Buddha's teachings were directly in violation of those practices and there is no conclusive evidence of Buddha's sanction to those popular religious practices. Nor can we attach any importance to the statement of some who appeared several centuries after the Master.

It is noteworthy that Asanga's *Mahayana Sutralamkara*³ makes clear references to Tantric sexo-yogic practice through which there is the enjoyment of bliss similar to that arising from the sexual act. The *Sutralamkara*⁴ itself gives us the significance of the mystic union and the consequent blissful enjoyment. It may be inferred, then, that already in the time of Asanga, Tantric ideas crept into Mahayana Buddhism and the tradition claiming Asanga as the founder of Tantric Buddhism cannot be rejected all at once.

However, the Tantric elements took a strong hold of the main body of Buddhism which reached its extreme development with the Kalacakrayana. Waddell⁵ considers the Kalacakrayana as 'merely a coarse Tantric development of the Adi Buddha theory... 'and thinks it unworthy of being considered a philosophy'. Here he finds 'demoniacal "Buddhas" under the name of Kalacakra,

1 Dr. B. Bhattacharya—An Introduction to Bud. Esoterism. P. 4F.

2 Kathavatthu xxiii. 1-2, Brahmajala Sutta. etc.

3 P. C. Bagchi—Studies in the Tantras. pp. 91-92. 4-100 cit. 92.

5 Waddell-Lamairu, p 131.

Heruka... etc'. Mm. H. P. Sastri remarks that *Kalacakra jana* means the vehicle for protection against the wheel of destruction.⁶

This peculiar religious system is said to have originated outside India in the fabulous country *Sambhala* which is placed by *esoma*⁷ between 45* and 50* N. Latitude beyond the river *Sita* or *Jakartes*.

The *Kalacakra* system was introduced into Central India in the 1st half of the 10th century and found its way into Tibet via Kashmir in the year 1025 A.D.⁸ We learn from Tibetan sources that the system exercised a potent influence on the religion and culture of Tibet. And it is extremely important to note that the beginning of the Tibetan era of counting time, coincides with the introduction of the *Kalacakra* system in Tibet. On this Schlagintweit⁹ writes "...the readiness with which the system was received made it appear at once so important, that events were dated from its introduction."

Our source of information about this phase of Buddhism is very scanty and unfortunately we have to depend on only one text for our knowledge about the school. *Sri Kalacakra tantra*, a palm-leaf ms. preserved in the Cambridge University Library, is the only available text of the school. *Laghu-Kalacakra tantraraja-tika* entitled *Vimalaprabha* is the detailed commentary of the above text. These two Mss. give us some idea about the philosophy of the school. And nowhere do we find any statement which can substantiate the views expressed by Waddell and Mm. H. P. Sastri.

The *Kalacakra* system lays extreme stress on the control of the two vital winds, *Prana* and *Apana*. It is remarked that the secret of *yoga* is unknown even to gods and this yoga with its magic circles and consecrations, the universe with all its objects, and time with all sorts of its divisions are situated within this body in the process of vital winds.

The nature of *Sri Kalacakra* becomes clear from the commentary. He is saluted here as *Sunyata karuna* bereft of origination and destruction, the unitary embodiment of knowledge and knowable embraced by *Prajna* (transcendent wisdom), who is both endowed with and bereft of forms (contents). He is the great *Adi Buddha*, the creator of all the Buddhas, the only Lord.¹¹ In the commentary there is a very interesting story as to how the Brahmanic sages of *Sambhala* were converted to the systems and principles of *Kalacakra*.¹²

6 Sastri in his introd. to *Mad. Bud., etc.*, by N. Basu. p. 8.

7 *Csoma*—J. A. S. B. II-1833. P. 57.

8 *Ibid.* 9. *Schlagintweit*—Buddhism in Tibet, P. 48.

10 *Bodi The Pali lit of Burma*, P. 108.

11 *Ray Sans. Bud. in Burma*, P. 38.

12 *Vimala*, F.I. I. 1.

13 See the present writer's article in J. A. S. Vol. XVIII. 195.. PP. 74.

The commentary¹² explains the term *Kalacakra* by showing that each and every syllable of the term is endowed with a meaning:

kakara karane sante
lakarac̣ca layotra vai
cakarat cala cittasya
kra karat kramabandhanaih.

Thus *kala* is the state in which the original cause potency has been absorbed. This is the state of *Sunyata* and this is *Prajna*; *cakra*, on the other hand, is the cycle of world process and this is the principle of *upaya*. *Kalacakra*, therefore, signifies the absolute unification of *Prajna* and *upaya*.

The union of *Prajna* and *upaya* occupies the most important place in the philosophy of Tantric Buddhism. True knowledge of the union is essential before any religious practices. In the *Dakini Vajra Panjara* we find that the cardinal principles of *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Samgha* relate to the state where the *citta* shines in the unification of *Sunyata* and *karuna*.

This *Kalacakra* system of Tantric Buddhism was also known to upper Burma in the 15th century A.D. The Pagon inscription of 1442 mentions two books in *Maha-Kalacakka* and *Maha-Kalacakka tika*. This makes Dr. N. R. Ray think that '...the existence of Mahayana and Tantric texts in a monastic library seems at least to show that at one time these cults must have gained some popularity in the country.'

BUDDHASASANAM

Ven'ble Pandita Sahityacarya Kasgoda Dhammavmsa Thero.

BUDDHIAM SARANAM GACCHAMI
DHAMMAM SARANAM GACCHAMI
SANGHAM SARANAM GACCHAMI
PUNAPUNA SARANAM GACCHAMI.

Buddhasasanam buddhasasanamti kho vuccati, kissetam adhi-
vacanam yadidam buddhasasanamti.

So kho pana Buddho bhagava evemaha:

“Sabba papassa akaranam—kusalassa upasampada
sacittapariyodapanam—etam Buddhana sasanam.
Khanti paramam tapo titikkha—nibbanam paramam
vadamti Buddha
nahi pabbajito parupaghati—samano hoti param vihe-
thayanto.

Anupavado anupaghatō patimokkheca samvaro
mattannuta ca bhattasmim pantham ca sayanasanam
adhicitte ca ayogo etam Buddhanasasanam” iti.

Buddhasasanam satthusasanam brahmacariyam dhammavinayo
iccevamadini ekatthani anattahantarani vevacananti tipitakagan-
thanusarena nayate.

Padavibhagato kho pana buddhassa buddhanam va sasanam
buddhasasanamti attho labbhateva.

Ye kho pana dukkham dukkhasamudayam dukkhanirodham
dukkhanirodhagaminim ca patipadam samma sayamavabujjhimsu te
Buddha nama. Seyyathidam: Dipankaradayo Vipassi Sikhi Ves-
sabhu Kakusandho Konagamano Kassapo Gotamo ca amhakam
bhagava araham samma-sambuddho.

Sabbeva kho pana ete sammāsambuddha Jampudipe eva patura-
hamsuti tipitakaganthesu dissati. Tasma buddhasasanamapi Jam-
buddipikamiti kimettha vattabbamatthi.

Na kevalam ete eva atha ca kho annepi bahavo sattharo sam-
buddha sabhannuno sabbadassavinoti patijananamapi Jambudipe
tada tada paturahesum, dhammam ca desesum, sasanani ca patittha-
pesumeva, tadattham savake ca upanesumapi vinesumapi ca.

Amhakam kho pana bhagavato kalepi tadisa bahavo sattharo
ahesum. Tesu Purana-kassapadayo cha sattaro tesam vada ca tipi-
takaganthesu tattha tattha yebhuyyena sandissanti.

Tesam kho pana sattharanam amhakampi ca Gotamassa sat-
thuno vadesu dhammesu sasanesu kidisam nanakaranam ahositi

Upali-Suttadihi samma avibhavateva. Seyyathapi nama navam dus-sayugam rangakkhamanceva akotanakknanam ca vimjjanakkhamam ca evameva kño bhagavato vado arahato sammāsambuddhassa rangakkhamo ceva paṇḍitanam no baṇaṇam anuyogakkhamo ca vimajjanakkhamo ca.

Bhagavata eva kho sammāsambhuddhena “vimamsakena bhikkhave bhikkhuna parassa cetopariyayam ajanantena dvisu dhammesu samānnesitabbo” icceva madina bhagavati samma-sambuddhatam dhamme svakkhatatam sanghe ca supatipannatam uddissa vimamsitva dhamma-samānnesanaya samānnesitva eva saddhatabbatam pasiditabbam iti vuttamiti Vimamsakasuttadisū agacchateva.

Anguttaranikāye Kāmasuttepi kho bhagava evamāha: “Etha tumhe Kāma, ma anussavena, ma paramparaya, ma itikiraya, ma pitakasampadanena, ma takkanetu, ma nayahetu, ma akaraparivittakkena, ma ditthinijjhanakkhantiya, ma babbarupataya, ma samāno no garuti. Yada tumhe Kāma, attanava jāneyyatha: Ime dhamma akusala, ime dhamma savajja, ime dhamma vinnugarahita, ime dhamma samatta samadhinna ahitaya dukkhaya samvattanti, atha tumhe Kāma, pajaheyyatha’.

“Yada tumhe, Kāma, attanava jāneyyatha: ‘Ime dhamma kusala, ime dhamma anavajja, ime dhamma vinnuppasattha, ime dhamma samatta samadhinna hitaya sukhaya samvattanti’ti, atha tumhe Kāma, upasampajja vihareyyatha.”

Sallekhasuttadisūpi anekesu thanesu bhagava evamāha: “Iti kho Cunda, desito maya sallekha pariyayo, desito cittuppadapariyayo, desito parikkamanapariyaye, desito upari-bhavapariyayo. Yam kho Cunda, satthara karaniyam savakanam hitesina anukampakena anukampam upadaya, katam vo tam maya. Etani Cunda, rukkhāmulani, etani sunnagarani jhayatha Cunda, ma pamadattha, ma paccha vippatisarino ahuvattha. Ayam vo amhakam anusasaniti.”

Parinibbanamācāke yamakasalanamantare sayamanopi kho bhagava bhikkhu etadavoca: “Siya kho pana bhikkhave ekabhi-khussapi kankha va vimati va buddhe va dhamme va sanghe va magge va patipadaya va, pucchatha bhikkhave ma paccha vippatisarino ahuvattha ‘sammukhibhūto no sattha aho si nasakkhim bhagavantam sammukha patipucchitum’ti”.

Tam kho pana tathagatassa sasanam gambhīram duddasam duranubodham santam panitam atakkavacaram nipunam paṇḍita-vedaniyam, yatra hi nama idappaccayata patiecasamuppādo, sabbasamkhara samātho sabbupadhi patinissaggo tanhakkhaya virāgo nibbanam ca avibhavissati.

Yam hi bhagava anuttaram sammāsambodhim abhisambujjhita—

“Anekajati samsaram—sandhavissam anibbisam
gahakarakam gavesanto—dukkha jati punappunam
Gahakaraka ditthāsi—puna geham na kaḥasi

sabba te phasuka bhagga—gahakutum visamkhitam
 visamkhara gatam cittam—tanhanam khayamajjhaga” ti va
 “Yadahave patubhavanti dhamma
 atapino jhayato brahmanassa
 athassa kankha vapayanti sabba
 yato pajanati sahetudhammam
 “Yada have patubhavanti dhamma
 atapino jhayato brahmanassa
 athassa kankha vapayanti saba
 yato khayam paccayanam avedi
 “Yada have patubhavanti dhamma
 atapino jhayato brahmanassa
 vidhupayam titthati marasenam
 suriyova obhasayamantalikkham”ti va

pathama buddhavacanam aha, yam kho pana parinibbanakale—
 “Handadani bhikkhave amantayami vo, vayadhamma samkhara
 appamadena sampadetha” ti pacchima buddhavacanamaha. Yam
 ca kho pana tesam ubhinnamantare pamcaccattalisavassani devama-
 nussadinam atthaya hitaya sukhaya ca savakanam vinayaya ca
 aha. Dhammavinayavasena duvidham, pitakavasena tividham,
 angavassenanavavidham, dhammakkhandhavasena caturasitisahas-
 savidham tam sabham buddhasasanam nama.

Tasmim kho pana buddhasasane attha acchariya abbhutadh-
 amma vattantiti bhagavata vuttam. Katame attha?

Anupubbasikkha anupubbakiriya anupubbapatipada nayata-
 keneva anna pativedho, ayam pathamo.

Yam bhagavata savakanam sikkhapadam pannattam tam tassa
 savaka jivita hetupi natikkamanti, ayam dutiyo.

Yo so puggalo dussilo papadhammo paticchanna kammanto
 assamano samanapatinno na tena sangho samvasati, atha kho nam
 khippameva sannipatitva ukhipati, kincapi so hoti majjhe sang-
 hassa nisinno atha kho so arakava samghamha sangho ca tena, ayam
 tatiyo,

Cattaropime vanna khattiya brahmana vessa sudda tathagat-
 appavedite dhammavinaye agarasma anagariyam pabbajitva jah-
 anti purimani namagottani samana sakyaputtiyatveva samkham
 gacchanti, ayam catuttho,

Bahucepi bhikkhu anupadisesaya nibbanadhatuya parinib-
 bayanti na tena nibbanadhatuya unattam purattam va pannayati,
 ayam pancamo,

Seyyathapi kho mahasamuddo ekaraso lonaraso evameva kho
 idam buddhasasanam ekarasam vimuttirasam, ayam chattho,

Banhuni kho pana buddhasasane ratanani vattanti seyyathidam: cattari satipatthanani cattari sammappadhanani cattaro iddhipada panchindriyana panchabalani sattabojjhanga ariyo atthagiko maggo, ayam sattamo.

Buddhasasanam kho panidam mahatam bhutanam avaso tatrime mahabhuta: sotapanno sotapattiphala sacchikiriyaya patipanno sakadagami skadagamiphala sacchikiriyaya patipanno anagami anagamiphala sacchikiriyaya patipanno araha arahattaphada sacchikiriyaya patipanno ayam atthamo. ...

Ime kho attha acchariya abbhutadhamma tasmim buddhasasane samvattanti ye disva bhikkhu tattha abhiramanti yathariva mahasumudde asura.

Ye sayameva dhammam avabujjhimsupi avabujjhissantipi tepi tathagata dhammassamino dhammameva acariyatthane thapatva sakkatva garukatva viharimsu ceva viharissanti cati Samyuttagame agacchati.

Bhaagavato kho pana Uruvelayam viharato najja Neranjaraya tire Ajapala nigrodhe pathamabhisambuddhassa evam cetaso parivitakko udapadi: dukkham kho agaravo viharati appatisso, kanukkvaham samanam va brahmanam va sakkatva garukatva upanissaya vihareyyanti. Atha kho bhagavato etadahosi: yassa ca kho pana aparipunnassa silakkhandhassa samadhikkhandhassa pannakkhandhassa vimuttikkhandhassa vibuttinanadassanakkhandhassa ca paripuriya annam samanam va brahmanam va sakkatva garukatva upanissaya vihareyyam na kho panaham passami sadevaka loke samarake sabbrahmake sassamanabrahmaniyapajaya sadeva-manussaya attana silasampannataram va samadhisampannataram va pannasampannataram va vimuttisampannataram va vimuttinanadassanasampannataram va annam samanam va brahmanam va yamaham sakkatva garukatva upanissaya vihareyyam, yannunaham yvayam dhammo maya abhisambuddhe tameva dhammam sakkatva garukatva vihareyyanti.

Brahampi kho Sahampati bhagavato cetasa ceto parivitakka-mannaya bhagavato purato patubhavitva etadanumodi: "evametam bhagava, evametam sugata, yepi te bhante ahesum atitamaddhanam arahanto sammāsambuddha tepi bhagavanto dhammanneva sakkatva garukatva upanissaya viharimsu, yepi te bhante, bhavissanti anagatamaddhanam arahanto sammāsambuddha tepi bhagavanto dhammanneva sakkatva garukatva upanissaya viharissanti, bhagavapi bhante, etarahi araham sammāsambuddho dhammanneva sakkatva garukatva upanissaya viharatu' ti.

Na kho bhagava sakam sasanam dhammavinayam paturakaseva atha ca kho yatha tam addhanियam assa ciratthitikam bahujanahitaya bahujanasukhaya lokanukampaya atthaya hitaya sukhaya devamunussanam tatha kattabbanti karaniyam sabbam akaseva ca. Na tava so bhagava parinibbaya yavadeva sasanassa ciratthitiya kattabbam karaniyam na nitthamagamasi.

Yada kho bhagava Uruvelayam viharati najja Neraanjaraya tire Ajapalanigrodhe pathamabhisambuddho, atha kho maro papima yena bhagava tenupasamkami. Upasamkamitva bhagavantam etadavoca "Parinibbatu'dani bhante, bhagava, parinibbatu sugato, parinibbanakalo'dani bhante, bhagavato" ti. Atha kho bhagava maram papimantam etadavoca: "Na tavaham papima, parinibbayissami yava me bhikkhu bhavissanti viyatt avinita visarada bahussuta dhammadhara dhammanudhammapatipanna samicipatipanna anudhammacarino sakam acariyakam uggahetva acikkhissanti desessanti pannapessanti patthapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttanikarissanti uppanam parappavadam sahadhammena suniggahitam niggahitva sappatihariyam dhammam desessanti. Na tavaham papima parinibbayissami yava me bhikkhuniyo na savika bhavissanti viyatta/pe/dhammam desessanti. Na tavaham papima, parinibbayissami yava me upasaka na savaka bhavissanti viyatta/pe/dhammam desessanti. Na tavaham papima, parinibbayissami yava me upasika na savika bhavissanti viyatta/pe/dhammam desessanti. Na tavaham papima, parinibbayissami yava me idam brahmacariyam na iddhamceva bhavissati phitanca vittharitam bahujannam puthubhutam yava devamanussehi suppakasitam" ti.

Yada ca kho pana bhagava katabuddhakieco suhito paripunno Capale cetiyo viharati, sasanam sa kho bhagavato iddhamceva ahosi phitam ca vittharitam bahujannam puthubhutamtada maro papima bhagavantam upasamkamitva etadavoca: "Parinibbatudani bhante, bhagava parinibbatu sugato parinibbanakalo'dani bhante, bhagavato. Bhasita kho panesa bhante, bhagavata vaca: 'Na tavaham papima, parinibbayissami, yava me bhikkhu na savaka bhavissanti/pe/yava me bhikkhuniyo na savika bhavissanti/pe/yava me upasaka na savaka bhavissanti/pe/yava me upasika na savika bhavissanti/pe/yava me idam brahmacariyam na iddhamceva bhavissati phitanca vittharitam bahujannam puthubhutam yava deva manussehi suppakasitanti. Etarahi kho pana bhante, bhagavato brahmacariyam iddhamceva phitan ca vittharitam bahujannam puthubhutam yava devamanussehi suppakasitam. Parinibbatu'dani bhante, bhagava parinibbatu sugato parinibbanakalo'dani bhante, bhagavato" ti.

Evam vadamane kho pana mare bhagava sakam sasanam baddhamulam bahujannam vittharitam ca viditva maram papimantam—"Appossukko tvam papima, hohi, na ciram tathagatassa parinibbanam bhavissati, ito tinnam masanam accayena tatthagato parinibbayissati" ti vatva ayusamkharam ossaji.

Ossajitva ca kho pana bhagava ayusamkharam sasanassa ciratthitimakamkhamano yaya patipadaya tam addhaniyam assa ciratthitikam tam pakasetukamo bhikkhusangam sannipati petva etadavoca: "Tasmatiha bhikkhave, ye te maya dhamma akhinna desita te vo sadhukam uggahetva asevitabba bhavetabba bahulikatabba, yatnandam brahmacariyam addhaniyam assa ciratthitikam tadassa bahunanahitaya bahunanasukhaya lokanukaripaya atthaya hitaya sukhaya devamanussanam" ti.

Puna ca param sakam sasanam paticca Cundam samanuddesam bhagava etadvocati Dighagame Pasadikasutte agacchati: Seyyathidam: “Tasmatiha Cunda, ye vo maya dhamma abhinna desita tattha sabbeheva sangamma samagamma atthena attham byanjanena byanjanam sangayitabbam na vivaditabbam, yathaidam brahmacariyam addhaniyam assa ciratthitikam”.

Yatha tam “imassa nu kho avuso, atthassa imani va byanjanani etani va byanjanani, kayamani opayikatarani. Imesam va byanjananam ayam va attho eso va attho katamo opayikataroti”.

Puna ca param etadatthameva kho pana so bhagava cattaro mahapadesa desesiseyyathidam: “Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu evam vadeyya: ‘sammukhametam avuso, bhagavata sutam sammukha patigganitam, ayam dhammo ayam vinayo idam satthusasanam,’ ti. Tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhasitam neva abhinanditabbam napatikkositabbam. Anabhinanditva appatikkositva tani padabbyanjanani sadhukam uggahetva sutte otaretabbani vinaye sandasetabbani, tani ce sutte otariyamanani vinaye sandassiyamanani na ceva sutte otaranti, na ca vinaye sandissanti, nitthamettha gantabbam: addha idam na ceva tassa bhagavato vacanam, imassa ca bhikkhuno duggahitanti. Itihetam bhikkhave chaddeyyatha. Tani ce sutte otariyamanani vinaye sandassiyamanani sutte ceva otaranti vinaye ca sandissanti nitthamettha gantabbam addha idam tassa bhagavato vacanam, imassa ca bhikkhuno suggahitanti. Amukasmim nama avase samgho viharati sathero sapamokkho, tassa me samghassa sammukha sutam sammukha patiggahitam—/pe/—amukasmim nama avase sambahula therā bhikkhu viharanti bahussuta agatagama dhammadhara vinayadhara matikadhara, tesam me theranam sammukha sutam, sammukha patiggahitam—/pe/—amukasmim nama avase eko therā bhikkhu viharati bahussuto agatagama dhammadharo vinayadharo matikadharo, tassa me therassa sammukha sutam, sammukha patiggahitam: ayam dhammo ayam vinayo idam satthusasananti/pe/nitthamettha gantabbam: addha idam tassa bhagavato vacanam, tassa ca therassa suggahitanti.

Puna ca param buddho bhagava bhikkhusangham sattasu aparihaniyesu dhammesu samadapesi yatha sakam sasanam addhaniyam assa ciratthitikam, bhikkhusamghassa ca vuddhiyeve assa no parihani. Katamesu sattasu aparihaniyesu dhammesu: “Yavakivamca bhikkhu abhinham sannipata sannipatabahula bhavissanti; seyyathidam: yavakivanca bhikkhu samagga sannipatissanti samagga vutthahissanti samagga samghakaraniyani karissanti:

“Yavakivanca bhikkhu apannattam na pannapessanti panntam na samucchindissanti, yatha pannatte sikkhapadesu samadaya vattissanti;

“Yavakivanmca bhikkhu yete bhikkhu therā rattannu cirapabajita samghapitaro samghaparinayaka te sakkarissanti garikarissanti manessanti pujessanti tesamca sotabbam manissanti;

“Yavakivamca bhikkhu uppannaya tanhaya ponobhavikaya na vasam gacchanti;

“Yavakivamca bhikkhu arannakesu senasanesu sapekkha bhavissanti;

“Yavakivamca bhikkhu paccattamneva satim upatthapessanti: kinti anagata ca pesala sabrahmacari agacchccheyyum, agata ca pesala sabrahmacari phasu vihareyyum; vudhiyeva patikamkha bhikkhunamcheva sasanassa ca no parihani” iti.

Patitthapetva ca kho pana buddhasasanam aduppannassa sasanamaggassa uppadeta anakhatassa sasanamaggassa akkhata maggannu maggavidu maggakovido so bhagava anatita-satthukam sakam sasanam katukamo magganuge bhikkhu amantetva parinibbanamamekagato evamaha: “Siya kho panananda, tumhakam evamassa atitasatthukam pavacanam, natthi no sattha ti. Na kho panetam Ananda, evam datthabbam, yo kho Ananda, maya dhammo ca vinayo ca desito pannatto so vo mamaccayena satthati”.

Magganuga te theravarapi no bhagavato accayena dhammavinayameva satthusarupayitam katva buddhasasanabharam samubbahimsuyeva yatha tam bhagava viyakasi araham sammassambuddho.

Majjhimanikaye Gopakamoggallanasutte dissamanaya tathagata parinibbanato paccha Gopakamoggallanena Vassakaramagadhama-maccena ca brahmanehi saddhim ayasmato Anandassa sakacchayapi ayamatto no patibhateva.

“Atthi nu kho bho Ananda, eka bhikkhupi tehi dhammehi sabbena sabbam sabbatha sabbam samannagato, yehi dhammehi samannagato so bhavam Gotamo ahosi araham samma-sambuddho” ti?

“Natthi kho brahmana, eka bhikkhupi tehi dhammehi sabbena sabbam sabbatha sabbam samannagato, yehi dhammehi samannagato so bhagava ahosi araham sammassambuddho. So hi brahmana bhagava anuppannassa maggassa uppadeta/pe/magganuga ca pana etarahi savaka viharanti pacchasamannagati”.

“Atthi nu kho bho Ananda, eka bhikkhupi tena bhota Gotamena thapito: ‘Ayam vo mamaccayena patisaranam bhavissatiti, yam tumhe etarahi patidhaveyyathati?’”

“Natthi kho brahmana, eka bhikkhupi tena bhagavata/pe/yam mayam etarahi patidhaveyyamati”.

“Atthi pana kho bho Ananda, eka bhikkhupi samghena sammato sambahulehi therehi thapito: ‘Ayam no bhagavato accayena patisaranam bhavissati’ti, yam tumhe etarahi patidhaveyyathati?’”

“Natthi kho brahmana, eka bhikkhupi samghena/pe/yam mayam etarahi patidhaveyyamati”.

“Evam appatisarane ca pana bho Ananda, ko hetu samaggiyati?”

“Na kho mayam brahmana, appatisarana sappatisarana mayam brahmana, dhammapatisaranati”.

‘Atthi nu kho bho Ananda, eka bhikkhupi yam tumhe etarahi sakkarotha garukarotha manetha pujetha, sakkatva garukatva upanissaya viharathati”?

“Atthi kho brahmana, eka bhikkhu yam mayam etarahi sak-karma garukaroma manema pujema, sakkatva garukatva upanissaya viharamati” / pe .” Atthi kho brahmana, tena bhagavata janata pas-sata arahata sammāsambuddhena dasa pasadaniya dhamma ak-khā; yasmin no ime dhamma samvijjanti, tam mayam etarahi sakkaroma garukaroma manema pujema, sakkatva garukatva upa-nissaya viharmati”.

Buddhasasanassa ciratthitim bhikkhunam ca phasuviharatam abhikamkhamano hi kho so bhagava parinibbana mamcākagato “akamkhamano Ananda, saṃgho mamaccayena khuddanukhudda-kāni sikkhapadani samuhantu” ti okasam kurumanova samano sakam sasanabharam saṃghassa matthake aropesi.

Dharamenepi kho bhagavati dubbaca dubbinita keci bhikkhavo buddhasasanam uddhammam ubbinayam katva gāhimsūmāpi pakasesūmāpi ca, yatha tam Alagaddupamasutte Arittho bhikkhu, Mahatanhasamkhasutte Sati bhikkhu ca.

Sattahaparinibbute ca pana bhagavati “atikhippam bhagava parinibbuto, atikhippam sugato parinibbuto, atikhippam cakkhum loke antarahitanti” appekacce avitarage bhikkhu bahapaggayha kandante chinna papatam papatamte, vitarage ca kho pana “anicca samkhara tam kutettha labbhati adhivasente disva Subhaddo nama buddhapabbajito tadavoca; “alam avuso ma socittha, ma pari-devittha, sumutta mayam tena mahasamanena, upadduta ca mayam homa: ‘idam vo kappati, idam vo na kappatiti. Idani pana mayam yam icchissama tam karissama, yam na icchissama na tam karis-sama’ ti.

Tam sutva ayasmato Mahakassapassa etadahosi: “Handa mayam dhanimam ca vinayam ca sangayama, pure adhammo dip-pati, dhammo patibaheyyati; pure adhammavadino balavantho honti, dhammavadino dubbala honti, avinayavadino balavanto honti, vinaya-vadino dubbala honti” ti.

Atha kho ayasma Mahakassapo panca arahantasata parivuto Rajagahe sannipatitva ranno Ajatasattussa sahāyena ayasman-tamca Upalim ayasmanam ca Anandam dhuraṃ katva vatthumpi nidanampi puggalampi pannattimpi anupannattimpi apattimpi ana-pattimpi pucchanto ayam dhammo ayam vinayo idam pathama buddhavadānam, ayam Digā Nikayo ayam Majjhima Nika Nikayo ayam Samyutta Nikayo ayam Samyutta Nikayo ayam Anguttara Nikayo ayam Kuddaka Nikayo, imani sut-tadini nāvamgāni, imani caturāsiti dhammakkhandaṃ saṃsaṃsaṃti

iccevamadina nayena sakalam, tepitakam buddhavacanam vavatthapetva sattahi masehi pathama samgitimakasi, yathaidam sasanam addhāniyaṃ assa ciratthitikam.

Vassastaparinibbute ca kho pana bhagavati vesalika vajjiputtaka bhikkhu vesaliyam dasavatthuni dipesum. Seyyāthidam: kappati singilona kappo, kappati dvangula kappo, kappati gamantara kappo, kappati tavasa kappo, kappati anumati kappo, kappoti acinna kappo, kappati amathita kappo, kappati jalogim patum, kappati adasakam nisidanam kappati jataruparajatam ti. Tehi kho Vajjiputtaka bhikkhu rajanam Kalasokam sahayam labhitva buddhasasanam uddhammam ubbinayam akāṃsu. Tena kho pana samayena Yaso Kakandakaputto tam sutva na kho panetam patirupam, yvāham bhagavato sasanassa vipattim sutva appossukko bhavēyaym, haṇḍaḥam adhammavādino niggahetva dhamam dipemiti cintento Vesaliyam Valukarame satta sate tipitakakadhare patta-patisambhūde bhikkhu sannipātesi. Tasmim sannipāte ayasmata Revatena puttho ayasma Sabbakami vinayam vissajjētvā tani dasavatthuni uddhammani ubbinayani apagatasatthusasanāniti vinicchīni. Atha kho pana te mahāthera sabbam sasanamalam visodhetva yathā Mahākassapaṭṭherena saṃgayitam tathā dhammaṃca vinayam ca saṃgayimsu atthahi masehi.

Tato vassasatassa upari attharasame vasse Pataliputtee Dhammasoko nama rāja ahoṣi dhammena samena sakala Jambudīpe rājāṃ kurumano. So kho pana rāja buddhasasane pasiditva mahāntam labhasakkaram pavātesi, yathariva catuddipiko mahamegno pavassī. Attha kho annatitthiya labhasakkaram pathayamāna buddhasasane pbbajitva sakam sakam ditthigatam “Ayaṃ dhammo ayaṃ vinayo” ti paridipenta yathakamam vicarimsu. Te kho pana titthiya pabbajjāṃ alabhamānāpi sayameva mundetva kasāyāni vatthāni acchadetva viharesu vicarimsu. Uposathampi te gacchimsu. Pavaranāmpi saṃghakammampi ganakammampi pavimsu. Na kho bhikkhu tehi saddhim uposatham karimsu. Bhikkhusaṃghena dhammena vinayena satthusasanena niggayhamānāpi kho te titthiya dhammavinayanulomaya patipattiya asanthahanta anekavihitam sasanassa abbudameka maḍameka kanthakanca samutthapesum.

Atha kho rāja Maggaliputtatissattherassa santike samayam uggaṇhitva “na ime bhikkhu, annatitthiya kho paṇime” ti tiretva vinicchinītvā te uppabbajesi. Te sabbepi uppabbajita annatitthiya satthisahassa ahesum.

Tato ca kho pana Moggaliputtatissatthero Asokarame bhikkhu sahasam uccinitva yathā Mahākassapaṭṭhero yathā ca Kakandakaputto Yasathero dhammam ca vinayan ca saṃgayimsu tathā saṃgayitva sasanamalam visodhetva tatiya-saṃgittimakasi. Navahi ca pana masehi ayaṃ saṃgiti parinīthita ahoṣi. Tasmim kho pana sannipāte Moggaliputtatissatthero parappavadam maddamāno Kathavatthuppakaranam abhasi.

Tatiya saṃgitiya samanantaram “Katthanu kho anagate sasanam suppatitthitam bhavēyyati” upaparikkhato kira Moggaliput-

tatisattherassa etadahosi; "Paccantimesu kho janapadesu buddhasasanam suppatitthitam bhavissatiti".

Atha tadatthamussukkamapanno pana so mahathero te te bhikkhu tattha tatthe pesesi ettha tvam buddhasasanam patitthapehi, ettha tvam buddhasasanam patitthapehiti". Majjhantikattheram Kasmiragandhararattham pesesi, Mahadevattheram Mahimsakanandalam pesesi, Rakkhitattheram Vanavasim, Yonakadhammarakkhitattheram Aparantakam, Mahadhammarakkhitattheram, Maharattham, Maharakkhitattheram Yonakalokam, Majjhimattheram Himavantapadesabhagam, Sonkattheram ca Uttarattheram ca Suvannabhummim, attano pana saddhiviharikam ranno Dhammasokassa pittam Mahindattheram Itthiyattherena Uttiyattherena Sambalattherena Bhaddasalattherena ca saddhim Sihaladipam pesesi, tumhe Sihaladipam gantva tattha buddhasasanam patitthapethati.

Mahindattheropi sammāsambuddhassa parinibbana dvinmam vassasatanam upari chattimasatime vasse ranno Devanampiyatisassa rajja samaye saddhim Itthiyadihi theravarehi Sihaladipam agamma buddhasasanam patitthapesi, yatha tam buddhassa bhagavato sasanam Jambudipe vinatthamapi iha addhaniyam assa ciratthitikam, yatha ca Sihala jivitapariccagenapi tam surakkhitam rakkhimsupi rakkhantipi rakkhissantipi, ayam kho pana amhakameva bharo, amhakameva karaniyam: yadidam buddhasasanassarakkhavarānaguttiti. Mahamahindattherassa kho bhagini Samghamittattheri Sihaladipamagamma bhikkhuni sasanampi iha patitthapesi. Mahamahinattherassa saddhivihariko Mahaarittatthero Mahindatthera pamukhehi atthasatthimahatherehi parivuto Thuparamē atthasatthibhikkhusahassamajjhe vinayam pakasetva Sihaladipe buddhasasanam otinmamulam akasi.

Tassa buddhassa bhagavato dathadhatuceva dakkhinakkhakadhatu ca padalāncanam ceva dakkhinabodhisakha ca Sihaladipe yeva vattante, yatha tam sasanam iha iddham ceva hoti phitam ca, bahu-jannam ceva vittharikam ca, addhaniyam ceva ciratthitikam ca.

Jambudipe ceva Sihaladipe ca acariyantevasi paramparaya mukhaparampara vasena anitam tepitakam buddhavacanam satthakatham Sihaladipe eva Matulajanapade Alokānavihare sannipatita mahathera sangyitva ranno Vattagamini Abhayassa samaye sabba pathamam potthakesu likhapesum yatha tam buddhassa bhagavato sasanam iddhamceva ahoṣi phitam ca bahu-jannanceva vittharikam ca addhaniyanceva ciratthitikam ca.

Jambuddipikopi kho samāno Buddhaghosamahatherapado ranno Sirinivasassa rajjasamaye Sihaladipamagamma vasina Mahamahinda Sihaladipam abhata dipavasinamatthaya Sihalabhasaya thapita tipitakaatthakathā Mahaviharadhiwasinam Sihalattheranam samayam avilomento palibhasamaropesi, yatha tam buddhassa bhagavato sasanam iddham cevassa phitam ca, bahu-jannancevassa vittharikam ca, addhaniyam cevassa ciratthitikam ca.

Yasmim yasmim hi kho samaye micchaditthika pararajano va nikayantaragahino bhikkhu va buddhasasanassa abbudam ca malam ca kanthakam ca uppadetum vipattim ca apadesum, tasmim eva kho pana samaye, tam samanantaram Sihala rajano ca rajamahamattadayo pabhuvara ca therianikayika Mahaviharavasino sihala bhikkhu ca sangamma sannipatitva dhamma sangaham dhamma-samgitim kurumana sasanam visodhesumeva, yatha tam buddhassa bhagavato sasanam iddham cevassa phitam ca, bahujaññancevassa vittharikam, addhaniyam cevassa ciratthitikam ca.

Dissanteva hi kho panetarahi tipitakaganthesu tattha tattha atthapetani na puna padaneva atha ca pana vakyaniti bahuni, pageva kho pana byanjanapetani.

Imameva kho hetum imam paccayam paticca Sihladipavasino nikayattayasamaveta mahanayakanunayakattherapamukha patibala bhikkhu buddhassa bhagavato parinibbana catusatadhikanam dvinnam vassasahassanamupari tinautime vasse, uropiya voharato pana nava satadhikassa yassasahassassa upari pannasatime samvacchare ogottamasassa pancadasame dine amhakam Vijjalankaraparivena bhumiya sangamma sannipititva dhammasamgayanamarahimsu.

Sa kho pana dhammasamgiti chamasadhikehi tihi vassehi pathamavatthamatikkamittha. Yassa manuvakyaamanupadamanvakkharam sakalamevahi tepitakam buddhavacanam samgayamana samana sadesiyanu ceva videsiyani ca nutanani ceva puratanani ca potthakani annamannam samsamanta samekkhanta pathasamgahamakarimsu; pathavesamam ca vinicchimsu.

Idani pana sa dutiyavatthayam vattate; yassam ca kho pana pathena patham vakyena vakyam vyanjanena vyanjanam atthena attham samsamantipi samgayantipi sakacchamsamapajjantipi.

Tadanantaram ca kho pana assa vassassavasane manne tassa samgitiya tatiya vatthayarambho hessati; ya ca pana pancasatika samgititapi ca pancasatikasajjhayanantipi ca samkham gacchati.

Evamevam na kho atita meva addhanam naca kho paccuppannameva addhanam atha ca kho anagatampi addhanam yatha yatha buddhasasanam iddham ceva hessati phitam ca bahujaññan ceva hessati vittharikam ca. Addhaniyam ceva hessati ciratthitikam ca, tatha tatha sabbe eva dipadipantaravasihi arabhitabbam, vayamitabbam, buddhasasane yummjitabbam, marasena dhunitabba ca; tadassa bahujanahitaya bahujañña sukhaya lekanukampaya bahuno janassa atthaya hitaya sukhaya devamanussananti ca.

Sabbe satta sabbepi
pana sabbe bhutapi
sabbe sotthim pappontu
sabbe Nibbanam yantu.

TWO NINETEENTH CENTURY LETTERS IN PALI

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Towards the end of 1954 an unknown friend, Brahmacari Mon Bo Kay by name, wrote to me from Rassein, a port in the south-west coast of Burma, that he had in his possession a collection of palm-leaf manuscripts which he inherited from his grandfather and which contained two *Sandesakathas* (pieces of message). My friend was kind enough to offer me the copies. The information supplied by him about the manuscripts was, however, incomplete and I asked for further details. I am sorry to say that in spite of repeated reminders my friend remained silent for reasons best known to him. Placed as I am, I have got no other alternative but to remain content with the copies of the manuscripts only. On further enquiry I found these two *sandesakathas* incorporated in *Tipetakavinucchaya Kyam*, vol. ii, pp. 498-502, by Rev. Main Khaing Sayadaw and (2) *Pali Saga*:—*thin Saye-thin* pp. 432-45, by Rev. Ledi Pandita U. Maung Gyi. The former contains a translation in Burmese of the second letter, while the latter gives the translation of both the texts, of course in Burmese. Besides, there is something like a colophon in both these works, according to which the first letter was addressed to Pukham Sasanapaing, i.e., the Head of the Church at Pukham, a place in Upper Burma, by Siri Sumangala Nayakathera of Ceylon. As to the second letter, it may be mentioned that it was the reply to the above and was composed by the Sayadaw of Maing Khaing on behalf of the Head of the Church at Pukham.

Before proceeding with observation on the texts, I would like to give a summary of their contents:

First Letter.

The Venerable Siri Sumangala Nayakathera, the Chief of the Sudassanarama monastery at Panasathala, a village near Galu (modern Galle) in Ceylon, took the opportunity of conveying his respect to the Buddhist monks of different categories residing at Mandalay, the crown of the Aparanta country, i.e., Upper Burma. The Nayakathera went further to say that he and his followers belonged to the Amarapura School of Buddhism which was founded by the eminent Burmese Samgharaja Nanabhivamsa who had the appellation of *Chammasenapati mahadhammarajadhirajagursa*. The Venerable Sumangala further admitted that though the Amarapura School of Ceylon continued to maintain its existence so far, of late it had fallen into bad days and appeared to be weak. In his letter he spoke of the noble qualities of the Venerable Siri Saddhammarama, the Chief of the Amarapura establishment at Mahatittha (modern Matara), who was sent to Burma with the letter. This *thera*, he added, had taken the risk of the dangers that might befall him while journeying along the sea in order to seek for advice from the Church in Burma. Sumangala further requested the Burmese Samgha to grant all its favours on and extend all the facilities to Saddhammarama during the latter's stay in that country and put

him in the custodianship of the Burmese Samgha. The letter was dated on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Magha (January-February) in the *Sasana* year 2442 (1898-99 A.D.).

Second Letter.

This letter, a reply to the former, was written by the Sayadaw of Maing Khaing at the behest of and on behalf of his teacher Reverend Nandaabhinaya, the head of the Samgha at Pukham, who had the appellations of *Sirisadhammadihipati-pavara-mahadhammarajadhirajaguru* and *Neyyaahammabhimuncarannanakottisridhaja-dhammasenapati*. Reverend Nanda was a resident of the Maha-atulavijaya monastery lying to the north of the Mahaloka Marajina monastery which was adorned with 729 stone slabs containing the Three Pitakas engraved at the end of the Fifth Buddhist Council by the order of King Mindon. The *thera* acknowledged herewith the receipt of the two letters, one from Siri Sumangala Nayakathera and the other (which has not yet been traced) from Siri Saddhammasivakathera, the chief of Jayasekhararama, an Amarapura organisation near the port town of Colombo. He also acknowledged the gifts of two shrines, an ivory casket containing tooth relics, a towel and a full set of robes sent by the latter, all of which reached him on the ninth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Visakha (April-May) in the year 2443 (A.D. 1899-1900). In his reply to the Nayakathera the Sayadaw said that neither Saddhammarama nor his pupil, who accompanied him, could reach Mandalay as, while on the way, both of them died of small pox in Rangoon. Their death, he added further, was a rude shock to the Samgha as well as to the laity at Mandalay, besides the ruling princes of the Shan states (of Burma). Through his letter the *thera* assured all help and service for the development and well-being of the Amarapura School in Ceylon.

From the above precis it is evident that the two letters are mutually connected. Reverend Sumangala's letter contains an appeal to the Buddhist Church at Pukham. Now the question arises what sort of help did the Sinhalese Samgha ask for and why? To get an answer one must look at the condition of Buddhism that prevailed in Ceylon and Burma during the last few centuries, particularly the nineteenth century.

As regards Ceylon, it is well-known that from the sixteenth century onwards the native kings of Ceylon started quarrelling amongst themselves for political supremacy. As a result, for a long time there was no one ruler ruling over the whole of the island. At this juncture foreign traders like the Arabs, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English came one after another to exploit her rich resources. The native kings, burnt as they were with mutual jealousy, instead of opposing the foreigners welcomed them to gain advantage over their political rivals. The merchants, however, did not remain content with their business transactions alone. Gradually they went on introducing their religious faiths amongst the people of the land, as a result of which Islam and Christianity, particularly the latter, gained a strong foothold all over the country excepting the Kandyan region. Of the merchants the last to come

were the English. Proverbially shrewd as they were, the English traders at first tried to gain the confidence of the people by keeping themselves engaged with social and cultural activities alone. But as time rolled by, they showed themselves in their true colour. They had already set up convents and brought in missionaries and while spreading modern education amongst the people they started infusing Christian ideas into them. But once they consolidated their political influence over the country, they came out with their sinister motive of imposing their own faith upon the people by duping them with material advantages. The internal condition of the Samgha too was far from being encouraging. Monks belonging to different sects started quarrelling amongst themselves. The English took full advantage of this condition and went on widening the breach in the Samgha by encouraging mutual jealousy amongst the monks. But the strides they took were too hasty and very soon came the inevitable. Discontent grew among the people and there was vigorous movement by eminent monks for the reformation of the Order and in open controversies through press and public platform the Christian missionaries started becoming disgraced. This timely intervention by some distinguished *theras* saved the island from wholesale conversion to Christianity.

A few words about the condition prevailing in the Samgha during the time will possibly not be out of place here. The rivalry existing amongst the native kings, coupled with the steps taken by the foreigners, had disturbed the very life in the monasteries and the Samgha deteriorated. Monks started neglecting the spiritual side of the life and engaged themselves with more of temporal affairs. At this juncture, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Sinhalese Samgha adopted certain disciplinary measures which were not in conformity with the orthodox teachings of Buddhism. This naturally irritated some puritan monks who did not like such an interference with their code of conduct and sought the guidance and help from the Samgha of the outside world. In their objective they were successful and during the reign of Kittisiri Rajasiha (A.D. 1748-78) obtained twenty monks from Siam and restored the ecclesiastical hierarchy which was considered to be lost. These monks, who adopted themselves to the new condition, formed a group of their own and ultimately came to be known as the Siyamasamgha, the Siamese School.

Things went on well for sometime. But soon the king, presumably approved and authorised by the Samgha, issued a decree that none other than the highest class of people would receive the *upasampada* ordination. This naturally brought indignation and in 1802, Ambagahapitiya Nanavimalalissa, a novice from the caste of Salagama, defied the order and with five others set sail on the sea and went to Amarapura, the then chief ecclesiastical centre of Burma, to receive the *upasampada* ordination there. They were cordially received by the Burmese king Bodawpaya (1782-1819) and were ceremoniously presented to the Samgharaja Nanabhivamsa, reputed for his scholarship in Vinaya, who conferred ordination on them. Spending two years in Burma they returned home with a full chapter of Burmese monks and started ordaining people. In course of time they established a new school of Buddhism in Ceylon which till now

is known as the Amarapura Samgha. Their aim was to hold strictly to the pristine purity of the religion and to allow ordination to all castes, high or low.

Now, in Burma we see a different picture. The rulers were all zealous Buddhists and great patrons of the cause of Buddhism and the Samgha. Bodawapaya was a great builder who caused scores of pagodas to be built all over his kingdom. We are told that he kept keen watch over the affairs of the Samgha and it is said that he decreed that no monk could be the head of a monastery unless by virtue of his personal conduct and character, learning and wisdom, he was fit to adorn the post. His successors Bagyidaw (1819-37), Tharawaddy (1837-46) and Pagan (1846-52) were keen enthusiasts who too contributed immensely for the welfare of the Samgha. During the reign of Tharawaddy another Sinhalese mission visited Amarapura under the leadership of Thera Pannatissa, while, during the time of his successors, great enthusiasm was noticed amongst the members of the Samgha in the literary field. But the real glorious period of the Burmese Buddhist ecclesiastical life marked by the reign of the great king Mindon, the son and successor of King Pagan. With him, we enter into an era of peace and progress for the religion. The period of his rule was indeed a golden age for the Samgha which enjoyed the sincere and vigorous patronage of the king. He infused new vigour into the Order by taking interest in all its affairs. Religious studies were pursued by the monks with vigour and zeal, and some of the best pieces of Burmese Buddhist tracts were composed during this period. Enthusiasm even penetrated into the common people who started vying with one another in matters of the observance of the precepts of the Master. It was Mindon's encouragement and leadership which gave a new lease of life to Burmese Buddhism which had not been very much affected by the impact of Christianity imported into this country by her British rulers. It was under his patronage that the Fifth Buddhist Council was held at Mandalay, the last centre of Burmese monarchy, and the text adopted therein had been inscribed on 729 stone slabs. It is again this text which has formed the basis of the revision work of the Three Pitakas just finished under the auspices of the Sixth Buddhist Council still in session in Rangoon.

The observation made above suggests that in the nineteenth century the condition of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon was totally different. In Ceylon a dark cloud hung over the Samgha, whereas in Burma it shone in all glory. In Burma the Samgha enjoyed all prestige and honour, and being supported both by the laity and the ruling power, the monks found ample time and opportunity to absorb themselves in religious and spiritual pursuits and also to engage themselves with scholarly and cultural activities. As a result in a short period a large number of Buddhistic works came out of the pens of the Burmese monks, an act which inspired also the Burmese Buddhist laity, the effect of which has saved Burma from falling a victim to Christianity.

But in the case of Ceylon the story is totally different. The mutual jealousy amongst the Buddhist sects, inspired by the dark

designs of the British rulers, actually stood in the way of progress of the Sinhalese Samgha. That which suffered the most seems to have been the Vinaya, the pride of the ancient Ceylonese Church, for recouping which loss time and again Ceylon had to look beyond the Bay to Burma which was then the ideal place for its culture and pursuit. The letters with which we are concerned seem to suggest that the reason for which Siri Sumangala sent his pupil to Burma was to appraise the Burmese Church of the affairs of the Amarapura organisation in the country.

The two records under investigation, it must be admitted, do not give us much information. But there is every possibility that such records would be found in large numbers in Burma and Ceylon and presumably also in Siam. If these records could be placed together and studied carefully, it is just likely that much welcome light would be thrown on the rather hazy picture of the Theravada form of Buddhism of the last two centuries.

THE CAKKAVATTI AND HIS RGVEDIC PROTOTYPE

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Of the legendary and mythological figures appearing in Buddhist literature none is perhaps more picturesque or of greater value to the understanding of the early Buddhist view of social ethics and human progress than the celebrated character of the Cakkavatti or Universal Monarch. In the Pali canon (e.g., Lakkhana Suttanta of the Digha Nikaya) it is claimed that if Prince Siddhartha had not become a Perfect Buddha he would have been a Cakkavatti. Both the Buddha and the Cakkavatti are 'supermen' (*mahapurusas*) and possess the thirty two marks of excellence in their person. The one represents the highest point reached by humanity in spiritual evolution and the other the acme of worldly greatness and temporal power.

Several attempts have been made by western scholars to explain the origin of this important concept. But no agreement is found either as to the nature of the Cakkavatti's character or with regard to the symbolism of the *cakka* which is the most characteristic of his seven precious possessions or *satta-ratana*. In fact, scholars have shown marked diversity of opinion even as to the exact meaning of the term 'cakka-vatti' (Skr. *cakra-vartin*).

In the Buddhist works, particularly in the early Pali Nikayas and the Lalitavistara, the legend of the Cakkavatti and the appearance and career of the *cakka-ratana* are described in great detail. It is, however, in the Digha Nikaya (Lakkhana, Cakkavattisihanada and Mahasudassana Suttantas) that we find the earliest and the most characteristic description of the Cakkavatti. The earliest reference to the Cakravartin in Sanskrit literature is perhaps found in the Maitrayana Upanisad (i. 4), but this is a late work certainly posterior to the period of the Digha Nikaya compilation. Perhaps contemporaneous with the above are the allusions to Cakravartin in the two Great Epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, but in view of the uncertainty of the actual dates of the various portions of the epics no definite conclusion can be arrived as to the relative priority of these various sources. None of the Sanskrit sources, however, shows anything like the fully developed Cakkavatti concept as we find in the early Pali texts.

Wilson took the term *cakravarti* to mean 'he who abides in (*vartate*), or rules over, an extensive territory called a *cakra*. According to Kern *vartin* here means *vartayati*, 'who rules'. Jacobi agrees with Wilson in the sense of *vartin* but points out that the meaning given to *cakra* by Wilson does not occur in the ancient Sanskrit literature, though it is found in the lexicons. He would take *cakra* in its original sense of 'circle' and equate it with the political term *mandala* as found in Manu (vii. 156 ff.) and Kamandaki (viii. 20 ff.). Another etymology was proposed by Senart: Cakravartin is 'one owns a *cakravala*', deriving the latter from '*cakravarta*', a word not found either in Sanskrit or in the Prakrits,

to which the suffix—*in* (possessive) has been added. At the end of his work, however, Senart gave up this interpretation and accepted the idea of Lassen that Cakravartin is 'the Sun God who sets his adorable wheel in motion across the space'. Weber endorsed this opinion in a review of Senart's work. Prof. Rhys Davids too supported it translating the term 'a king of the rolling wheel', understanding by 'wheel' the 'disk of the sun' as hymned in Vedic poetry, although earlier he had wavered between this idea and that of "setting in motion onwards of the royal chariot wheel of...supreme dominion". Mrs. Rhys Davids, on the other hand, refuses to go the whole hog with the solar theorists. She says, "We must by no means give all the credit to the sun as suggesting a wheel". She opines that the 'cakka' here implies "the progressive discs, rolling on as well as round, symbols of the procession of cosmic forces, or the advance of an aggressive conqueror". By 'cosmic forces' presumably, she refers to the cyclic movements of nature such as those of the year, seasons and months. and, by 'advance of an aggressive conqueror' this resourceful writer obviously alludes to the war-chariot of a victorious monarch in its militaristic progress. Another interesting sidelight on the problem is provided by a remark of Jacobi that "the first part of the compound word *cakravartin* being popularly referred to the discus of Visnu, the symbol of the sun, the Cakravartin assumed in popular imagination some traits which properly belong to the divine wielder of the *cakra*". Thus the term *cakra* has been understood in several ways by these writers and regarded as referring to a political 'circle' or *mandala*, a cosmological 'sphere' (*cakravala*), the solar disk, cosmic cycle, the chariot-wheel, or the discus of Visnu.

An attempt is here made only to determine the Vedic antecedents, if any, of the symbolism involved in the Cakravartin concept. Thus, out of the 'interpretations' cited above, only those that are relevant for a historical treatment, in other words, only those hypothesis that deserve attention on account of the pre-Buddhistic character of the evidence adduced, will be subjected to consideration. For instance, the notion that *cakra* here may mean the political *mandala* as referred to by Manu and others, is obviously post-Buddhistic and is unlikely to have been at the bottom of the symbolism of the 'wheel' relevant to the concept of the Universal Monarch. It can be seen from the interpretations cited above that the sense of the compound *cakravartin* varies with the particular significance attached to the grammatical form—*vartin*. There is no question about the root, *vrt*, although its meaning may be taken as either 'to proceed', 'to exist', 'to abide', or, 'to turn', 'to rotate', 'to roll'. Jacobi hesitated to follow Kern as he felt that "in all other compounds—*vartin* has the force of *vartate*, not of *vartayati*, so that Wilson's etymology seems preferable." Thus, the syntactical value of the form *vartin* appears to be the main crux of the morphological problem and, therefore, deserves some consideration before we proceed. As for the formation, *vartin* can be regarded either as *vrt* with primary suffix—*in* (agent) or as noun *varta* with secondary suffix—*in* (possessive). Macdonell has observed that "the very frequent secondary suffix—*in* seems sometimes to have the value of a primary suffix, exclusively, however, at the end of compounds". But how far it had gained a primary value in the

early language is not clear, for most of the words in—*in* occurring in the Rgveda and Atharvaveda are explainable as possessives. Yet Whitney states that “in many the other (agent) value is possible”¹⁵. In the later language, however, both uses are found extensively. It must be admitted that a nominal stem *varta* does not occur in the early language at all and is citable only from the lexicons.¹⁶ Thus one is left with the probability that in—*vartin* (of *cakra-vartin*) the first element is the guna form of *vrt*, as in *todin*, cited from Vedic by Macdonell (ib.), with the primary agent suffix—*in*. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that it originally meant ‘one who turns or rolls’ (either transitively or intransitively). It is true that in the Rgveda *vrt* generally means the act of ‘turning or rolling (itself)’ in an intransitive sense, and the transitive idea of ‘turning (something)’ is conveyed only by *vartaya*, the causative form. Yet, *vartana* occurs in both intransitive and transitive senses (of despatching, turning, twisting) according to the Nirukta and Panini, and *vartin* itself occurs in the Epic language in the sense of ‘performing, exercising’. Hence it appears quite legitimate to translate Cakravartin (or Pali Cakkavatti) as ‘turner of the *cakra*’ or ‘wielder of the *cakra*’ and at least for the sense of the Pali term there is no need to accept Jacobi’s reservation as to whether *vartati* can mean *vartayati*. In fact, Pali has another similar compound with *vatti* in *vasa-vatti* which has clearly the *causative* (transitive) sense of ‘wielder of power (*vasa*)’ at several places in the early Nikayas.

In the classical passage in the Maha-Sudassana-Suttanta where the *cakka* appears to the king it is thus described: “the treasure of the *cakka*, with its thousand spokes, with its felly and its nave, and all its parts complete”. There is no doubt that in this symbolism the picture of the *chariot-wheel* is the most prominent factor. After the necessary spiritual and ritualistic preliminaries, when the king addresses the Wheel: “May Your Honour, Precious Wheel, roll, on, may Your Honour conquer (all)”, it rolls on (*paravattati*) to the East and the king with his four-fold army follows it. The rival kings in the East submit to his authority, and so on the kings of the South, West and North, accept his hegemony.

Now, it is important to observe, in the first place, that the *agency* of the Wheel’s movement towards conquest is attributed to the king; it is the king who causes or initiates the *rolling on* of the wheel! This, therefore, should be the meaning of the relevant epithet *cakka-vatti* given to such a king; that is to say, he is ‘one who sets the wheel rolling’. Thus at least from the Buddhist point of view it is clear that the term—*vartin* is to be regarded as an *agent* form made from the verb *vrt* in its causative implication (*cakkam vatteti*).

Once this interpretation of the compound *cakra-vartin* is accepted, it becomes necessary to settle the problem regarding the ‘Wheel’ which such a sovereign is held to ‘set rolling’. It is evident from the Pali texts cited above that the Wheel should symbolize in its original state the militaristic *power* of a conquering hero. Has such a conception of a *cakra* wielded by a conquering hero any place in the pre-Buddhist Vedic culture? The solution of this his-

torical problem is bound to throw some light on the genesis of at least one aspect of the Cakravartin legend.

It is well known that the Rgveda possesses a god the very essence of whose character is heroism of a warring and conquering type. Indra is called 'the conqueror of men' (*vr-sah*, viii. 16. 1), 'conqueror of peoples' (*carsani-sah*, i. 119.10, etc.), 'all-conquering' (*visvasah*, iii. 47.5, etc.), and, particularly, 'the Hero, Indra, all-conquering, mightiest lord of all the tribes' (vi. 44.4). It is with reference to his characteristic heroic might as universal conqueror that Indra is described in the Aitreya Brahmana (viii. xiv) as having "won all victories to be won.....having attained the overlordship, the paramount rule, the self-rule, the sovereignty, the supreme authority, the kingship, the great kingship, the suzerainty of this world....." One cannot fail to note the striking similarity of these achievements of Indra to the career of the Cakravartin as found mainly in the Buddhist works.

Now, a fact of singular importance for the problem at hand is that the Rgveda also refers to Indra in a number of passages as the wielder of a *cakra*, particularly, against his foes. For instance at ii. 11. 20 the poet glorifying Indra's exploit against Vala says: "Indra let roll (on), like Surya, his wheel, and with the Angirases (as associates) rent Vala" (*avartayat, suryo na, cakram; bhinad valam Indro Angirasvan*). It is of interest, in view of the above discussion of the grammar of—*vartin*, to note that here the *causative* verb *avartayat* is used.

In another old passage (viii. 85 = 96.9) Indra is implored to "scatter the weaponless Asuras, the godless ones, with the wheel" (*an ayudhaso asura adevas cakrena tam apa vapa rjisin*). Whatever the term 'wheel' may mean here it is the symbol or the instrument of Indra's militaristic might. Not only Indra but also the Maruts who are his associates are said to use the 'wheel' in this manner "with your glowing wheel, O Rudras, hurl at (or, overthrow) him (i.e. the enemy)..." (*vartayata tapusa cakriya abhi tam... rudrah...ii.34.9*). On this particular use of *vartaya*-with the instrumental (of the weapon) one may compare Rgveda vii. 104.5. (*Indrasoma vartayatam divasparyagni-taptebhir yuvam asmahan-mabhih*). It may also be observed that in several places the Rgveda uses the feminine noun *cakri* as equivalent of *cakra*. At another place this 'wheel' of attack used by Indra is described as 'chariot-wheel'-a fact highly significant when it is remembered that the Wheel of the Cakkavatti is similarly qualified as 'having a thousand spokes, with felly and nave complete'. At Rv.i. 53.9 it is said that "with the unassailable chariot-wheel, O Indra, thou far-famed, hast overthrown the (warriors of Susravas)" (*sastim sahasra navatim nava srutah ni cakrena rathya duspada avrnak*). Why the chariot-wheel symbolizes Indra's prowess in war is easily understood when it is remembered that the epithet 'car-fighter' (*rathestha*) is exclusively used for Indra in the Rgveda. In view of this fact it is of the utmost importance to note that in a very early text of the Pali canon, viz. the Suttanipata (552), the cakkavatti has the parallel epithet *rathesabho* 'the lord of chariots'. Indra does indeed reflect the career of the tribal warrior-hero who introduced the swift battle-chariot in the antiquity of Aryan culture

and revolutionized the art of warfare among the Aryan tribes. A reference that is of much significance for the 'wheel' of the Cakravartin occurs at Rv. x.93.9 where it is said that "...Indra directs the *wheel* over²⁶ those nations like the reins" (*indro...ni esam carsa-ninam cakram rasmim na yoyuve*) Geldner sees in this context a probable allusion to a "wheel of sovereignty (Herrschaft)".

Further evidence of a similar nature can be cited from the Rgveda to show that Indra helps the wheel to roll forward. At Rv.viii. 52 (-- 63). 8 it is given as the most notable of Indra's heroic deeds that he "helped forth (promoted) the rolling of the wheel" (*pravas cakrasya vartanim*). It is significant that in a parallel passage at Rv. iv. 30.6 it is said that "Indra helped forth the sun", that is to say, "he promoted the course, or rolling on, of the sun" (*suryam pravah...*). One need not be surprised that the 'chariot-wheel' that Indra speeds on its way should have its counterpart in the nature-mythology which is the other aspect of hero Indra's character. Obviously the sun is regarded as a 'wheel' for its shape. In other words the symbol of the circular wheel on earth is projected on to the natural phenomenon of the sun. Thus in Rv. iv. 17.14 we find the claim made for Indra that "he urged the wheel of Surya" (*ayam cakram isanat suryasya*; cp.v. 31.11). These notices, however, do not support the 'solar' interpretation of the Cakravartin's 'wheel' in the form it has generally been proposed, for apart from Indra's promoting the course of the sun, he is, as earthly hero, the wielder or turner of a wheel of power and might probably, of *sovereignty* as Geldner suggests. The solar aspect of the wheel symbol seems to be a secondary development, a projection, so to say, of a figure of speech from the earthly to the celestial sphere.

In view of the above considerations we may come to the conclusion that in the character of Vedic Indra we have a distinct antecedent of at least one aspect of the Cakkavatti's personality viz, his aggressive and conquering nature as an imperial monarch. It is true that the Rgvedic Indra is a blustering, pugnacious adventurer with morals of a suspicious character, and, the Cakkavatti of the Buddhists is a mild and highly religious person who is described as a righteous and moral ruler (*dhammiko dhammaraja*). But, as Mrs Rhys Davids has pertinently observed, the Cakkavatti himself reflects a career of military aggression however righteous the end of his conquests might be. It may be mentioned here that Indra himself appears in Buddhism as *sakko devanamindo*,²⁷ divested of all his crude and primitive traits, transformed into a gentle and amiable devotee of the Buddha. Moreover, the importance of the *wheel* in the Cakkavatti's career is sufficiently exemplified in the *cakra* which Indra wields against his foes in the Rgveda, and whatever be the basic significance of it, the marked similarity to the *cakka-ratana* cannot be ignored. But it must be mentioned that a full explanation of the symbolism of the *cakka* will be multiple and complex. It is necessary to emphasize that even in the parallelism suggested in this paper it has not been possible to refer to several other aspects of Indra's *cakra*—such as its use as a whirling weapon or discus—which need to be gone into fully before a final judgement is passed.

PANCASKANDHA PRAKARANA OF VASUBANDHU

In its Tibetan and Chinese versions

by

PANDIT SHANTI BHIKSHU SASTRI

Viswabharati

The Pancaskandha-prakarana of Vasubandhu has come down to us only in Tibetan and Chinese versions. A Sanskrit re-construction of the work was long ago proposed by Dr. V. V. Gokhale of Poona in his article "*The Pancaskandha-prakarana by Vasubandhu and its commentary by Sthiramati*" published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Part 3, Pp. 276-286, but it was not done. I have re-constructed the work into Sanskrit and doing so I have noted main variations between Tibetan and Chinese versions to be presented in three groups:—

(1) Tibetan text seems very literal but Chinese appears interpretative e.g., Tib. reads *madhurah*, *amlah lavanah* etc. but Ch. reads *modhuro rasah*, *amlo rasah*, *lavano rasah* etc.

(2) The Tibetan text seems to have one or two interpolations, but the Chinese appears free from them, e.g., after defining *Vedana* Tib. adds its three types but Ch. does not do so.

(3) The Chinese text appears correct but the Tibetan text has one or two mistakes, e.g., Tib. reads *pramada* among *kusala-dharmas* and *apramada* among *akusala-dharmas* wrongly but Ch. reads *pramada akusalas* and *apramada* in *kusalas* correctly.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

The Samtinaha-cariu in Apabhramsa

by

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The Ms.¹ of the *Samtinaha-cariu* (SC)² in Apabhramsa,³ some important aspects of which are discussed in this paper, belongs to Sri Diga. Jaina Sarasvati Bhandara, Dharmapura, La. Hara-sukharaya Sukanacamdaji, No. 1 (ka), Sri Nayamandiraji, Delhi. It has 153 folios of thick country paper, written on both the sides, the first, however, being written on one side only. The first 30 to 35 folios are more whitish but the last ones have grown more greyish. It is repaired here and there: especially the edges of the last folio are carefully mended. Each folio measures 11.75 by 5.6 inches; each page has some 11 lines; and each line contains 30 to 42 letters. Writing is more compact as we go closer to the end of the Ms. It has broad margins and white squarish blank spots in the centre. It is written throughout in black ink; but the colophons, sometimes numbers etc. are in red ink. The Devanagari characters in which it is written are broad and clear. Here and there, on certain pages (see for instance 57, 71, 86 etc.) some different handwriting is seen. The Ms. is as old as Samvat 1764 (57 = 1707 A.D.), if not older, but the opening pages give somewhat more modern appearance.

(2) As mentioned at the close of the Namavali (Appendix d), this work was completed at sunrise on the 5th day of the first fortnight of Kartika 1587 Vikrama Samvat (-57 = 1530 A.D.). The first copy of it was prepared carefully by a Brahmana Vinha (Skt. Visnu), the son of Udha. The copy that is prepared in Samvat 1588, Phalguna Vadi 5, is written by one Visnudasu who in the absence of any additional evidence besides the similarity in name, cannot be definitely identified with Vinha, the first copyist. The verse *yadrsam* etc. clearly indicates that Visnudasu was copying from another Ms., though his copy is prepared just 16 months after the composition of the work.

(3) The problem of the authorship of SC is a bit complicated one; and the evidence available from this single Ms. needs careful analysis and cautious explanation.

(i) The colophons at the end of various cantos (those at the close of cantos VII & VIII and IX & X showing a slightly

¹ I am very thankful to Pp. Paramananda Jain for his kindness in securing this Ms for my study.

² For Variars works on the life Santinatha, see H.D. Velankar: *Jin-ratnakosa* (Poona 1944) Vol. I, Pp. 378-81.

³ For earlier observations on this work see Paramananda Sastri, *Anekanta* Vol. V, pp. 253-6; Hiralal Jain: *Nagari Pracariani Patrika*, Vol. 50. Nos. 1-2, p. 119 etc.

different format) uniformly mention that Mahimdu (Skt. Mahicandra, the son of Illaraja, composed this work (Appendix a). It is obviously out of modesty that he qualifies himself as *annanamai*. Then the Ghatta verses (Appendix c) at the close of cantos I, IV and VII mention Illa- or Ila-raya-suya or Namdu; the name that is hinted by pun is obviously Mahidu and not Mahimdu. The name of his father is mentioned but not of his teacher: so it is quite reasonable to believe that Mahimdu was a layman and not a monk.

(ii) One of the colophons reads the name Mahadu (at the end of canto VII), though qualified by the expression Illarajasuya. The Ghatta verses (App. c) at the close of Samdhis VIII-XII mention Mahada or Mahadu. Those at the close of I, II, III, V and VI mention Mahidu often with a pun; and one feels at least in some cases the reading could have been Mahadu. The reference to Illaraja in these verses is rather ticklish, but if we read Simgu in its place, *Hingu-suena racijjai* at I, *Hingu-suya-kahio* at IV and *Hingu-namdu niya-taya-gihi* at VII, the metre is correctly restored. Thus the Ghatta verses are in more favour of the authorship of Mahadu or Mahada. Peeping into the body of the work, it is plainly mentioned at XIII.xv (Appendix b) that Mahadu composed this work following what was narrated by Puspadanta. It was composed by him not out of any worldly or secular consideration but out of devotion to Jina and his religion. Out of affection for Sadharana who requested him in this context, this work came to be composed by him quickly in Paddhadiya metre. About Mahadu we get the following details (App. b). He belonged to the Samghadhipa family. His father's name is Hingu. His mother's name is not clearly available: the expression *Eradevi-suo*, in the Ghatta verse at IX, cannot be constructed with Mahadena; and the phrase *Kolhi-devi-paya-bhattaena* at Liv. 24 may mean that he was a devotee of the tutelary or family deity Kusmand (in) idevi. His elder brother is Bambhajjuna. His younger brother's name is Doda⁴ who is quite reputed in the family. Doda had two wives. The first wife Candanahi had two sons; the first son Puhaimalla had a wife in Mimahi who gave birth to Kirtisimha of fair complexion; the second son Tayaloyacamda had a wife in Vinahi who gave birth to Vinayacamda. His second wife Adhahi gave birth to Vichithamalla. Doda was quite prosperous (Liv) and was looking after the affairs of the family. Mahadu, therefore, had not much to worry, and he was a man of literary abilities. That is why Sadharana, a friend of Doda, requested Mahadu who was already suffering from the pangs of poetry (Liv. 1) to extract and expand in simple language the life of Santinatha found in the Mahapurana of Puspadanta. Sadharana assured Mahadu that he would publish (*paya-desami*) his composition. Mahadu undertook it, but he died after finishing seven Samdhis and a half (*risi-dala-samdhi-kiena*) as mentioned at XIII.xvi.

(iii) The sad demise of Mahadu caused anxiety to Sadharana how this Katha would be completed. He approached Bambhajjuna (who had already acquired some celebrity for composing

⁴ The expression *maha-bhavva-lahu-bhayorena anumoie* has possibly Doda in view (colophon of Saindhi VII).

poetry), a pupil of Padmanandi who was a successor or of Hemacandra of the Puskaragana Mathuragaccha and Kasthasamgha, and requested him to complete the work left incomplete on account of the death of Mahadu. Sadharana suggested to him the topics *jina-nikkhavanu vi cari vi nioya* to be covered in the rest of the work. Bambhajjuna completed the work within a short time to fulfil the request and to the satisfaction of Sadharana who celebrated the event with great festivity. This Bambhajjuna is presumably the same as the elder brother of Mahadu.

(4) The pieces of evidence as presented and interpreted above brings us to the conclusion that Mahadu or Mahada composed the first Seven Samdhis and half of the SC and that the rest of the work was completed by Bambhajjuna. The exact spot where Mahadu left and Bambhajjuna resumed composition is clearly indicated at XIII xvii.11. Here Sadharana as noted above specifies the topics which he wants to be discussed by Bambhajjuna. On looking into the colophons of the Samdhis one finds that it is exactly these topics that are dealt with in Samdhis VII onwards, the last four Samdhis being devoted to the description of the four divisions of Agama. The composition of the Ghatta verses at the close of the first seven Samdhis is of a different type and a change over is seen from VIII onwards: this reveals possibly a change of authorship. The name of Sadharana occurs in the gathas at the end of almost all chapters, often paranomastically: that is natural, because sadharana requested Mahadu to compose and Bambhajjuna to complete this work. It is this occurrence of Sadharana's name that is implied by the phrase *Sadharana-namamkic* in the colophons. But Bahadu's name occurs even in the Ghatta verses of Samdhis VIII onwards which were really composed by Bambhajjuna: this needs some explanation. Possibly Bambhajjuna did not seek personal fame from this composition, and he thought it fit to perpetuate the name of his younger brother as the author.

How, why, when, and by whom Mahada's or Mahadu's name is changed into Mahidu or Mahimdu, the son of Illaraja, in the colophons etc. is more than one can say at present on the basis of the meagre material available from a single Ms. But it is obvious that it is not the work of an expert: it is crudely and superficially done. Whenever the name Illaraja is superimposed in a verse, the metre has been spoiled; and if we substitute Himgu in its place, the metre gets automatically corrected. In one colophon (Samdhi VIII) Mahadu's name has survived, though qualified by Illaraja-suya. One need not call all this a deliberate forgery. It is just possible that the scribe or the reader of the work was confused about the authorship and the name Mahadu or Mahada and made the correction thinking that Mahadu was perhaps a mistake for Mahimdu, the son of Illaraja, who may have been already known to him as an author. We must, however, look for more Mss in order to come to some valid conclusion on the subject. But so far as the authorship of this work is concerned, one feels certain, it should go to Mahadu and Bambhajjuna; and Mahimdu deserves least, if not no, credit.

(5) The Namavali (Appendix d) supplies great many details about Sadharana, and they may be narrated here almost following

the pattern of the text. The well fortified town Joyanipura (i.e., Delhi), close to which flows the river Jumna, comparable to Ganges, is ruled by the strong and brave Mleccha King Babbara (i.e., Babar). People of four castes live there devoted to their respective duties. There is a lofty Caityalaya (i.e., Jaina temple) decked with flags: therein the monks explain the scriptures and laymen perform their religious worship.

In this town dwelt Sahu Bhoyaraya, a devotee of Gunabhadra, the pupil of Malayakirti who was a pupil of Yasahkirti of Puskara-gana, Mathuragaccha and Kastha-Samgha. He was an Agravala of Garga-gotra, and he got the title Samghadhipa at Gayapura (i.e., Hastinapura). From his wife Ghilhahi he had five sons.

The first son Khimavicamda was a devoted supporter of the community. He had two wives Ghikahi and Nanigahi. He had four sons: Chitha who had a wife in Tihunahi and a son in Nemidasa who married Gajjo; Pirathimalla, with his wife Hhurahi, had four sons⁵: Udharanu, Ranuyau, Dhanarau and Manasingha; Khimacamda who enjoyed pleasures with Ravanahi and had two sons Hasu and Taranu; and Camda had a son Samidasa from his wife Dodahi.

The second son of Bhoyaraya was Nana (or Gana, Skt. Jnana) camda who had a wife in Saurajahi who gave birth to three eminent sons: Saramga who went on pilgrimage to Sammeta and had his wife in Tilokahi; Sadharana (pious, devoted to the good of the community, rich, a pilgrim of Samtrumjaya etc., learned and a devotee of the learned) had from his wife Sivahi four sons: Abhaya-camda with his wife camdanahi, Jetthamalla with his wife Bhadasahi, Jitamalla with his wife Samado, and Sohila with his wife Bhikhanahi who was like Mandodari in character; and Talhanu of varied virtues.

The third son of Bhoya was Siriyacamdu who had a merited wife in Hararajahi, veritably Sita in chastity, from whom he had a son Bhullanu whose two wives were Udharanaputti and Cuhadahi.

The fourth son of Bhoya was Gajamaccha who had two wives Bharahavipaladhi and Salhahi and whose son Sayatanu had a wife in Vudhanahi and a son in Sukhu.

The fifth son of Bhoya was Sahu Ranamala: from his first wife Cuhadahi he had a son Jatamalla who from his wife Ravanadhi had four sons: Himarau, Meinimallu, Vimallu and Cauhatthu; and from his second wife Pamthuhi he had a son Suradasa.

Sadharana is indeed a striking personality who played a prominent role in the composition of SC. He comes from a religious

5 Daughters do not find any mention in this context. Their connections with the paternal family were slender and short lived: they had no share in the paternal property and they were given in marriage at an early age.

family, and he himself had great devotion to learning. He requested Mahadu to compose SC explaining and simplifying the contents as found in the Mahapurana of Puspadanta. But as Karmas would have it, Mahadu died leaving it incomplete. Sadharana was very much perturbed. Then he requested Bambhajjuna possibly, elder brother of Mahadu) to complete the SC whereby he would be happy (App. b). Sadharana, surrounded as he was with a big family, was highly satisfied at the completion of SC; with great pomp and festivity he carried this work home; and on that occasion he honoured monks and gave gifts to the learned. Thus he made his life fruitful through the blessings of all. It is in the fitness of things that Mahadu and Bambhajjuna have recorded Sadharana's name at the end of each canto that a detailed biography of his is given in the Namavali and that blessings were sought for him from Santinatha in those Sanskrit stanzas at the close of various cantos (Appendix e).

The two Samghadhipa families to which Mahadu- -Bhambhajjuna and Sadharana belonged, with their religious teachers like Padmanandi and Gunabhadra must have been famous for their devotion to Jainism and its literature in Delhi at the time of Babar who is specially mentioned in this work. Some of the members of these families not only studied works of authors like Puspadanta but also maintained the continuity of literary and religious traditions through authors like Mahadu and Bambhajjuna. Another personalty, Todara of Jaisavala family, is mentioned (App. c. Ghatta verse 17) but his relation with others is not clear.

(6) The contents of this work are traditionally traced back to Mahavira, and they were handed down through a series of Acaryas till they came to Puspadanta. Finding his composition charming on account of its words and meaning Mahadu started composing this SC which was finally completed by Bambhajjuna out of sheer religious zeal and out of regard for the earnest request of Sadharana (App. b). In this SC there are 13 Samdhis with the number of Kadavakas in each like this: 12, 21, 23, 26, 16, 25, 25, 26, 27, 20, 34, 18 and 17; and the number of lines in each Kadavaka is not definite and goes on varying as can be seen from the text of Samdhi I (App. f) given at the end. As the text mentions, the total granthagra is 4300 verses (calculated in units of 32 syllables), but the Ms. puts it roundly at 5000, perhaps counting also the numbers, colophons etc. The life of Santinatha, the 16th Tirthamkara, is given by Puspadanta in chapters 60-63 and still earlier by Jinasena-Gunabhadra in Parvan 63 of their *Mahapuranas*⁶ in Apabhramsa and Sanskrit. As far as I see, this work draws upon both the earlier sources, and the order of events can be seen from their brief enumeration in the colophons of various cantos.

(7) Puspadanta has wielded great influence on most of the subsequent authors composing their works in Apabhramsa. At the request of Sadharana Mahadu expanded the life of Santinatha from

the *Mahapurana* of Puspadanta; so it is quite natural that this SC has inherited a good deal from Puspadanta's works. The blessings for Sadharana expressed in Sanskrit verses at the close of each Samdhi remind us of similar verses for Bharata in the *Mahapurana* (MP) and for Nanna in the *Jasaharacaritu* (JC⁷). Taking up the first Samdhi of SC many contexts have their counterparts in the works of Puspadanta, and in many places verbal agreements are quite striking: Jayamala of 24 Tirthakaras JC I.ii & SC I.i; Salutation to Sarasvati MP I.ii & SC I.ii; Ghatta verse MP I.i & SC I.ii; Nature of Durjana etc MP I.viii & SC I.iv; references to earlier authors beginning with Akalanka and author's ignorance about various branches of learning MP I.ix & SC I.v; Description of women MP II.i & SC I.ix; Description of the country JC I.iii & SC I.vii. A more thorough scrutiny of the entire text of the SC would disclose many more parallel contexts with obvious common expressions.

(8) The author of SC pays respects to earlier authors such as Akalanka-svami, Padapujya (i.e., Pujiyapada), Eight great poets (grammarians?) headed by Indra, Nemicandra Saiddhantika, Caturmukha, Svayambhu, Puspadanta, Yasahkirti, Pandita Raidhu, Gunabhadra and Sahanapala. There was one Yasahkirti, a teacher of Raidhu, and another, a grand-techer of Gunabhadra and an elder contemporary of Mahadu. About Sahanapala some investigation is needed.

(9) This SC was completed in Samvat 1587 (-57 = 1530 A.D.) and a copy of it was prepared in Sa. 1588 (-57 = 1531 A.D.). If not the present Ms. a predecessor of it was prepared in 1531 A.D., i.e., just one year after the composition of the work by the author. Thus the text and the language of the authors have not undergone much change before they were written down and carried through a succession of generation of Mss. What is of special interest is that the authors are writing in Apabhramsa which was being cultivated as a medium of literary expression as late as the beginning of Mughal period, i.e., 1530 A.D., when Babar was ruling at Delhi and even later. By this time, Pingala and Dingala, Braja and Avadhi—or what we have started calling now Hindi—poetry was already developing side by side, and the dawn for the age of Tulsi is being heralded. Apabhramsa poets of this last period handled their language as a literary inheritance: we know their literary models but their grammars have not come down to us in a codified form. Though they are trying to imitate earlier forms, their language is showing a good deal of looseness and flexibility in phonology, morphology and syntax. The first Samdhi of SC, printed at the end of this paper almost as it is found in the Ms., gives this general impression: a meticulous study of the grammatical details can be attempted when the text is constituted with the aid of one or two more Mss.⁸

7 Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Karanya 1931.

8 I am grateful to my friend Dr. Hiralal Jain, Nagpur, for his valuable help in solving the intricate problem of the authorship of SC as presented in this paper.

THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE KARANA SEQUENCE
In Ancient Digambara and Shvetambara Jaina Literature

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List of abbreviations: Abhay. Abhayadevasuriji's Commentary, Av.n — Avassayanijjuttī, BHSG Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, 1st vol. Grammar, by Franklin Edgerton, 1953, Dhav. t. Dhavalatika of Virasena to Satkhandagamasuttam ed by Dr. H. J. Jain, 1947, k — *karana*, Ma. — Mahabandho ed by Pt. Sumeruchandra Shastri Divakar Shastri, 1947, MP Mahapurana by Puspadanta ed. by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, 1937, Satkh. — Satkhandagamasuttam ed. by Dr. Hiralal Jain 1947, SP — Sarvarthasiddhi of Puṣyapada, ed. by Pt. Phulchanda, 1955, TvS — Umasvati's Tattvarthasūtram, ed. by Pt. A. Shantiraja Sastri, Mysore 1944.

The desire to reach completeness and perfection, the ardent will to learn and understand things about us and the world in which we live has been the fundament of our progress.

From prehistoric facts we know that this will to reach perfection and to widen knowledge did not always become a fact; there were long periods of stagnancy lasting for several hundred thousands of years.

At a time when control about forces of nature was limited, compared with the possibilities of our days, it was in India that the belief in the power and capacity of Great Men, of *Mahapurusas*, who possess super-natural powers, became very firm, culminating in the tradition about the life of Tirthakaras, who had won omniscience bringing salvation to mankind.

But how could the state of a Tirthakara be reached? What stations had a man to pass to be at home on such heights of complete perfection.

The oldest Jaina sources on which we have to depend don't tell us very much about the spiritual development towards the state of a Tirthakara. Very carefully they don't use too many words about something which is considered the last step towards perfection.

In one of the oldest documents about the life of Bhagvan Mahavir, Ayara 2.15, a passage reads as follows:

Jambhiyagamassa nagarassa bahiya, naie Ujjuvaliyae uttare kule, Samagassa gahavaissa kattha-karanamsi, Veyavattassa ceiyassa uttara-puratthime disi-bhae sala-rukkhassa adura-samante

uekuduyassa, go-dohiyae ayavanae ayavemanassa, chatthenam bhatthenam apanaenam uddham-janu-aho-sirassa, dhamma-jjhano kothovagayassa, sukka-jjhan' antariyae vattamanassa, nivvane kasine padipunne avvahaē niravarane anante aunttare kevala-vara nana-damsane samuppanne. (1020)

I try to translate: "Outside the town Jambhiyagama on the Northern bank of the Ujjuvaliya river, in the field of the householder Samaga, north-east from the temple Veyavatta, not far from a Sal-tree seated—, he who inflicted austerities on himself in the way of a milkman's sitting, he whose head was down between his knees (verbally: the knees high up) without drink in a fast up to the 6th meal, he who had entered into the inner apartment of holy meditation, he who was living in the interior of pure meditation, he had reached salvation complete, fulfilled, without disturbances and obstacles, the unlimited, superb, complete knowledge and Belief."

This is the simple way of a description of a Tirthakara's path to perfection of Knowledge and Belief, which was also followed in the description of the life of other Tirthakaras. There is no mentioning of any kind of *tittayara-nama-goyam kammam* with *karanas* leading to the state of a Tirthakara, neither in the Ay. chapter 2.15 nor in any part of the Shvet. Angas or Uvangan except in one passage of the Arhat Malli chapter in the *Nayadhammakahao*.

Even outside the Angas, in Devendra's tika to Uttara-dhyayana XXIII (belonging to the Mulasutta) a description similar to that in Ay. 2.15 about the life of Lord Parshva is given*. Here also no special mentioning of a *karana* sequence can be found.*

In Malli Jnata (MJ) 15. of my edition **) king Mahabala is mentioned, who together with his friends renounced the world reaching the agreement among each other that whatever penance was undertaken by any one of them should also be undertaken by all the rest.

We learn from MJ 16.17. how Mahabala did not do so by observing more fasts than his friends in this way that when his

1 Quoted from *Suttage, ekkaras' angasamjuo padhamo amso, Puppabhlik-khuna sampaduo*, 1953, p. 94.

1 *ukhuduya* is probably synonymous with following *go-dohiyae*.

2 In this respect I depend on the kind information, which I received from His Holiness Shri Atma Ramji Maharaj, Ludhiana, Muni Punvavijayaj & Pt. Becaradas, Ahmedabad, on my own studies of the Angas and on *goyakammam*, given in the *Abhidhanarajendrakosa*, Vol. IV p. 2294, 95.

1 Die Legende des heiligen Parsva, des 23. tirthakara der Jainas. Aus Devendra's vol. 69, 1915, p. 321 ff, special reference, p. 335-37.

2 p. 91 in the *Nayadhammakahao* edition of Prof. N. V. Vaidya.

friends observed a fast untill the fourth meal Mahabala observed a fast untill the sixth meal, and so on. So M. performed the *itthi-nama-goyam kammam*, which led to be reborn as a woman.

Quite abruptly the sequence of the 20 causes is mentioned in MJ 18., which lead to the state of a Tirthakara performing the *Titthayara-nama-goyam kammam*.

Without any connexion with this *karana* sequence, but logically connected with MJ 16., 17., MJ 19. proceeds in mentioning further observances as the Sinhaniskridita penance which is described in detail *masiyam bhikkhu-padimam* and in MJ 20-26 the khuddagam siha-nikkiliyam fast observances and the *mahalayam siha*, with the result that they were born as Gods in the Jayanta Vinana. From there, after a long period they fell from the heavenly region and were reborn in Jambudvipa as kings, but M. as Malli, daughter of King Kumbhaka of Mithila and his wife Prabhavati.

The 20-*karana* sequence of MJ 18. so abruptly introduced, interrupts the interrelationship between the fast observances mentioned in MJ 16., 17. and MJ 20-26., and clearly appears to be included as a gloss by a later hand.

The passage reads: "imehi ya nam visaenam karanehim aseviya-bahuli-kaehim titthayara-nama-goyam kammam nivvattinsu tamjaha:

Arahanta Siddha Pavayana/-Guru Thera Bahussue Travassisu¹
Vacchallaya ya tesim' abhikkha Nanovaoge' ya // (1)

Damsana Vinac Avas / ae ya Silavvae niraiyaro' / Khanalava
Tava CCiyae' / Veyavacce Samahi ya // (2)

Apuvva-nana-ggahane' / Suyabhatti Pavayane Pahavanaya /
eehi karanehim / Titthayarattam lahai Jio // (3) *

The metre is Arya : 12/18-12/15

I try to translate; "Arhats (1), Siddhas (2), Sacred writings (3) Preceptors (4), Elders (5), The highly learned (6), the Ascetics (7), the Affection to these, and (8), constant acquisition of knowledge of those) **) // (1).

1 Cf. N. V. Vaidya's translation, p. 24/25.

2 Abhayadevasuri's tika does not explain it. Prav. S. only explains: tatha abhiksnam - anavaratam jhanapayogo—jnane vyapriyamanata, the Sarvarthasiddhi of Pujiyad, Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Kashi, 1955, ed. by Pt. Phulchandra, explains abhiksna tika zu Uttaradhyavana XXIII veröffentlicht u. uebersetzt von Jarl Charpentier, Zdmg, jnanopayoga-samvegau in TS 6.24 as follows: jivadi-padartha-svatattva-visaye samya-gjnane nityam yuktata abhiksna-jnanopayogah, the compound is understood here as a Tatpuruṣa. SP understands *uvago* simply in the sense of *yuktata*, Following *darsanam* Abh and Prav. S. explain with *samyaktvam*.

Faith (and other meaning: perception) (9) and Discipline (10), Necessary duties (11), No infringement of the vows and in the moral conduct,***) (12). Concentration of thoughts in every twinkling of an eye + (13), in Penance (14), Free giving (15), and in Service (16), Concentration of Thoughts (17), // (2).

Acquisition of new knowledge (18), high esteem for the religious tradition (19), and by promulgation of the religious teachings (20), by means of these causes the Soul obtains the state of a Tirthakara." // (3).

Variant readings to the text: 'tavassi ya Prav S., R., 'esim Prav. S., iesim R., 3 oga ya V., 4 niraiyarami Mhe, 5 N.V. Vaidya (V.) placed *cigae* with single *c*. into the text instead of double *cc*., which is necessary to require the 12 moras of the Arya metre here. 6 *ga* V., but *ggahane* is demanded by the metre, 7 *sou* V., the introduction into the *karana* sequence difference differs in the *Avassayanijjutti* slightly as follows *padhamo titthayarattam visahi thanehi kasi ya*.

Parallel passages of the 20-*karana* sequence can also be traced in the Jaina Shvet. texts *Avassayanijjutti* (Av.n. 1, 178-181 *) and *Pravacanasaroddhara* 310-312 followed by a commentary in Prakrit from 313-319. **)

The variant readings, which they present, have been noted above.

But there is no other trace of the 20-*karana* sequence in the older Shvet. Angas or Uvngas. ***)

Umasvati's *Tattvarthasutram* (TvS) also includes a *karana* sequence leading to the state of a Tirthakara with the difference,

3 About *Silavae* the Commentaries Abh. and Prav. S. say: *tetha silani ca uttaragunah, vratahi ca mulagunas, tesu punar nrativara iti*,)+Abh. explains *khanalava*: *ksanalavagrahanam kalopalaksanam, ksanalavadisu samvega-*

sevanatas ca samadhih ksanalavasamadhih. bhavanato dhyana-

Translation: "Samadhi on account of assiduous practice of meditation and meditation caused by the desire for salvation without an interval what particles of time with smallest instants and smallest fractions are concerned, this is *ksanalava-samadhih*."

I have followed the commentary in my translation connecting *ksanalava samadhih*. This is strongly supported by a parallel passage in Sarkh. and Mah., dealt with later, in which *khanalava-padibhujhanadae* -by lighting up (perfect belief, knowledge etc., s. Dhavaia-tika) at a smallest instant of time, is mentioned!

1 Pt. Becaradas kindly helped to find this passage during my stay in Ahmedabad.

2 Siddhasenaos *Pravacanasaroddharatika* (Prav. S.), end of 12. cent. A.D.

+) The *Tattvarthasutra* of Sri Umasvami with the *Sukhabodha* of Sri Bhaskarandi, ed. by Pt. Sastri, Mysore 1944., p. 149 ff., the introductory sentence into the 16 *karana* sequence reads: *idanim subhatama-tirthakaratva-namasravam aha*: ...

+ +) Quoted from *parisistam* p. 241, No. 8 under the line op. cit.

that only 16 *karanas* are specified instead of twenty, in TvS 6.24.+) The passage reads: *darsana-visuddhir, vinayasampannata, sila-vratesv anaticaro, 'bhiksna-jnanopayoga-samvegau, saktitas tyaga-tapasi, sadhu-samadhir,' vaiyaprtiya-karanam arhat-acarya-bahu-sruta-pravacana-bhaktir, avasyakaparihanit marga-prabhavana, pravacana-vatsalatvam iti tirthakaratvasya.*

Var. Lect.: '*sangha-sadhu-samadhir* ++) reads the Shvet. version of TvS.

There are no other differences in the Shvet. version of TvS.

Translation: Perfection of religious belief (1), accomplishment of discipline (2), no infringement in the vows and in the moral conduct (3), constantly acquisition of knowledge (4), and concern about the misery in the samsara (5), according to the best of one's ability charity (6), and penance (7), Attention to the monks (8), Service (9), love to the Arhats (10), Acaryas (11), the highly learned (12), and to the religious teachings (13) no deficiency in the performance of the daily duties of a monk (14), the promulgation of the path to salvation (15), tender affection towards the true religion (16). This is the karma influence, which leads to the state of a Tirthakara. (The genitive *tirthakaratvaya* depends on *asravam*, which has to be added.)

In the Dig. version about the life of Arhat Malli "Mallinathapurana" III, 8-18, composed by Sri Sakalakirti in the 17th cent. A.D. *), 16 *karana* leading to the state of a Tirthakara in 11 *slokas* are mentioned following the terminology of the *karana*-sequence of TvV.

In Jinasena's Harivamsapurana, 2.34, 131-49, (783 A.D.), Dig. the 16 *karanas* are also mentioned following the terminology of TvS 6.24. **)

In the Dig. work Mahapurana of Puspadanta (MP), composed between 919-971 A.D., ed. by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, 1937, Manik chand Digambara Jaina Granthamala No. 37, vol. 1, III, 7., p.42 the 16 *karanas* named as *tava-bhavanas* are mentioned without specifying them. The passage reads: *solaha vi tava-bhavanao pahavevi jaga-namiya-titthayara-namam samajjevi.*

Dr. P. L. Vaidya translated the beginning in his Notes, III, 7, p.601: "having mediated upon the sixteen forms (*bhavana*) of penance such as *darsanavisuddhi* etc."

V. gives then the 16 *karana* sequence of TvS 6.24 and also refers to Nayadhammakahao VIII. 64, i.e. to our passage in the

1 Mallinathapurana. edition by Dulichand Pannalal Parvar, samy, 1979, Hindi-translation by Gajadhara Lalji. p. 51-55.

2 Harivamsapurana, prathamakhandam dvitiyakhandam, Manikchandra-Digambara-Granthamana, No. 32. 33.

MJ, the starting point of this paper, but he does not mention that here 20 karanas instead of 16 are enumerated. ***)

This brief survey of k.-references in Digambara works is sufficient to show that the TvS version of the k.-sequence had become authoritative in Digambara literature later than TvS¹***)

We owe it to the hard work of Dr. Hiralal Jain and Pt. S. Divakar Sastri that more ancient Prakrit literature of the Digambaras such as the treatises of the Satkhandagama-sutta and the Mahabandha have come to light.

The Mahabandha (Mah.) a Dig. Prakrit work forming the sixth part of the great Satkhandagama Sutta must be assigned to the later part of the second century according to the remarks of the editor in his preface on p.15.

In § 34 of this work p 35, 36, the 16 *karana* sequence is mentioned, which contains very interesting variations differing from the 16 k.—sequence of TvS 6, 24.

The passage reads: “kaḍihi karanehi jiva titthayara-nama-goda-kammam bandhandi: tattha imenahi¹ solasa¹ karanehi jiva titthayara-nama-godam kammam bandhandi: damsana-visujjhadāe (1), vinaya-sampannadāe (2), sīla-vadesu² niradicaradāe (3), avasāesu aparihinadāe (4), khana-lava padibujjhanadāe (5), laddhi-samvega-sampannadāe (6), yatha-³ thame tatha tave (7), samanā⁴ samadhi-samdharanadāe⁵ (8), samanā⁴ vejjavacca-jogayuttadāe⁶ (9), samanā⁴ pasuga-pariccagadāe⁷ (10), arahantalhatti⁸ (11), bahu-ssuda-bhatti⁹ (12), pavayara-bhatti¹⁰ (13), pavayana-vacchaladāe (14), pavayana-pabhavanadāe (15), abhikkhaṇam nanopayuttadāe (16), cdehi solaschi karanehi jivo titthayara-nama-godam kammam bandhadi.”

The parallel passage in the Satkhandagama, Bandha-Samitta-Vicaya, Vol. VIII, p. 73*) represents the same text with a few variant readings as follows:

3 Dr. P. L. Vaidya was so kind to introduce me into the Apabhramsa language of this work, by reading some portions with me during his stay in Patna.

According to H. Jacobi, ZDMG 60 (1906) p. 277 ff, Umasvati probably lived in the fourth or fifth cent. A.D. Dr. H. L. Jain proposes an earlier date in “A Hidden Landmark in The History of Jainism,” B.C. Law Volume, part II, Poona 1946, p. 60 ff. According to him Um. was living in the second half of the third cent. A.D.

+) Mahabandho (Mah., vol. 1, with Hindi translation, Editor Pt. Sumeru Chandra Diwakar, Shastri, published by Bharatiya Jnana-pitha Kashi May 1947. This work was presented by the kindness of Shri Kamata Prasad Jain (Aliganj) in Pratapgarh (Raj).

1 Satkhandagama. Bandha-Svāmitva-Vicaya vol. VIII, ed. by Dr. Hiralal Jain, publ. by Shrimant Seth Shitabrai Lakshmichandra Amraoti (Berrar) 1947. Shrivirase-nacarya-viracita-Dhavalā-tika-samanvitah. Dr. H. J. Jain in his introduction p. ii, proposes the time between the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. as date of the composition of Stkh., and states as date of the completion of the Dhavalā-tika 8th Oct. 816.

'imehi solasasehi karanehi, 'vva, 'jadha ... 'always sahunam instead of samanam, 'sahunam pasua-paricagadae in the 8th place instead of the 10th place such as in the Ma. 'ju,

A synopsis shows the following picture: *laddhi-samvega* (6) and *pasuga-pariccagada* (10) can neither be traced in the Shvet. nor Dig. k.-sequence mentioned in the paper.

avasaesu apapaniorihinadae 4th k. in Ma., *avasyakaparihanih* 14th k. in TvS, *avassae* 11th k. in MJ; *khana-lava-padibujjhanada* 5th k. in Ma., not in TvS, but *khana-lava* followed by *tava-cciyae* and to be connected with *samahi* 13th k. in MJ; *yatha thame tatha tave* 7th k. in Ma., *saktitas tyaga-tapasi* 6th and 7th k. in TvS, *tava-cciyae* 14th and 15th k. in MJ; *samanam* (*sahunam*) *samadhi* 8th k. in Ma., *sadhu-samadhir* 8th k. in TvS, *samahi* 17th k. in MJ; *s. vejjavacca-jo*. 9th k. in Ma., *vaiya-prtyakaranam* 9th k. in TvS, *reyaracce* 16th k. in MJ; *samanam pasuga-pariccagadae* 10th k. in Ma., neither in TvS, nor in MJ; *arahanta-battie*, etc., 11th, 12th, 13th k. in Ma. corresponds to 10th, 12th, 13th k. in TvS, *acarya* 11th k. in TvS, behind *arhad* is neither in Ma. nor in the MJ; *pav-vacch.* 14th k. in Ma., *prav.-vats.* 16th k. in TvS, *parayana-vacch* 3rd k. MJ; *par.-pabh.* 15th k. in Ma., *marga-prabh.* 15th k. in TvS, *pavayane pahavanaya* 20th k. in MJ; *abhikkhanam nanopayuttadae* 16th k. in Ma., *abhiksna-jnanopayoga-samvegau* 14th and 5th k. in TvS, *abhikkha nanovaoge* 8th k. in MJ;

siddha, guru, thera, 2nd, 3rd, 5th k. in MJ and *apuvva-nana-ggahane* 18th k. in MJ; are neither in Ma. nor in TvS.

damsana-vi 1st k. in Ma., 1st k. in TvS, *damsanavinae* 9th and 10th k. in MJ; *vinaya-sa.* 2nd k. in Ma. and TvS; *sila-va ana* 3rd k. in Ma. and TvS; *silva-vvae niraiyaro* 12th k. in MJ.

We have seen previous page, that the k. sequence of TvS had become authoritative for the terminology of the 16 k.s in later Digambara literature. The variations in the 16 k. sequence of Ma. and Satkh. from the text of TvS speak in favour of a degree of higher antiquity of the Ma.-Satkh. passage.

We have seen in the synopsis that *laddhi-samvega* and *pasuga-pariccagada* don't occur in the Dig. version following the TvS and also not in the Shvet. version of the 20 k.s as represented by MJ and Avass. n.

In TvS 2, 18 *labdhi* is mentioned in closest connection with *upayoga*: "*labdhy upayogau bhavendriyam*"—"Together with the *labdhi*, the ability of performing, *upayoga* represents the mind as a state." (cf. Schubring, p. 101).

It does not seem to be merely accidental that *samvega* is connected with *laddhi* in Ma. and Satkh. on one side, and *jnanopayoga* in TvS on the other side, as *labdhi* appears to be in closest terminological connection with *upayoga*.

The difference is, that in TvS 6,24 *samvega* in the dual is connected with *jnanopayoga* in a Dvandva and represents the 5th k. by itself, but in Ma.—Satk. *samvega* in *laddhi-samvega-sam* stands in a Tatp. compund and does not represent a k. alone by itself.

The Commentaries Sukh. to TvS and Dhav.t. to Ma.-Satk. give entirely different explanations of *samvega*.

Sukh. says: *samsara-dukkhad bhiruta samvegah* (p. 150 op. c. Dhav.t. says: *laddhi-samvega-sampannadac sammad-damsana-nana-caranesu jirassa samagamo laddhi nama, hariso santo samvego nama, laddhie samvego tassa sampannada*".

I would translate: *laddhi* is the unification of the soul with the right faith, the right knowledge and the right conduct, *samvega* is joy, free from passions**).

So we could translate the Ma. passage accordingly: "The enjoyment, which is free from passions, about the unification of the soul with....."

(The lokative in *caranesu* is used here in the sense of an instrumental, cf. Edgerton BHSG 7.81).

To understand *samvega* as *bhiruta*, connected with *laddhi* in a Tatp. compund, is absolutely senseless, when we realise the meaning of *laddhi*.

It is also clear now, how we have to understand the terminological development here.

TvS has omitted *laddhi*, but has preserved *samvega* and placed beside *jnanopayoga* as an independent, coordinated member of a Dvandva being the 5th k., in order not to loose one k. for the 16 k. sequence! So *samvega* could be easily understood in the way the Commentators to TvS¹⁾ did as *samsaradukkhadbhiruta*, which is nearer to the generally known meaning of the verb *samvij*.

The later, secondary character of the terminology in TvS has become obvious by it.

The term *samvega* does not exist in the 20 k. sequence of the Shvetambaras represented by MJ and Av.n.

The Dhavala tika explains *pasua* in the following way:
pagada osarida asova jamha tam pasuam, adhava jam niravajjam

NOTES: 1) W. Schubring, "Die Lehre Der Jainas", Berl and Lpz, 1935.

2 Dr. H. L. Jain translates *hariso santo samvega nama*: by "aur hars va sattvik bhav ka nam samveg hai", p. 85. Op. cil.

I would propound to interpret *santo* in the meaning of Skt. *santa*.

3 Sarvarthasiddhi of Pujiyapada, Bharatiya Jnanapith, Kashi 1955, p. 338. *samsara-dukkhan nitya-bhiruta samvegah*,

lam pasuam, kim nana-damsana-carittadi tassa pariccago vissajjanam, tassa bhavo pasu-pariccagada daya-buddhie sahanam nana-damsana-pariccago danam pasua-pariccagada nama....., (p. 86 op. it).

Dr. H. L. Jain translates from *pagada* onwards: *jis se asrav dur ho gaye hai us ka nam prasuk hai*".

If we accept the reading *pasuga* and *pasua*, given in both the texts Ma.-Satk., as correct, the interpretation with *asrava* is not possible, *passuga* could represent Skt. *pra + asuka*. It seems to me beyond doubt, that the misreading text of the Dhav.t. has to be corrected: *pagada osaridasavo*, *asavo* is a normal Pkt. N.pl. of *asu* (cf. R. Pischel's Grammar of Prakrit Languages p. 263, Dec. of *vau* N.pl. *vaavo*!). When we substitute *asrava* we should expect *pasava* in the Pkt. text.

Pt. Sumeru Chandra translates: *'vah vastu, jis se jiv nikal gae ho'*. (p. 39 op. cit.) The explanation with *nirajjan* does not help us either.

The Dhav.t. offering different explanations shows, that it did not understand this antiquated term.

Probably we have to understand something entirely different from what Dhav.t. says.

PKT. *pasuga-pariccagada* could also be Skt. *pasukaparityagata* meaning: "the giving up everything relating to cattle for sacrificial and food purposes."

This interpretation finds some support in a passage of Prav.t. to the 20 k. sequence, verse 311, explaining 'cciyae': *tyago dvidha, dravyatyago bhavatyagas ca, dravyatyago nama aharopadhisayyanam aprayogyanam parityagah prayogyanam ca yatijanebhyo vitaranam, bhavatyagah krodhadinam viveko janadinam ca yatijanebhyo danam*".

"The giving up is of two kinds: the giving up of material things and giving up of sentiments, *dravyatyaga* means avoiding of not proper food, the clinging to it,*) and of no proper beddings, etc., and as well the gift of proper ones to the ascetics,

bhavatyaga is the separation from anger, etc., as well the gift of knowledge to the ascetics".

I think, we are justified, to see some kind of parallelism between *pasuga-pariccagada* in Ma. Satkh. and *ahara aprayogyanam parityagah* in Pray. S.

It may be that we also have to assume two meanings for *pasuga*. But I feel difficult to understand the reading *pasuga*.

NOTES: * "Cf. Buddh. *ahar*' upadhi in Cullanidesa 157 quoted from Pali Text Society Dictionary.

Conclusions: This survey has shown to us that the 16 k. sequence cannot only be traced in TvS and later Dig. texts but also in more ancient Dig. literature such as Mahabandha and Satkhan-dagama but that the Shvet. 20 karana sequence cannot be traced in the more ancient parts of the Angas and Uvargas. My opinion about the 20 k. sequence in MJ. 18 is given earlier. This makes it very probable that the *karana* sequence leading to the state of a Tirthakara originated in circles close to the Digambaras.

This is strongly supported by the fact that TvS, in high esteem among both Digambaras and Shvetambaras, gives the 16 k. sequence in both the Dig. and Shvet. versions of TvS and not the 20 k. sequence current among the Shvetambaras.

It seems that the Shvet. after the separation of the two groups have included the k. sequence and enlarged upto 20 k.

But we are not justified to see in the Shvet. 20 k. sequence a merely enlarged copy of the TvS text, as it contains terms, which can only be traced in the text of Ma. and Satkh. as *khana-lava*.. to be connected with *samahi* 13th k. in MJ and *khana-lava-padibuj-jhanada* 5th k. in Ma. and Satkh.; *pavayane pahavanaya* 20th k. in MJ, *pavayana-pahavanadae* in Ma.-Satkh.; these terms don't exist in TvS 6,24, at all. Common to MJ. and Ma.-Satkh. version is also the nonmentioning of *acarya*, mentioned in TvS as 11th k. !

This clearly indicates that these terms in the Shet. version can be traced back to older sources close to circles represented by the texts Ma.-Satkh.

The relative chronology of the karana sequence appears to me as follows:

The oldest version of the karana-sequence, available at present, is represented by the two versions of the 16 *karanas* in the Dig. texts Mahabandha and Satkhanagama, approximately near to 1st cent. A.D.

2nd the version in Umasvati's Tattvarthasutram 6,24, approximately near to the 3rd cent, A.D.,

3rd the 20 *karana* sequence of the Shvetambaras

approximately near to the 5th cent. A.D., by which I do not intend to say anything definite about the dates of the Avassayanij-juti and the text in the Malli-Jnata.

JAINA MONK KALAKACHARYA IN SUVARNABHUMI

by

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The Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya, a Jaina text generally acknowledged as a work dating from the sixth century A.D., and certainly earlier than the Churnis of the seventh century, contains the following verse:—

Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya, I. pp. 73-74.

Malayagiri, commenting on the above in the twelfth century gives fuller explanation of the above verse in the sutra-form and quotes Prakrit passages which are obviously from the Churni on the same text. According to this account, Kalakacharya, the well-known authority on Sutras and their meaning, was staying in Ujjain with his big retinue of pupils. His pupils (monks) however did not listen to his anuyoga-teachings. At this the great acharya got disappointed and decided to go to a place where he can propagate his anuyoga-teachings. He thought that by leaving his pupils, he would make them ashamed of their conduct. He, therefore, told his s'ayyatara (one who provides for residence): "I am going elsewhere, my pupils will remember me afterwards, but you do not tell them anything. When pressed hard, you should scornfully tell them that the Teacher has gone to stay with Sagara in the Suvarnabhumi." So saying Kalaka left his pupils at night when the latter were asleep and went to Suvarnabhumi. There he entered gaccha of Sagara in the guise of a Jaina monk. Thinking that he was an (ordinary) aged monk, with one foot in the grave, Sagara did not offer him any formal respects due to an old monk. Then at the hour of discourse, after the usual discourse by Sagara was over, Sagara asked him (Kalaka in disguise), 'Old man, did you like the discourse? To this the acharya (Kalaka) replied 'Yes'. "Then continue to hear the discourses", said Sagara s'ramana, with great pride.

Now those other pupils at Ujjain were much perturbed at not finding the acharya next morning and approached the s'ayyatara and began to make inquiries. But the latter said, "How do you expect your acharya to tell me anything when your own teacher did not confide in you?" Then when the disciples, much aggrieved, pressed hard, he scornfully told them, "Your teacher has gone to stay with Sagaracharya (the grand-pupil) in the Suvarnabhumi, being much disappointed at your behaviour". Hearing this, the disciples started for going to Suvarnabhumi. *On the way*, people used to ask, "Whose retinue is going? Who is the teacher going in this retinue?" They said, "Arya Kalaka". The news was carried to Sagara by travellers who reached ahead of the disciples. In the Suvarnabhumi, people told Sagara, "Arya Kalaka, the great

knower of Sruta (canon), having a large following, is on the way, being desirous of reaching here." At this Sagara told his pupils, "My Teacher's Teacher is coming. I shall ask him about padar-thas". Shortly after (this), those disciples arrived, their vanguard began inquiring whether Arya Kalaka had arrived (reached) there. 'No,' was the reply, 'but an old monk has come'. "Who is he?" came the query. Meanwhile, Kalaka in disguise turned up. When this old monk was respectfully saluted by the newcomers, Sagara came to realise that the old monk was the Acharya in disguise. Sagara felt very much ashamed of his own behaviour for all these days towards the great Teacher and thought, 'I have babbled much and have made the Kshamasramana pay homage to me.' He therefore begged pardon for his sin with due respect. He however could not refrain from the temptation of asking him whether the Acharya liked his discourses or not. The Acharya then advised him not to be proud of his knowledge and told him that just as a heap of dust when removed from place to place naturally leaves some dust particles every time similarly knowledge handed down to us from Teacher to Teacher gets diminished every time. Then the great Acharya Kalaka imparted knowledge of Anuyoga to his pupils and grand-pupils.

The above detailed account given by Malayagiri has the support of earlier traditions, firstly of the Brhat-Kalpa-Churni, still in manuscript form. The Uttaradhyayana-Niryukti, which may be earlier than even the Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya, also refers to this account in a cryptic form:— उज्जैणि कालखमणा सागरखमणा सुवण्णभूमीए Uttara-Nir. verse, 120. The Uttaradhyayana Churni (published from Ratlam, pp. 83-84) gives the same account.

Now the Suvarṇabhūmi was known to the Jaina texts as can be seen from the well-known account of Charudatta in the Vasudevahindī, noticed and discussed by Dr. Moti Chandra in his Sārthavaha. The Vasudevahindī is possibly earlier in age than the Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya even though it may be later than the Niryukti texts. Since the Uttaradhyayana Niryukti refers to Sagara Sramana in Suvarṇabhūmi, and since the gāthas of Bhashya and Niryukti have been mixed up in available texts of the Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya, we may infer that the Niryukti gātha on Brhat-Kalpa-Sūtra also contained a reference like the Uttaradhyayana Niryukti.

It has been shown above that the disciples of Kalaka did not follow his anuyoga. Anuyoga here means the Anuyoga texts prepared by Kalaka from earlier Sruta-texts. This is clear from the

following passage of the unpublished Pancakalpa-Churni, quoted below :—

लोगाणुओगे, अज्जका(ल)दा सञ्ज्ञंतवासिणा भणिदा एत्तिथं । सो न नाओ मुमुत्तो जत्थ पत्ताविओ क्षिरो होज्जा । तेण नित्वेएणं आजीवगपासे निमित्त पढिथं । पच्छा पइट्ठाणे ठिओ । सादवाहणेण रत्ता तिन्नि पुच्छाओ मामगा सयसहस्सेण—एगा पसुलिंडिया को वलुइ । बिइया समुद्दे केत्तिथं उदयं । प्रत्यत्तात्कलं पुच्छइ—महुरा कियच्चिरेणं पइइ न वा । पदमाए कडगं लकखमुल्लं । बिइयसईदाए कुंडलाइं । आयरिणं भणियं अलाहि मम एण्ण । किं पुण निमित्तस्य उवयारो एस । अजीगा उवट्ठिया—अह एस गुरुदकिखणाए । पच्छा तेण सुत्ते णट्ठे गंडियाणुयौगा कया । पाडलिपुत्तं सद्यमज्जे भणइ-मम किंचि कथं तं निसामेह । तत्थ पदट्ठिथं । संगहीणीओ वि ण कप्पट्ठिथाणं अप्पधारणाणं उवग्गहकराणि भवन्ति । पटुभाणुथोगमाइवि तेण कथ ॥ (१)

The same account is based on an earlier text, the Panchakalpa-Bhashya by Sanghadasa, who is identical with the author of the Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya. The following gathas from the unpublished Pancha-Kalpa-Bhashya, kindly copied for me by Agama-Prabhakara Muni Sri Punyavijayaji,² may be noted:—

मेहावीसीसम्मी, ओहातिए कालगज्ज क्षेणं ।
सञ्ज्ञंतिएण अह सो, खिसंतेणं इमं भणिओ ॥
अतिबहुतं तेऽधीतं ण थ णातो तारिसो नुहुत्तोट ।
जत्थ क्षिरो होइ सेहो, निकखंतो अहो ! हु बोद्धच्चं ॥
तो एव स ओमत्थं, भणिओ अह गंतु सो पतिट्ठाणं ।
आचीविसगासम्मी, सिकखति ताहे निमित्तं तु ॥
अह तम्मि अहीथम्मी, वहहेट्ठ निविकऽन्नदकदाति ।
सालाहणो णरिंदो, पुच्छतिमा तिण्णि पुच्छाओ ॥
पसुलिंडि पढमथाए, बितिथ समुद्दे व केत्तिदं उदयं ।
तपिथाए पुच्छाए, मुहुरा थ पहेज्ज व ण व ति ॥
पदमाए व से कडगं, देइ महं सथसहस्समुल्लं तु ।
बितिथाए कुंडलं तू, ततिथाए वि कुंडलं बितिथं ॥
आजीविता उवट्ठित, गुरुदकिखणं तु एथ अहं ति ।
तेहिं तथं तु गहितं, इथरोचितकालकज्जं तु ॥
णट्ठिम्मि ट सुत्तम्मी, अत्थम्मि अणट्ठे ताहे सो कुणइ ।

¹ Ms. No. 1284, Pravartaka Sri Kantivijayaji's collection, Baroda, Folio, 29. I am thankful to Muni Sri Punyavijayaji for editing this portion for me.

² Ms. No. 1673, Hamsavijayaji's collection, Baroda; text edited by Muni Sri Punyavijayaji.

लोगणुजोगं च तहा, पदमणुजोगं च दोऽवेए ॥
 बहुहा विमित्त तहिथं, पदमणुओगे थ होति चश्थाइं ,
 जिण-चक्कि-दसाराणं, पुत्तभवाइं णिबद्धाइं ॥
 ते काऊणं तो सो, पाडलिपुत्ते ट्वाट्ठितो संघं ।
 बेइ कतं मे किंची, अणुग्गहट्ठाए तं सुणह ॥
 तो संघेण णिसंतं, सोऊण थ से पडिच्छितं, तं तु ।
 तोतं तं पतिट्ठितं तू, णरगम्मी कुसुमणामम्मि ॥
 एमादीणं करणं, गहणा णिज्जूहणा पकप्पो उ ।
 संगहणीण थ करणं, अप्पाहाराणं, उ पकप्पो ॥

The above accounts show that the disciples of Kalaka were not steadfast in their living the life of Jaina monks. A co-student of Kalaka therefore advised Kalaka that the latter should be able to find out better muhurtas (auspicious time) for giving diksha to his pupils. Kalaka therefore decided to learn Nimitta s'astra from the Ajivikas. He therefore went to Prtishtanapura and learnt it from the Ajivikas. Now when he was staying under a Banyan tree, King Salahana (Satavahana) approached him, and asked him three questions, offering one lac worth of ornaments or coins, etc., for each answer. The first two questions, about the excreta of animals and the quantity of water in the ocean are obviously not convincing to modern historians and must be regarded as later legend. But the third question is noteworthy, for, Satavahana asked, "Will Mathura fall? and if so, when?" Now this refers to contemporary history which the King was interested in. We can easily imagine that the answer to this could be verified and the prize for the answer might have been given after the siege of Mathura was over. Kalaka did not accept wealth or priceless ornament given by the King but the Ajivikas claimed it as guru-dakshina and carried it away. Then Kalaka complied the Lokanuyoga and the Prathamanyoga texts when the Sutras were lost or destroyed. In the Prathamanyoga, he included nimitta-sastra, charitras, etc. These he placed before the Jaina Samgha at Pataliputra for sanction, which was given. Kalaka also composed the Samgrahani for the less adept.

The disciples at Ujjain do not seem to have acknowledged these anuyoga texts of Kalaka as is suggested by the comm. of Malayagiri, in the following words:—It is also significant to note that this Kalakacharya is conversant with Nimittasastra and a contemporary of a Satavahana king in whose time Mathura was besieged and who was interested in the result of the siege. Possibly this Satavahana king who asked Kalaka about Mathura was Gautamiputra Satakarni.

The Panchakalpa-Bhashya account shows that Kalaka learnt the Nimittas'astra from the Ajivikas with the primary object of

giving diksha or pravrajya under auspicious moments. It is here interesting to remember a reference made by Utpala in his commentary on Brhat-Jataka of Varahamihira. The commentary dates from S'aka 888, i.e., 966 A.D. In his comm. on Br. Ja 15-1, which deals with the question of pravrajya when four or more planets are in one and the same house in a person's horoscope and are strong, Utpala quotes three Prakrit verses from an author called Vankalakacharya. The Br. Ja. says that according as Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Moon, Venus, Saturn or the Sun is the most powerful of the four planets in one house, the ascetic order to which the person belongs is respectively a S'akya, Ajivika, a Vedic Sannyasin, Vrddha, Charaka, a Nirgrantha (naked Kshapanaka) and a hermit subsisting on wild produce. Mm. P. V. Kane, referring to this, writes, "It may however be noted that in the Ms. of Utpala's commentary on the Br. Ja. in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, the name is in some places Ban-
kalakacharya and in others Bangalakacharya and that the ms. quotes three more Prakrit verses on the same than those occurring in the printed edition. The learned writer further says: "It is a question whether the printed text is corrupt and the author is Kalakacharya. It may be noted that Mm. Kane's doubts that the author quoted here is Kalakacharya are justified in view of the evidence of the Panchakalpa-Bhashya cited above.

I quote below the relevant passage of Utpala's comm. from the printed edition (Bombay, Venkatesvara press, 1980 V. S.), p. 156:—

एते वंकालकमवाद् त्याख्याताः । तक्षा च वंकालकाचार्यः ।

“तावसिओ दिण्णाहे चन्दे कावालिओ तहा भणिओ ।

रत्तवडो भुमिसुवे सोमसेवे एअदंडीआ ॥

देवमुरु शुक्क कोणे क्कमेण जई चरअसमणार्ह ।”

अस्यार्थः—तावसिओ तापसिकः दिण्णाहे दिननाक्षे सर्थे चन्दे चन्दे कावालिओ कापलिकः तहा भणिओ तक्ष भणितः । रत्तवडो रत्तपदः भूमिसुवे भूमिसुते सोमसुवे सोमसुते बुधे एअदंडीआ एकदंडी ।....क्कमेण क्कमेण जई चरि चरअ चरकः खवाणई अपणकः । अत्र वृद्धश्रावकग्रहणं महेश्वराश्रितानां प्रव्रज्या नामुपलअणार्थं । आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानाम् । तक्ष च वंकालके संहितान्तरं पठयते—

“जलस हर सुगअ केसव सूर्ई ब्रह्मण णम्म मग्गेयु ।

दिकखाणं णाअत्वा सूराइग्गहा क्कमेण णाहगआ ॥

जलण ज्वलनः सामिक इत्यर्थः । हर ईश्वरभक्तः भट्टारकः सुगअ सुगतबौद्ध इत्यर्थः । केसव केशवभक्तः । सूर्ई श्रुतिमागतः मीमांसकः । ब्राह्मणः ब्रह्मयक्तः वानप्रस्थः । णग्ग नम्रः अपणकः ।

It will be seen that the gathas of Kalaka or Vankalaka quoted above are in the Prakrit language used by the Jinas. The import-

ance of this passage lies in the fact that according to Utpala this Vankalakacharya is earlier in age than Varahamihira, i.e., earlier than c. 505 A.D. The name Vankalakacharya may be a corruption of the original Kalakacharya or is it a reference to Kalakacharya who had gone to Vanka or Banka in the Suvarnabhumi?

Who is this Kalakacharya that went to Suvarnabhumi and whose pupil's pupil is Sagara S'ramana? What is the age of these two great Jaina monks reported to be well-versed in the Jaina canons? Is there any reference in the Jaina Pattavalis to a monk who is famous in lands beyond the sea? The answer to this is fortunately available in a very interesting way.

Of all the Pattavalis the lists of monks supplied by the Kalpa sutra and the Nandi sutra are the oldest. The Sthaviravali of the Nandi sutra is older than that of the Kalpa sutra and therefore more reliable. The following gathas of the Nandi list may be noted:—

एलावच्चसगोत्तं, वंपामि महागिरिं सुहृत्क्षिं च ।
तो कोसियगोत्तं, बहुलस्स सरित्त्वयं वंदे ॥ २५ ॥
हारियमुत्तं साइं च वंदिमो हारियं च सामज्जं ।
वंदे कोसियगोत्तं संडिल्लं अज्जजीयधरं ॥ २६ ॥
तिसमुद्दखायकित्तिं दीवसमुद्देसु गहियपेयालं ।
वंदे अज्जसमुद्दं, अकखुभियसमुद्दगं भीरं ॥ २७ ॥

—S'ri Nandi-sutra-Pattavali, pub. in Pattavali-samuchchaya, pp. 12-13.

In the above verses Arya Samudra, the pupil of Arya Sandilla the pupil of Arya S'yama is reported to be one whose fame has travelled in the three oceans and who has been regarded as an authority in the islands and oceans. Now Samudra and Sagara are identical in meaning. Besides in the whole list Arya Samudra is the only monk who is referred to as tri-samudra-khyata-kirtti. Arya S'yama is regarded as one of the Kalakacharyas by Muni Kalyanavijaya and others. Leaving aside the question of identifications of different Kalakas, it may be noted that Muni Kalyanavijaya has identified the first Kalaka with Arya S'yama, following the Ratnasamuchchaya-prakarana and other traditions. The age of Arya S'yama according to Jaina traditional calculations is 335 to 376 after Mahavira's Nirvana. This would be equivalent to 192-151 B.C. if we accept the traditional date of Mahavira's Nirvana in 527 B.C., and to 133-92 B.C. if we accept 468 B.C. as the date of Nirvana of Mahavira as arrived at by Jacobi on calculations based on the evidence of Hemachandracharya.

In the Kalpasutra Sthaviravali Arya Kalaka who is credited with nigoda-vyakhyana (exposition of the nigodas) precedes Khandila or Sandila. Comparing the Nandi and the Kalpa sutra

lists it is clear that Arya S'yama was also known as Kalakacharya and that Sandila or Khandila was his successor as Yugapradhana acharya. It is said that this exposition of the Nigodas was done before Indra by Kalaka. But even here the element of knowledge of nimitta-sastra on the part of Kalaka is seen in the accounts. The account must therefore refer to the Kalaka who was well-versed in nimitta-sastra. That Kalakacharya, the knower of nimittas sastra, was a historical figure is proved by the reference to his gathas given by Utpala, and that he preceded Varahamihira is also known. From an analysis of all the Jaina accounts of Kalakacharya, Muni Kalyanavijayaji came to the conclusion that there were two Kalakas, one in 335-376 after Mahavira, the other in c. 453 after Mahavira. The story of Indra approaching the first Kalaka is obviously legendary, while all the accounts of Kalakacharya have only one common element and that is his knowledge of the nimitta-sastra. The Kalakacharya connected with Garddabhila story is also an adept in nimitta and mantra-sastras. The Kalaka who went to Parasakula and who brought the S'akas could also go to Suvarnabhumi. He must have been one who did not stick to orthodox beliefs and practices. Possibly his inviting the S'akas, his compiling the Anuyogas, etc., was responsible for dissatisfaction of and opposition from many people including his own retinue at Uruin and he ultimately went away to Suvarnabhumi with a broken heart.

W. Norman Brown collected a number of variants of the Kalaka story and analysed the evidence in his story of Kalaka, pp. 3 ff. According to him there are three Kalakas, "the first died Vira era 376; the second flourished (perhaps became *Suri*) Vira era 153; the third was living in Vira era 993." However as regards Kalaka III he admits that the "situation is far from satisfactory" and that in his case the "Jaina tradition is made to contradict itself. Brown and Kalyanavijaya identify Kalaka I with Arya S'yama. According to above, Kalaka I died in 151 B.C. and Kalaka II flourished in 74 B.C. (probably became *Suri*) if 527 B.C. is the date of Mahavira's Nirvana. If 468 B.C. be regarded as the date of M.'s Nirvana then Kalaka I died in 112 B.C. and Kalaka II lived in 15 B.C. Brown has not been able to assign definitely to any of the first two Kalakas, the episode regarding reproof of vainglorious spiritual grandson Sagara S'ramana. We have however sufficient reason to connect it with Kalaka I (Arya S'yama) the master of scriptural knowledge who was the author of *anuyoga* texts and who had acquired nimittajñana from Ajivikas.

We could have ascribed the episodes of Sagara S'ramana and the acquisition of knowledge from Ajivikas to Kalaka II, but we cannot do so on account of the Nandi list.

We must now regard Kalakacharya as a historical personage who lived in c. 191-151 B.C. or in c. 133-92 B.C., especially when we have gathas of this nimittajña Kalaka quoted by Utpala.

Since, according to my analysis, all the incidents of Kalaka stories refer to one Kalaka and since Kalaka is associated with

Garddabhila and Vikrama, it is more likely that this Kalaka lived in 133-92 B.C. The Jaina accounts are vague but they do show that some time had elapsed between the Saka conquest and the conquest by Vikrama. But this is a problem on which we must defer our conclusion at this stage.

One thing is quite clear: In the last quarter of the second century B.C. or in the beginning of the first century B.C., the Jaina merchants must have gone to Suvarnabhumi in sufficient numbers to maintain a big retinue of Jaina monks headed by Sagara Sramana. The story of Charudatta in the Vasudevahindi is based on the lost Brhat-katha of Gunadhya composed in the Satavahana court. Indian merchants seem to have been trading with South West China through Yunan and Burma in c. 130 B.C. as is shown by the account of Chang Kien who was sent in c. 1287 B.C. to Bactria and who found Chinese goods in the local market brought through India (by possibly Indian merchants) from South West China.

I am here reminded of another tradition noted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 650. He writes, "An Annamite text gives some particulars of an Indian named Khaudala. He was born in a Brahmana family of Western India and was versed in magical art. He went to Tonkin by sea, probably about the same time as Jivaka, mentioned above. *He lived in caves or under trees, and was also known as Ca-la-cha-la Kalacharya, black preceptor.* (The italics are mine). Does this refer to a tradition about Kalakacharya and his immediate disciple Khandila or Sandilla miscalled Khaudala and are Khaudala and Kalaka mixed up here? It may be noted here that one of the Kalaka legends describes him as originally Brahmin by birth. It may also be noted that Kalakacharya in the Pancha-Kalpa-Churni and Bhashya accounts is described as staying under the Bunyan tree when the Satavahana kings meet him. The Annamite tradition also says that this 'black preceptor' lived in caves or under trees and was well-versed in magical art.

The source of Dr. Majumdar seems to be Cho Chau Phap Van Phat Bah hanh ngi lue, an Annamese work of the 14th century. On p. 217, the text says, "Towards the end of the reign of Ling Han (168-188 A.D.), Jivaka was travelling. Khaudala (Kiu-to-lo-Ksudra) arrived about the same time from Western India. He had another name Ca-la-cha-lo (Kia-lo-cho-lo—Kalacharya)." According to this tradition, the date of Kalacharya would fall in the last quarter of the second century A.D. This Kalacharya can be identified with Kalaka only if it is supposed that the Annamese tradition of the fourteenth century has wrongly made Jivaka and Kalacharya contemporaries. For this we have to wait for some more evidence.

The evidence of Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya and Churni of Pancha-Kalpa-Bhashya and Churni and of several other texts need not be regarded as baseless and it is safer to assume that Kalaka did go to Suvarnabhumi. This is further supported by the Naddi sutra evidence about Arya Samudra (—Sagara).

One of the Ayagapatas from Mathura, the tablet set up by Svamitra of Kausika family, (Smith, *Jaina Stupa*, pl. XIII, Ep. Ind., I. inser. No. 33) is noteworthy. Here Svamitra is described as wife of Gotiputra, a black serpent to Pethayas and Sakas. According to Smith, the characters of the inscription on this Jaina Ayagapata are "archaic characters, apparently interior to the Kusana period." (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 20). This Gotiputra, the destroyer of Parthians (Pothayas) and Sakas may be Gautamiputra, the Satavahana king. And now we know from the Pancha-Kalpa-Bhashya that one of the Satavahana kings was interested in the result of the siege of or attack of Mathura. According to another account in the Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya, (Vol. VI. pp. 1647 ff. gathas 6244—19 and commentary) a dandanayaka of a Satavahana king conquered both the Mathuras, the Northern as well as the Southern. It is therefore certain that the Jaina accounts do mention a Satavahana king conquering Mathura in the North. The evidence of the Ayagapata cited above would suggest that this Satavahana (Salahana) king was Gautamiputra. The Jaina leanings of the Satavahana king are also evidenced by another story of Kalaka which says that Kalaka changed the Paryushana date on the request of Satavahana king.

Now, since the Jogalthembi hoard shows that Gautamiputra Satkarni restruck coins of Nahapana it is quite certain that the Jaina traditions of a Satavahana king attacking Nahapana (Nahavamana) at Broach (vide Brhat-Kalpa-Bhashya, I. p. 52 and Avasyaka Churni, II, pp. 200 c., are reliable. But if this Gautamiputra, the contemporary of Nahapana, is identical with the Gotiputra of Mathura Ayagapata and the Satavahana contemporary of Kalaka asking questions about Mathura, then it is not possible to identify Arya Syama (Kalaka I) as the Kalaka whom the Satavahana king asked three questions. But as we have seen, the Kalaka to whom the questions were put was the author of *anuyogas*, and his pupils were not faithful to him. So he must be the same Kalaka who went to Suvarnabhumi, i.e., Arya Syama, the grand-teacher of Arya Samudra.

The discrepancy can be easily solved. The Satavahana king making inquiries about Mathura may not be Gautamiputra. In the accounts of Nahapana and his Satavahana aggressor, Kalaka is not mentioned at all. Kalaka is mentioned in accounts about change of Paryushana day in which case Balamitra and Bhanumitra at Broach or Ujjain are the contemporaries of the Satavahana king and Kalaka. It may be true Gautamiputra conquered both the Mathuras, but there was another siege of Mathura in the first or second century B.C., which is suggested from the inscription on Kharavela, but leaving aside the doubtful interpretations of Kharavela's inscription we have another evidence of Menander besieging Mathura as suggested by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in his interpretation of. Obviously a Satakarni would be interested in the result of such a siege.

We should therefore have no hesitation in identifying Arya Syama as Kalakacharya who went to Suvarnabhumi, who learnt

nimitta from Ajivikas, who gave some predictions about the siege of Mathura and who composed the anuyoga texts.

If at all the Kalaka of the Garddabhila legends is Kalaka II then this Kalaka II's date according to both Muni Kalyanavijaya (Vide, Dvivedi Abhinandana Grantha) and Brown would be C. 453 after Mahavira, i.e., 74 B.C. or 15 B.C. according as the date of Nirvana is 527 B.C. or 468 B.C. As I have suggested above I am inclined to the view that the incidents ascribed to Kalaka II however relate to Kalaka I. This is discussed elaborately in my forthcoming book on Kalakacharya.

We must now accept that Jaina monks and laymen had been to Suvarnabhumi in the first or second century B.C.



PARALLELISM OF TALES BETWEEN APABHRAMSA AND WESTERN LITERATURE

by

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It has already been established beyond doubt that numerous stories and fairy tales found in the Pali Jatakas and the Sanskrit Pancha-tantra, Hitopadesa and Katha-sarit-sagara, have in the past, travelled from India to the West. In the course of their journey, they have, in many cases, changed to a considerable extent. But the original core of the story is always discernible by a proper scrutiny.

The story which I want to draw attention to here, is the one which forms a part of the Sugandha-dasami-katha in Apabhramsa. It narrates the life of a rich man's daughter whose mother died while she was young. The father married again and had another daughter from his second wife. The step daughter was ill-treated to the utmost extent, and in due course, during the absence of the father, married to one who was taken to be a cowherd. The latter ultimately turned out to be the king, and the unfortunate girl was thus suddenly elevated from her miserable position to the status of a queen. But before narrating the details of this story, I would like to introduce its two counter-parts in French and German.

The French story was collected in the first part of the forty-one volumes of *Cabinet des Fees* by Charles Perrault. It has since become very popular and its English version is frequently reproduced in children's books under the title Cindrella or The Little Glass Slipper. Briefly, the story is as follows:—

A rich man's wife died, leaving behind her a beautiful young daughter. The father married again, and his second wife brought with her into her new home her two daughters by her former husband. The latter were not so beautiful as their motherless half-sister; therefore they as well as their mother were very jealous of her. As a result of this jealousy, she was very much neglected and harassed. She had to do all the domestic work as well as serve her more fortunate sisters in maintaining their fashion and tastes. There was once a dance festival arranged at the palace at which the prince was expected to choose his bride. The two daughters with their mother went to attend the same, while poor Cindrella was left behind to roll in the cinders which had given her the name. Her lamentations drew the attention of a fairy who transformed her into a fashionable young maid and provided her with a magic carriage and entourage to escort her to the royal festival. There, her charms attracted the attention of the prince who danced with her for the most part. She was invited for the second day also, and she went there again with similar magic equipment. The prince

was enchanted and he spent his whole time with her. She was also enraptured so much in the company of the prince that she forgot to return to her residence before midnight as was prescribed by her god-mother, the fairy. When the clock struck twelve, she was shocked and rushed out of the palace. In the hurry, one of her magical glass slippers slipped from her foot and was left behind. The magic carriage and guard were no more there, and she had to struggle her way up in her usual rags with great difficulty. Luckily, the wheel of her step-sisters' carriage gave way on the road, and therefore they were also late in returning home. Thus, her absence remained undiscovered and she escaped the punishment which might otherwise have been inflicted on her. The glass-slipper which was left in the palace was picked up by the prince and he insisted that he would marry only the bearer of that slipper. A vigorous search was, therefore, made but the slipper would not fit any maiden in the capital: it was either a bit too short or a bit too large. At last, it was tried on the foot of the very unlikely girl Cindrella, and lo, it fitted her foot excellently. Not only that, she took out the other slipper from her bosom where she had kept it hidden all this time, and put it on her other foot. The proof was irrefutable and the turn of fortune did take place. Cindrella was no more an orphan; she was now the princess.

The German version of the story is called *Ashputtel*. It occurs in the *Kinder Und Hausmärchen* a collection of folk tales in three volumes by Jacob Ludwick Karl Grim. Here the introductory part of the story is the same as in the French version. But the development of the story differs. The father wants to go to a big fair and asks his daughters what he should bring for them. His two step-daughters ask for dresses and ornaments, but his motherless daughter Ashputtel desired that he should bring for her the twig of a tree which might touch his hat on the way. Accordingly, the father brought for her the twig of a Hazel tree which Ashputtel planted on the grave of her mother and sprinkled it over with her tears. By her daily care, it grew into a big tree. There is then the dance festival at the place, and Ashputtel attends the same through the kindness of a bird which dwelt on that Hazel tree. The festival lasted for three days, and on the last day she forgot her time to return. She rushed home, and the prince chased her right upto the garden of her residence where she suddenly vanished out of his sight. The disappointed prince however got hold of her golden slipper which was the next day tried on the feet of her first step-sister. The mother succeeded in squeezing her foot in by cutting off her big toe. But when the prince rode with her by the side of the Hazel tree, a voice came that he was deceived. So the prince discarded her, and the gold slipper was tried on the foot of her younger sister. The mother again squeezed her foot in without minding the profuse bleeding. But again when he rode with her the bird at the Hazel tree warned him that he was again deceived. This time the slipper was tried on the foot of Ashputtel, and it fitted her excellently. This time the Hazel bird approved of his choice and Ashputtel became the princess.

As compared to these, the story in *Sugandha-dasami-katha* in Apabhramsa is as follows:—

Jinadatta, the rich merchant of Ratanpur, had a beautiful daughter Tilakamati. Her mother died while she was yet young. The merchant married again and got, from his second wife, another daughter Tejamati. The latter was not so beautiful as the former, and this was a source of jealousy for the other who took revenge upon her by maltreating and harassing her. This went on, and the daughters grew to maturity. The merchant was thinking of their marriage when the king, named Kanakaprabha, commissioned him to go to a distant island for purchasing jewels and precious stones. The merchant advised his wife to marry off the girls without waiting for him, if suitable matches were available. The suitors would prefer Tilakamati, but the mother was more interested in her own daughter. A match was at last fixed. On the marriage night she left Tilakamati on the cremation ground saying that according to their family custom, her suitor would come there to marry her. The suitor came, introduced himself as *Mahishi-pala* and married her. A dingy room was assigned to her. Her husband would visit her at night and left before dawn. He once brought for her rich costumes and ornaments. But when the mother saw them she at once suspected that they must belong to the palace and her husband must have stolen them. About this time the merchant returned home. On being told by his wife that Tilakamati had married by her own choice, and her husband appears to have stolen the ornaments for her from the palace, the merchant felt alarmed and thought it safe to report the matter at once to the king. The king desired that he could be forgiven only if he could get information about the thief from his daughter, so that he might be arrested. But Tilakamati could not describe him as she had never seen him in broad day-light. She however used to wash his feet daily when he came to her at night. Therefore, the touch of his feet was familiar to her. A big feast was at last arranged to which the king as well as all the people of the city were invited. The duty of washing the feet of the guests from behind the curtain was entrusted to Tilakamati. In this way the thief was caught, and he turned out to be no other than the king himself. He then explained how on that night he observed light at the burial ground, how he came there to know who the maiden sitting there was and how on learning her lot he decided to marry her. And he was not wrong in introducing himself to the maiden as *Mahishi-pala* which should not be taken to mean the keeper of buffaloes, but the protector of queen. Tilakamati was now no more a harassed maid, she was now the queen.

The basic framework of the Apabhramsa, French and German stories is the same—the motherless child, the jealousy and tyranny of the step-mother towards her, contact with a prince and acquisition of queenship. There are however differences in the details of the stories and these are noteworthy as they reveal essential divergences between the Indian and the Western ideals and customs. While in the Western stories the second wife comes into the home with two daughters from her former husband, no such contingency

is conceivable here, and the second wife gets her child after the marriage. There are again no dances and festivities at the Court to which the Indian family maids go to participate in. The king's attraction, on the contrary, is drawn towards the unfortunate girl by her extra-ordinary presence at the cemetery at night and the story of her misfortune consequent upon her father's absence from home by the king's order. The pun on the word '*Mahishi-pala*' is peculiar to Indian literary genius. The wife's claim that she could recognise her husband better by the touch of his feet than by the sight of his face is supremely Indian. One particularly noteworthy feature of the Apabhramsa story is that it has absolutely no supernatural element in it at any stage of its development, while the Western tales depend so much upon the part of the fairy that they would collapse without her. The Western story is fabulous, while the Indian story is highly romantic. With all these differences, however, the motif of all the stories is the same, namely, the tyranny of the step-mother and the turn of fortune by the inscrutable ways of destiny. It is not yet possible for me to demonstrate the steps by which the story might have migrated from country to country. All that I can do at this stage is to draw the attention to the age at which the story is known to have got currency in each country. The German story was collected by J. L. Karl Grimm who is known to have lived from 1785 to 1863, while the time of the French writer Charles Perrault was from 1628 to 1703 A.D. The authorship and date of the Apabhramsa story is uncertain, but manuscripts of the work have been found which are dated earlier than the 17th century. One manuscript in my possession is dated Samvat 1676 which is equivalent to 1678 A.D. There is a rendering of the story in Marathi verse by *Jina-sagara*, pupil of *Devendrakirti*, whose known dates range from 1649 to 1685 Saka, equivalent to 1727-1763 A.D. One manuscript of this work which I have seen is beautifully illustrated with more than seventy multi-coloured pictures exhibiting the various situations and events of the story. This work has been used in a temple for public recital and exhibition of the story on the *Sugandhdasami* day which falls on the 10th of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhadrapada i.e., August-September, as it illustrates the result of observing a fast on that day. A Hindi rendering of the story in verse is by Pandit Khushal Chandra who is known to have lived in the first part of the 18th century A.D. But he says that he has based his work on that of *Brahmachari* Srutasagara who is known to have lived about 1500 A.D. Thus, the Indian story is, so far as the literary traditions go, the earliest of the versions mentioned above, and it is justifiable to claim that India was the source of the story in France, Germany and England.

A NOTE ON THE REMARKS OF PISCHEL
ON THE ILLUSTRATIVE GATHAS OF
HEMACHANDRA'S DESINAMAMALA

by

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Of all the foreign scholars in the sphere of Prakrit, the names of Harmon Jacobi and Richard Pischel are pre-eminent; and of these Richard Pischel, one of the brightest luminaries in the firmament of the West in oriental culture, is a Prakrit savant of unique reputation. His "Grammatik Der Prakrit Sprachen" is a monumental work, occupying the highest position in the land of Prakrit Philology. It is surprising that such an erudite scholar on the illustrative Gathas of Hemachandra's Desinamamala makes the following hasty, rash and preposterous remarks:—

"Another great difficulty was raised by the examples which Hemachandra adds at the end of the commentary on each stanza of the ekarthasabdās. These examples are either void of all sense, or of an incredible stupidity. It was not indeed easy to compile examples from words combined in the same stanza by the mere chance of alphabetical arrangement and the equal number of syllables. But even granting this, Hemachandra might, I think, have done his task far better; or, if the examples were composed by his disciples, he should not have admitted them into his work. In a few cases he has given two examples on one stanza, and had he done this throughout, we should not have to complain so much of the extreme absurdity of these verses. It was a most disgusting task to make out the sense, or rather nonsense, of these examples, some of which have remained rather obscure to me. But as they often are the only means of ascertaining the correct meaning of a Desisabda, and besides contain some valuable materials for Prakrit lexicography and grammar, I have spared neither time nor labour to make them as readable as their purport will allow."

A careful persual of the illustrative Gathas of Hemachandra will show how unjust Pischel's remarks regarding some of the gathas have been. With the aid of the various readings consulted by Pischel and given in the foot-note, one can make out the sense, or the highly poetical sense, which can be compared to the best specimens of some of our most illustrious poets and masterminds—the Titans of poetic genius—who could stand comparison with the most illustrious Muses of the words. Pischel's charges against Hemachandra's verses that they, are "void of all sense or of an incredible stupidity," or 'rather non-sense', are so full of errors and confusions that it will not be a case of exaggeration if we say that Pischel, 'hav-

ing vast materials and manuscripts at his disposal and never shrugging nor shrinking from keeping a constant keen vigil,' did not use them to advantage.

The editor of the Calcutta University edition of the same book endeavours first to refute the above remarks of Pischel with some examples illustrated in the introduction. He, furthermore, gives some improved readings in the introduction. Still he does not explain all the confusions noticed in that edition.

Next comes the second edition of Pischel's *Desinamamala* in the year 1938, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4, with introduction, critical notes and glossary by P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Principal, Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram. The first edition of Pischel came in the year 1880. The Calcutta University edition came in 1931. But the 1938 edition does not appear to have utilised the previous editions. Except for providing an elaborate introduction discussing the life and works of Hemachandra and a glossary with their English meanings where some anomalies have been noticed, and mentioning a few discussions regarding the main text, it is practically a reprint of the first so far as the text is concerned.

Next we have the very recent edition of Prof. Bechardasji Jain, who is a versatile and crude scholar and has edited many texts. He fully utilises the above mentioned edition and adopts the view of Calcutta edition, though he departs here and there, which again seems to us unhappy and inconsistent. His Sanskrit rendering (*haya*), of course, in some verses, leaves us in a realm of darkness in making out the true and happy sense or meaning. His Gujarati translation of the verses is very helpful, no doubt, to the reader of Prakrit.

This is all regarding the editions of *Desinamamala* edited by so many scholars.

Now, it needs mention in this connection that the true method of finding out a sense depends entirely upon the proper consultation and collation of the manuscripts, sometimes by joining one or two words, if necessary, or sometimes by separating or by emendations, where the sense urgently so requires. Because, it is a matter of great surprise but nevertheless perfectly true that in ancient times the manuscripts do undergo change of colour with odds beyond arithmetic, due to the corruption and confusion of the MSS., or due to the ignorance of the scribes; or due to some additions that are made with the intention of improving the author. As a sequel to this, the interchanges of *ca* (च) and *va* (व) *sa* (स) and *ma* (म) *ka* (क) and *pha* (फ) *tha* (थ) and *gha* (घ) etc. as noticed also by Mr. Colebrooke, were so much that we are quite at a loss to decide which was correct and should be taken. So the "collators of manuscripts best know how the original readings of ancient classics do undergo change of complexion, and some-

times beyond recognition, at the hands of grammarians, rhetoricians, prosodists, and lexicographers;: how blots and blemishes steal into the manuscripts through the negligence or ignorance of the scribes; how the intrusive hand of the poetasters, deluded by a chimerical and insolvent hope of improving the author, inflicts a wound here and there, more serious than the mere negligence or ignorance of the copyists; how archaism gradually gives way to modern manners of expression at the hands of scholiasts long habituated to and well conversant with familiar forms and phraseologies of the modern classics."

So is the case with Hemachandra's Desinamamala particularly of Pischel's edition. Some times, it seems to us that the readings given in the foot-note by Pischel are preferable to the readings given in the main text. Sometimes the readings of the main text are better than that of the foot-note. "Even his manuscript 'B' which he regards as 'very correct' constantly interchanges च and ँ Besides other mistakes due to the confusion of letters, in the manuscripts, words are combined and separated without any regard to their sense. The copyists employed not being scholars, such errors are inevitable. It is for this reason perhaps that at the end of the manuscripts is generally found a statement of the copyists which has run into a proverb '*yaddrstam tallikhitam*' (As seen so written)—a statement made by the scribes to save their own skin. A critical editor, however, is not justified in holding the author responsible for the possible errors of the ignorant scribes. We would not have complained so much of the strong remarks of Pischel had his readings been supported by all the manuscripts used. The manuscript B which he regards as 'very correct', the manuscript F which, he says, 'with the exception of a few trifling differences agrees closely with 'B' and the manuscript G which 'gives the best text of the commentary' do not generally support the readings adopted by Pischel but give readings that show a marked improvement in the sense".

The above discussions will be clarified if we discuss a few examples which will make us understand what we intend to say. In this short limited space and time, it is not possible to give an exhaustive treatment of the subject; the utmost that is possible, is to present a few examples before the erudite assembly in order to judge the veritable validity and veracity of the statement.

EXAMPLE I

Pischel's Reading:—

adac sunahi ayade anada-adayanampie sarasi kale.
amdhamdhumavinayavararahavvathanam tamittha anado kim.

Its Chaya, as given by Bechardasji:—

asati! srnu kupe jarasati-priyan smarasi kale.
kupam jara satistthanam tvamatra jarah kim.

Remarks:—

The assumption of the readnig 'Sunahi' (सुनाहि) and 'ayade' (अयहे) as independent words in Pischel's edition followed by other editions, gives us a sense that does not appear to be happy and consistent. But these two words when combined सुनाहि + अयहे=सुनाफि कूपे acting as a Vahubrihi compound representing vocative singular form of a feminine base ending in a and referring to 'adae' (अडए) as an attributive adjunct, will present us a good sense. Because the comparison "nabhikupa" (नाफि कूप) 'nabhigarta' (नाफिगर्त) etc. is rather usual in Indian Literature. Furthermore, even Hemachandra, in the same Book uses that comparison more than once.

It may be noted here that the interpretation as revealed in the Sanskrit Chaya and vernacular translation of Professor Bechardasji's edition introduces additional difficulties. The first difficulty is to take 'anades-adayana-pie' as an accusative case treating its verb 'sarasi' (= Sk. Smarasi). Because any thought of the favourites of the paramours and the courtesans serves very little to help the unchaste lady addressed here in attaining the fulfilment of her desire to meet her lover, which seems to be the central idea of the couplet intended by the author.

Further the next difficulty is with the words amdhamdhum-avinayavarahavvathanam". Here 'amdhamdhum' (अंघंधु) is evidently an accusative form of a masculine base and naturally therefore the object of the verb "sarasi" (सरसि) tells the same story of incoherence.

The third difficulty is with the root 'sarasi' (सरसि). Because the use of the Prakrit root 'sara' (सर) as an equivalent to Sanskrit root 'smr' (स्मृ) to remember, is far less common than the Sanskrit root 'sr' (सृ) to go. And it may be added here that the many substitutes of the Sanskrit root 'smr' (स्मृ) the form sumara (सुमर) very often puts in appearance, in Desinama-mala and the form 'sara' (सर) is extremely rare.

Moreover, 'kale' (काले) without any qualifying adjunct seems vague and abrupt and has to lean on some such word as 'upayukte' or (उपयेक्ते) or nirddiste (निर्दिष्टे) to be taken as understood.

The verbal inflexion in 'sarasi' (सरसि) points unmistakably to a second person singular, rendering thereby the nominative tam' (तम्)= Sk. 'tvam' (त्वम्) pleonastic.

Hence we suggest that 'anada-adayana-pie' should be taken in a locative form qualifying the word 'kale', that is, 'the time pleasing to the paramours and courtesans which no doubt yields a sense, happy and consistent, and 'sarasi' in the sence of going, its object being 'amdhamdhum', when avinaya-varahavvathanam will

stand in apposition to it i.e. the going of an unchaste lady to the well which is the meeting place of the paramours and courtesans. The Prakrit word 'tam' should stand for sanskrit 'tad' and not 'tvam' in the sense 'therefore', rendering irresistibly the query "तमिन् अण्डो किम्" (तदत्रारः किम्?) 'is there any paramour (waiting for you)?', as is warranted by the clues furnished by the clauses already described. In the light of the suggestion the couplet is rid of all vagueness, pleonasm and incoherence, and reveals a description of a mistress meeting her lover which we come across, not infrequently, in Sattasati of Hala. Hence the improved reading suggested should be—

adye! sunahiayade! anada-adayanapie sarasi kale.
anidhamdhumayinayavarahavvathanam tamitha anado kim.

Its chaya:—

asati! sunabhikupe! jarasatipriye sarasi kale.
kunpam jarasatisthanam tadatra kim.

EXAMPLE II.

Pischel's Reading:—

Sumadara Goramgie goriajjeya tii Supasanna.
Ekkallapudinga hu enuvasie agao si jam kale.

Improved Reading:—

Sundara go ramgie gori ajjeja tñi Supasanna.
Ekkallapudinigahuenuivasie agao si jam kale.

Remarks:—"Pischel's reading makes ekkallapudinge a vocative, meaning 'Oh drizzling rain' and 'enuvasie' apparently in the locative meaning 'in frog'. Neither of these words can be syntactically connected with sumdara in the vocative and kale in the locative. Thus the reading of Pischel is no doubt a good instance of what he regards as Hemachandra's 'incredible stupidity'. By combining the separated words, given by Pischel into a compound qualifying kale we get a very poetical description of the rainy season and the whole stanza becomes a very appropriate welcome to the lover, arriving at the advent of the rains to his darling".¹

Due to want of space and time, it is not possible to give all such discrepancies with full discussions; hence I prefer to give some improved readings which should be discussed in the light given above.

¹ The above is taken from Calcutta edition in order to show the method followed by him. (P. xlv),

EXAMPLE III

Pischel's Reading:—

avayadia bhadehim ghallia avayasinin nadijjanta.
bhua-maya-avakkarasaphalamarino ahamanjula tuha lah-
anti.

Improved Readings:—

avayadia ghallia-avayasini-nadijjanta.
bhuamaya.....lahanti.

EXAMPLE IV.

Pischel's Reading:—

pia kaviskacchara tuman kallain kassainininahi a sumca
Kallota Kali Kacca Kodunibanam munjjai na bheo.

Improved Readings:—

pia-kavisakaccara.....
.....no bheo."

EXAMPLE V.

Pischel's Reading:—

Varanahi kumbhini kumtalakammam caiya khella kuddana-
yani.

dadh Kosalasahiahim Kulthuharttham dadhesu sukule.

Improved Readings:—

Varanatu-kumbhini! kutalikammani.....
.....sukunle.

If the gathas are read in the manner pointed out above, they can no longer be regarded as examples of extreme 'absurdity'; and it will, further, be appreciated even by the scholars both Occidental and Oriental.

'The introduction of this discourse is intended neither to disparage the readings adopted by Pischel nor to avoid queries from inquisitive corners, but solely illustrate and account for the unseemly difference in reading, where special attention has been given to the careful collation of manuscripts.

जैनदर्शनस्य अक्रियावादः

(आचार्यः श्री तुलसी)

दर्शनस्येतिवृत्ते तद् दिनमतिमहत्त्वपूर्णम्, यस्मिन् अक्रियावादस्य सैद्धान्तिकी व्यवस्था समजनि ।

आत्मनोन्वेषणमपि तदा निष्ठां प्राप, यदावबुद्धो मतिमता मानवेन नूनमक्रियावादः ।

मोक्षस्य स्वरूपमपि तस्मिन्नवसरे सुनिश्चितमभूद् यदा अक्रियावादं साक्षाच्चकार दार्शनिकं जगत् ।

“ गौतमेन पृष्ठम्—भगवन्, जीवाः सक्रिया उताहो अक्रियाः ? भगवान् प्राह—गौतम ! अपि सक्रिया अक्रियाश्च, द्विविधा आत्मानः—शरीरिणो मुक्ताश्च । मुक्ता नूनमक्रियाः । सशरीरा अपि सन्निहित—मोक्षाः शैलेशां प्रतिपन्नाः (सर्वथा निरुद्धमनोवाक्कायव्यवहाराः) पञ्चह्रस्वाक्षरोच्चारणपरिमितकालादूर्ध्वं मोक्ष्यमाणाः अक्रियाः । सकलाश्च शेषाः स'क्रियाः ” ॥

क्रिया सहजास्ति शरीरवताम् इति सर्वसम्मतम् । परमात्मनः स्वरूपमस्ति सहजमक्रियामयम्—इति संविदा सहैव निश्चितमभूदिदम्—क्रियास्ति खल्वात्मनो विभावः—क्रिया वीर्यप्रभवा । क्षमत्वरूपं वीर्यं मुक्तेष्वापि भवति । परं नांकुरितं भवति तच्छरीरमन्तरा । तेन तल्लब्धि वीर्यमेव, करणवीर्यं वपुष्मतामेव ।²

आत्मवादिनां परमं चरमंच साध्यमस्ति मोक्षः । मोक्ष इति शरीरमोक्षः, बन्ध-मोक्षः, क्रियामोक्षश्च । क्रियातो बन्धः, बन्धाच्छरीरम्, शरीरात् संसारः । मुक्ता अशरीराः, अवन्धाः, अक्रियाश्च ॥

अस्याक्रियावादस्य निर्णयानन्तरमेव क्रियावादस्य पर्यन्वेषणे प्रवृत्तिरभूत् । अस्य (क्रियावादस्य) मार्गणायामर्हिसायाः समजनि चरमो विकासः ॥

अक्रियावादस्याविष्कारात् प्राक्-अक्रिया केवलं विश्रामप्रतिष्ठा चकासामास । कार्ये विश्रान्तानां मनोवाक्कायानां श्रमापनोदाय तत्तत्कार्यकरणाद् विरमणीयमिति बभूव सङ्गतम् । किन्तु कायोत्सर्ग-मौन-चित्तवृत्तिनिरोध-संप्रज्ञातासंप्रज्ञातनिर्वीजसमाधीनां सिद्धान्तः कस्यचिन् महत्त्वपूर्णस्य साध्यस्य सिद्धयै नानुभूतिं गतः । “ न कर्मणा कर्म क्षपयन्ति धी'राः । ” इति कर्मनिवृत्तिघोषो निनाय प्राबल्यं तदानीमेव वचनहार-मार्गस्य द्वन्द्वमभूत् प्रवृत्तं । कर्मप्रायः संसारदशा पथन्तं धावति प्राणिनः । तत् कुर्यु-स्ते न मोक्षमश्नुवीरन्, तत्र कुर्युस्ते न जीवनधारणमपि कर्तुं क्षमेरन्, दूरमास्तां समाजधारणं राष्ट्रधारणञ्च ॥

अस्मात् प्रवृत्तैः शोधनस्य दृष्टिरुपलब्धा । अक्रियामयं साधयमक्रिययैव प्राप्यम् । अक्रियामभियातुं प्रस्थितः सन्नात्मा तां ‘ सामस्त्येते स्पृशति तदा न साध्यं नाम दूरं तिष्ठानु । ततश्चामुष्मिन् पथि प्रवृत्तेः (क्रियायाः) शोधनमक्रिययैव भवितुमस्ति शक्यम् । सा प्रवृत्तिरपि—तत्कर्मापि मोक्षसाधनम्, यदस्ति नूनमसत्क्रियाविरहितम्—निवृत्तिसंवलितम् ॥

नहि सुशकः प्रथमचरण एव सकलक्रियापरित्यागः । तेन मुमुक्षुरपि भवति तत्र प्रवृत्तः तथापि तल्लक्ष्यमक्रियैव' तत्—तेन न वक्तव्यम्, यदि पुनर्वक्तव्यम् तत् तन्-मिथ्यात्वादिदोषा दृष्टं वक्तव्यम् । न चिन्तितव्यम्, यदि चिन्तितव्यमेव तदानीमात्म-हितमेव चिन्तितव्यम् । न कर्तव्यम्, कर्तव्यम् पुनस्तदेव, यन्नापराध्यति साध्यम् ।

एतस्मात् क्रियाशोधन-प्रकरणात् संयम-चारित्र-प्रत्याख्यान-त्यागप्रभृतिभावनानाम-भूदाविर्भावः ।

प्रत्याख्यातव्या-त्यक्तव्या च क्रिया । तेन क्रियावादस्य संज्ञापनमभूत् । तस्य संक्षिप्ता रूपरेखा स्यादेवम्—पञ्चविधा क्रिया ॥

१. कायिकी
२. आधिकरणिकी
३. प्राद्वेषिकी
४. पारितापनिकी
५. प्राणाति^२पात्निकी च

कायिकी क्रिया द्विविधा—(१) अनुपरता (२) दुष्प्रयुक्ता च^१ । मनो-
वाक्कायकर्मणां दुष्प्रयोगो नहि सार्धदिको भवति । हिंसकोऽपि नैतादृशोऽस्ति जगति कश्चित्
यः सततं हिंस्यात् प्रणिनः वितथं वदेत्, धारयेदशुभं वा मनः । किन्तु तदनुपरति-
र्भवति नैरन्तरिकी । दुष्प्रयोगः खल्वव्यक्तायाः अनुपरतेरेवामिव्यक्तिः । इमामन्तर्भूता-
मविरतिरूपां जाग्रतां निद्राणानाञ्च समरूपमनवरतं प्रवर्तमानां सूक्ष्मां क्रियां प्रति न प्रति-
गच्छति लक्ष्यं, तावद् आत्मसाधनायाः कथापि दूरम् । एनां लक्ष्यीकृत्यैव अविरतो
जाग्रदपि स्वपिति, विरतश्च जागर्ति नाम सु^२प्तोऽपि—एतादृशस्य विचारस्य समजायत
प्रतिष्ठा ॥

नानाधिव्याधिधीङितेन मनुजेन कर्मणां दुष्प्रवृत्तेः परिहाराय व्यधायि चरणन्यासो
न तदानुभूतं भवेदोऽपि परमस्ति गन्तव्यम् । परंभवति गतिरबाधिता पर्यन्वेष्टव्यस्य ।
दुःखस्य मूलं शोधयन्ता तेनविदितमिति न केवलं दुष्प्रवृत्तेः करणमेव दुःखकारणं किन्तु
तदविरमणमपि तथैव । क्रमिकपरिज्ञानेन दुःखकारणभूतानां क्रियाणां समुदय एव
परिलक्षितो जा^३तः ॥

शस्त्राणां संयोजनमुत्पादनञ्चेति द्विरूपा आधिकरणिकी । प्राद्वेषिकी चापि जीव-
प्राद्वेषिकी अजीवप्राद्वेषिकीरूपेण द्विविधा । परितापनं प्राणानामतिपातनञ्च स्वतः कृतं परतः
कारितं स्यात्तेन स्वपर भेदादिमे द्वेऽपि द्विरूपे भवतः । अस्मिन् प्रकरणे एका महत्व-
पूर्णा गवेषणा संवृता । सास्ति प्राणातिपाताद् हिंसायाः पार्थक्यानुभूतिः । परितापनं
प्राणातिपातश्च जीवसंबद्ध एव किन्तु हिंसासंबन्धमजीवेनापि धारयति । तेनैव, यथा
प्राद्वेषिक्या जीवाजीवरूपेण द्विप्रकारता, न तथानयोरस्ति ॥

प्राणातिपातस्य विषयः षड्जीवनिका^४यः । सेऽयं हिंसा किन्तु हिंसा मृषावादोऽपि,
अदत्तादानमपि, भैथुनमपि, परिग्रहोऽपि च । नात्रऽसर्वत्र प्राणातिपातः । ज्ञायते च
विषयमीमांसयापि, यथा मृषावादस्य विषयः—सर्वद्रव्याणि, सतोऽपलापोऽसतश्च प्ररूपणं
मृषावादः । स च लोकालोकगतसमस्तवस्तुविषयोऽपि घटते । अदत्तादानस्य विषयः—
ग्रहण-धारण-योग्य द्रव्याणि, यद् वस्तु ग्रहीतुं धर्तुं वा शक्यते तद् विषयमादानं भवति,
न शेषविषयम् । भैथुनस्य विषयः रूपाणि, रूपसहगतद्रव्याणि च । परिग्रहस्य विषयः
सर्वद्रव्याणि । स च प्राणिनामतिलोभात् सकलवस्तुविषयोऽपि भवति । एषां पञ्चाना-

मप्यास्रवाणां परित्यागः—अहिंसा, साच महाव्रतम् । यथाप्राणातिपातादयः पञ्चास्र-
वास्तथा प्राणातिपातविरमणादयः पञ्चापि संवराः । आस्रवः क्रिया, स च भवकारणम् ।
संवराः—अक्रिया, सा च मोक्षकारणम् । उक्तमपि च— “आस्रवो भव हेतुस्यात्,
संवरो मोक्षकारणम् । इतीयमार्हती दृष्टिः, सर्वमन्यत् प्रपञ्चनम् ” । फलितार्थतयेति
वक्तुं शक्यं—क्रिया प्रतिनिवर्तनक्रमेण अक्रियां प्रत्यभिसरणमेव मोक्षाभिमुखता ।
तेनैव — “ पणया वीरा म'हावीहीं, इत्यादि पठ्यमानमस्ति चागमे । प्राणातिपात-
विरमणात्मकं प्रथमं महाव्रतं सर्वजीवविषयम् । तृतीयं चतुर्थं च न स्तः एकदेशविषये ।
द्वितीयपञ्चमे च सर्ववस्तुविषये । एतेनैव अहिंसाया मर्यादाभूमिः व्यापकत्वमाप्तवती ।
ततश्च—आरम्भिकी क्रिया द्विविधा—जीवारम्भिकी, अजीवारम्भिकी चेति विधि^२रभूत् ।
यथा जीवानारम्भमाणस्य कर्मबन्धो भवति तथा खल्वजीवानारम्भमाणस्यापि । अनया
दिशा प्रातीत्यिकी चापि समवसेया । जीवमजीवं वा प्रातीत्य यो रागद्वेषोद्भावस्तज्जो वा
बन्धः, सा क्रमेण जीवप्रातीत्यिकी अजीवप्रातीत्यिकी च । एवमहिंसा व्याप्नोति जीवा-
नजीवानशेषानपि भावान्, अतएव तस्याः समतात्मकं रूपमाविरमूत् । वस्तुस्वभावमपनीय
न साम्यमहिंसयाऽऽपाद्यते, न च सहजं वैषम्यमपनोदयितुं शक्यते । किन्तु जीवा-
जीवादिषु केषुचिदपि प्राप्तेषु वैषम्यवृत्तैः परिहारपूर्वकं फलवानेष भवति महान् साम्य-
समयः । अस्मिन् नास्ति कश्चित् क्षम्यः । स्वार्थं परार्थं वा सार्थकं निरर्थकं वा,
जानन्नजानन् वा, जाग्रच्छयानो वा क्रियापरिणतोऽस्यविरतो वा, क्रियाकरणात् कर्मणा
लिप्यते । अमुम् स्थितिं स्पष्टयितुमेव सामन्तोपनिपातिकी, प्रातीत्यिकी, अर्थदण्डोऽनर्थ
दण्डः, अनाभोग प्रत्यया—आसामन्यासां च बहूनां क्रियाणां महान् प्रपञ्चो विरचित-
स्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः । तदवलोकनार्था निर्दिश्यन्ते कानिखिदागम स्थलानि^३ ॥ जैनागमे
आस्तिकतार्थकः क्रियावादस्य प्रयोगः, अक्रियावादस्य च नास्तिकतार्थको जातः^४ ।
परं नात्र तद् विवक्षा । अत्र सकलापि चर्चा प्रवृत्तिं निवृत्तिञ्च श्रिता वर्तते । प्रवृत्त्या
प्रत्यावर्तनं निवर्तनञ्च निवृत्त्येति तत्त्वं प्रायः सर्वैरपि मोक्षवादिभिर्न्यूनाधिकमात्रयाऽभ्युपगत-
मेव । परन्तु जैनाचार्यैः सुबहु प्रपञ्चितमिदम् । अक्रिया लक्ष्यमिति स्थापयित्वापि नात्र

1. आचारांग ।

2. स्थानांग २-१-६० ।

3. सूत्रकृतांग २-१, प्रज्ञापना ३९, २२ । भगवती १-६, ८-६, १-८, ७-१,
९-३४, १७-१, १७-४, ३-३, ५-६, ७-७, १६-८ ।

4. सूत्र कृतांग १-१०-२१ ।

सिद्धान्तः विडम्बना स्यादिति भूमिकाभेदोऽपि प्रादुराहितः । पूर्वं प्रतिनिवर्तते मिथ्या-
दर्शनप्रत्यया क्रिया । ततश्च क्रमेणाप्रत्याख्याना, परिग्रहिकी, आरम्भिकी, माया¹प्रत्य-
याच ईर्यापथिकी चापि निवर्तते तदा भवत्यक्रिया ॥

तामुद्दिश्य भवति क्रमिको विकासः । तात्पर्यमस्य क्रमिकः क्रिया परित्यागः ।
स खलु भवति सहस्रैवेति विकासोऽपि क्रमिकः । इयमाधार भूमि गुणस्थान क्रमारोहस्य ।
पूर्णो विकासः तात्पर्यमस्य अक्रिया चरमकोटिम् प्रतिगता । चरमशरीरी जीवोयो भावी
वर्तमानजीवनान्तमेव मुक्तः, स चान्त्येषु क्पमेषु क्रियाविरोधं प्रतिप्रयतते । तत्कर्मोऽयं
पूर्वं मनसो व्यापारं निरुणद्धि ततो वाचस्ततश्च कायस्य । स्थूलक्रियानिरोधं कृत्वा श्वासो-
च्छ्वाससदृशीमवशिष्टां सूक्ष्मक्रियां निरुणद्धि । ततः सर्वसंवरमयीं दशां योगनिरोधा-
त्मिकीमप्रकम्पामक्रियामयीं प्राप्य सिद्ध्यति ॥

यः कश्चियत् सिद्धयति सोऽक्रिय एव सिद्ध³यति ॥ अत एव सिद्धिक्रमे प्रति-
पादितमस्ति—“ अक्रि⁴या सिद्धि ” पूर्वार्जितकर्मणां निर्जरणस्य फलमक्रिया, तस्याः
फलश्च सिद्धिः । संसारक्रमोऽस्ति विपरीतमतः—पूर्वं क्रिया, क्रियातः कर्म, कर्मतश्च
वेदना⁵ ॥ यावती काचन शारीरिकी मानसिकी च शुभाऽशुभा वा वेदना, सा कर्म-
जन्या, कर्म च क्रियाजन्यम् । कर्मणोविमुक्त एवात्मा सिद्धिं गच्छ⁶ति ॥ कर्म-
बाहुल्यस्य परिणामः संसारपरावर्तः, परन्तु यावत् पर्यन्तं कर्मणां सूक्ष्मांशा अपि न
विलीयेरन् न तावत् सिद्धयति नूनमात्⁷मा ॥ असतीं सतीं च द्विविधामपि प्रवृत्तिं
परिसमाप्य तदाकृष्टानुभयस्वभावानपि पुद्गलान् वेदयित्वा हि मोक्षमेत्यसौ । तेनैव
अध्यात्मवादक्षेत्रे व्रतस्य—असत्कर्मनिवृत्तेः, सत्कर्मफलाशात्यागस्य सत्कर्मत्यागस्य,
सत्कर्मशोधननिधानस्य कर्मण सर्वकर्मपरित्यागस्य च महती प्रतिष्ठा व्यराजिष्ट । सैवेयं
दिग्, या निष्ठां नयति सततमक्रियावादम् ॥

1. प्रज्ञापना पद २२ ।

2. औपपातिकसिद्धावाधिकार सूत्र ४३ ।

3. औपपातिक सिद्धाधिकार सूत्र ८३ ।

4. भगवती ।

5. भगवती ३—३ ।

6. सिद्धिं गच्छद् नीरओ ।

7. तवसा धूय कर्म से सिद्धो हवई सासओ । (उत्तराध्याया)

MAHAPURUSHA-LAKSHANAS IN JAINA CANONS

by

DR. UMAKANT P. SHAH,

Baroda.

The thirty-two marks of great men are well-known from Buddhist texts like the Digha Nikaya etc. Similar Mahapurusha-lakshanas from J
varnaka passages
the Aupapatika
correspond with
traditions obtained
centuries preceding

HISTORY SECTION

TEMPLES AS CENTRES OF HIGHER AND POPULAR EDUCATION

by

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The South Indian Temple was a multi-purpose institution touching life at many points. From the time of the great Pallava rulers, the temple began to fill a large place in the social, economic and cultural life of the people. The Imperial Cholas recognised it as the community centre and showered their wealth and attention and expanded the sphere of activities. Towering temples sprang up all over South India. The foot-prints of the rulers were followed by the ruled, who individually and severally vied with each other in endowing the temples for varied purposes as the royal road to eminence and recognition .

The temple served as a fortress in times of war, as an asylum in times of danger and as a townhall when peace and prosperity reigned. It played an indispensable role in the economic structure of the country. It was an influential land-owner, beneficial employer, constant consumer and an impartial distributor. Architects, sculptors, artists, skilled craftsmen, jewellers, musicians, dancing girls, florists, cooks, priests and other classes of servants were employed by the temple. It consumed an amazing variety of articles.

The temple was the seat of culture. It preserved, propagated and encouraged fine arts with the result the country was flooded with the Beautiful, the True and the Good. The services rendered to the cause of education in particular is note-worthy.

The temple was the greatest educative agency, directly and indirectly. Numerous inscriptions give us glimpses into the types of educational institutions and the complexity of educational services rendered by the Temple. We have detailed information regarding institutions of higher studies in Sanskrit. Unfortunately we lack a knowledge of the process by which they were taught. We can conjecture the type of primary education given as the bedrock of higher learning.

The signal services rendered to the cause of education was in the field of Adult education. "The Himalayan waters of Vedic faith and Upanishadic philosophy was brought to the plains through several projects." The Ithihasas and Puranas were the greatest projects. The temple recognised the perennial value of these projects and through numerous endowments made provision for recitation, exposition and instruction of the Epics and Puranas.

Music and dance added colour and charm to these expositions. Hence the temple became the centre of entertainments. Many themes were presented to the public especially during the festivals. Those who came to hear these expositions found a feast for their eyes. The rich sculptural presentation of Puranic and epic themes, the lovely paintings in the Chitrasalas, the galaxy of stone and bronze images were the attractive sources of visual education.

Institutions of Higher Learning

These institutions were of two types:

- (1) Corporate Colleges called Brahmapuris, (the Brahmapuri of Belgaum is a famous one) and Ghatikas (that of Kanchi, the greatest).
- (2) Temple Colleges of repute—Some of these were triple institutions, a college, a hostel and a hospital knit together.

Some of the reputed colleges:—

1. *Ennayiram*—(333 of 1917)

The college at Ennayiram was a famous, well-managed one in the 11th century during the reign of the great Chola Monarch, Rajendra. The charities enumerated in the inscription are intended for maintaining a Sanskrit College and a Hostel in addition to usual provisions made (for recitation of sacred scriptures, feeding of brahmans and the regular services in the temple).

It was a large College of 345 students. Fortunately we get a detailed account of the number of students and the subjects of study and the allowances given to the students. A glance at the figures is of great value in assessing the importance of certain subjects.

Students of Rig Veda	...	75
Students of Yajur Veda	...	75
Students of Chandoga Sama Veda	...	20
Students of Talavakara	...	20
Students of Vajaaneya	...	20
Students of Atharvana Veda	...	10
Students of Baudhayaniya Grihya Kalpa	...	10
Students of Grammar according to Rupavatara	...	40

(Rupavatara was an introduction to elements of grammar in Rajendra's time).

Students of Vyakarna	...	25
Students of Prabhakara Mimamsa	...	35
Students of Vedanta	...	10

220 students devoted their time and attention in mastering one of the Vedas. Each one of them was given 6 nali ($\frac{3}{4}$ kuruni) of paddy per day. 50 Students studying Rupavatara and Baudayaniya Grihya Kālpa were given the same allowance. 70 Students engaged in the study of Vyakarana, Prabhakara Mimamsa and Vedānta were given one kurni and two nali of paddy per day. This preferential treatment may be due to two reasons. These subjects were rather difficult being advanced courses of study and hence required special inducement for attracting the students. Perhaps the students who studied these subjects were advanced in age and received a liberal allowance.

There were 14 teachers (3 for Rīg Veda, 3 for Yajurveda, 1 for Chandoga Samaveda, 1 for Talavakara Sama, 1 each for the other subjects). Individual instruction and attention must have been given to the students as the proportion of teachers to students is 1 : 20. What an ideal class! In spite of all advancement in Psychology a small class is a dream rather than a reality.

The teachers were paid in cash and kind. The only exception to this rule is the teacher of Vedānta who was paid only in kind. This is so because tradition forbids the teaching of Vedānta from taking money. He was given an additional allowance in kind.

Ennayiram must have been a flourishing Vaishnava Institution where Vedānta was studied even before the time of Sri Ramanuja.

Tirumukkudal. 185 of 1915. E.I. XXI

Picturesquely situated on the bank of the triple rivers, Palar, Cheyyar and Vegavati, the Vishnu Temple at Tirumukkudal was the centre of a triple institution, College, Hostel and Hospital. We have a unique inscription of Vira-Rajendra's time giving us a budget of the items of income and expenditure of the various institutions. The items of expenditure referred to are the following:—

1. Various expenses connected with daily offerings, festivals, maintenance of flower gardens, a host of servants.
2. Maintaining a Vedic College.
3. Maintaining a hostel for students.
4. Running of a hospital.

We learn there were 60 students in the college studying the following subjects.

- 10 Students studying Rīg Veda.
- 10 Students studying Yajur Veda.
- 20 Students studying Vyākarna and Rupavatara.
- 10 Students specialising in Maha Pancharatras.
(five Samhitas)
- 3 Students specialising in Saiva Agamas.
- 2 Students—subjects not known.

The hostel was meant mainly for these students. It is very interesting to find that provision was made for weekly oil-baths. All arrangements were made to make life comfortable in every way.

The maintenance of a hospital wherein the students of the hostel and temple servants were treated is noteworthy. It was called 'Virasolan Hospital'. Fifteen beds were provided and a Physician was in charge. There were a surgeon, two nurses and two men to prepare the medicines. Some of the medicines listed are considered to be valuable in sharpening the intellect, improving the memory and maintaining good health.

Bahur—S.I.I. Vol. Part V.P. 516:

The Sanskrit college at Bahur was a well-established institution during the time of Nripatungavarman. We learn that the college taught 'Chaturdasa Vidya' (Four Vedas, Six Vedangas, the Puranas, Philosophy, the Nyaya system and Dharma Sastra, as defined by Dr. Fleet).

Unfortunately we do not get any reference to the number of students and teachers of this institution.

Tribuvani (near Pondicherry) 176 of 1919.

In the 11th Century we find another college flourishing near Pondicherry, i.e., in Tribuvani. This was a big institution with 260 students and 12 teachers.

The subject of study in this college were Vedanta, Vyakarna, Rupavatara, Vedas, Manu Sastra, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Vaikanasa Sastri. The reference to Vaikanasa Sastra (priestcraft for temple services) as a subject to study throws some light on the religious nature of this college.

Tiruvorriyur— (110—201)

(146—211) of 1912.

Tiruvorriyur was a great centre of Saivism; particularly the 'Kapalikas' and 'Pasupatas' resided here. They expounded Sivadharma and Somasiddhanta. Several references are to be found to a number of 'Mathas' that flourished in Tiruvorriyur.

Vakkanikkum Mandapam and Vyakaranadana Vyakhyana Mandapam bear testimony to the encouragement given to literary studies. Perhaps this place specialised in Vyakarana, with the deity presiding over this study.

60 Velis of land were assigned for maintaining the teachers and pupils.

Tiruvaduturai—A medical school flourished in this place in the 12th Century. We learn that Ashtangahridaya and Caraka Samhita were taught.

Malkapuram—Guntur Dist.,—94 of 17.

The Kakatiya Ruler, Queen Rudradevi, gave a village for the maintenance of the various institutions attached to the temple. A Suddasiva Matha, a maternity hospital, a feeding house, and a college flourished side by side.

We learn there were 150 students, 8 teachers and one doctor. In the feeding house all were fed without restriction of caste.

Salotgi—Indica. Vol. IV.

Narayana, the minister of Rastrakuta King Krishna III, endowed a village to the Temple of Trayi Purusha in Salotgi for supporting the college. There were 200 students engaged in studying the Vedas and other popular subjects.

Capitals of great dynasties such as Kanchi, Tanjore, Vijayanagar, Madura must have been centres of higher learning. Places of religious importance like Tirupati, Srirangam, Rameswaram must have been centres of light and learning reflecting the religious and social conditions.

The Vidyapithas of Sri Sankara occupy a unique position in encouraging Sanskrit learning.

Mathas which were adjuncts to the temples increased in number and in activities during the period of Saiva Nayanmars and Vaishnava Alvars. These great saints went from place to place singing devotional hymns and capturing the imagination and kindling the devotion of the masses. A network of Mathas sprang up all over South India. Perhaps some of the Mathas paid special attention to the study of Tevaram, Tiruvoymoli and Tiruppadiyam. From the time of Parantaka Chola endowments for the recitation of Tevaram and Tiruvoymoli were made in every temple of importance. A new class of singers called 'Oduvars' was appointed to recite them.

A glimpse into some of the important endowments made for the recitation of Vedas, hymns, exposition of Ithihasas and Puranas, provision for dramatic performances, maintenance of libraries throws flood-light on the type of popular education that flourished in and around the temples.

Recitation of Vedas:

Kuttalam-Veda Adhyayana—458, 459, 463, 466 and 487 of 1917.

Tiruvalliswaram-Vedas—339 of 1916.

Shermadevi-Recite Vedas, Puranas and Sastras—664 of 1916.

Puravai (Nagarcoil)-Teach Rig and Yajur Veda—1896.

Tiruvannamalai-Recite Vedas—572 of 1902.

Kamarasavalli-Recite Talavakara Samaveda—76 of 1914.

Vriddachalam-Veda Vritti—75 of 1914.
 Kugaiyur-Yajur Veda Vritti—104 of 1918.
 Tirunagari-Recite Vedas—407 of 1918.
 Tiruvenkadu-Recite Vedas—502 and 510 of 1918.
 Madam (Pondicherry) Vedas—231 of 1919.
 Tiruvamathur-Vedas—46 of 1922.
 Pandaravadai-Recite Jaiminiya Samaveda—266 of 1923.
 Kuttalam-Recite Sama Tattiriya—103 of 1926.
 Kuttalam-Recite Sama Taittiriya—103 of 1926.
 Attur (Salem) Recite Chandoga Samaveda—419 of 1913.
 Tirumalugandankottai-Vedas—49 of 1931.
 Tiruvilaikkudi-Vedas and Sastras—146 of 1926.
 Anur-Teach Vedanta and Mimamsa—76 of 1932.
 Tenkasi-Vedas—549, 554, 559, 571, 576, 577, 584, 85 of 1917.
 Nagalapuram-Sanskrit Vedas and Dravida Vedas.

Recitation of hymns:

Ennayiram-Tiruppadigam—343 of 1917.
 Korukkai-Tiruttandagam—219 of 1917.
 Kuttalam-Songs of Sambandar—475 of 1917.
 Tenkasi-Recital of Anandavalli.
 Kadaiyanallur-Sadagopan's hymns—644 of 1917.
 Panaiyavaram-Tiruppadigam—321 of 1917.
 Srimushnam-Tiruppadigam—255 of 1916.
 Mannarkoil-Tiruvoymoli and Tiruppavai—393 of 1916.
 Srirangam-Tettarundiral (Kulasekara's hymns-Prabandam)—
 62 of 1892.
 Tirukoilur-Tiruneduntandagam—126 of 1900.
 Tiruppavai—354 of 1921
 Tiruvoymoli—343 of 1921.
 Tiruvorriyur-Agamargam-Tiruvembavai.
 Tiruppadigam—211 of 1912.
 Chidambaram-Pamalai of Nayanmars—341 of 1913.
 Tiruverumbur-Tiruppadiyam.
 (Trichy).
 Tiruvidaivayal-Tiruppadigam—10 of 1918.
 11 verses of Gnanasambandar—8 of 1918.
 Palur (Trichy) Tiruppadiyam—349 of 1918.
 Shiyali (Trichy) Tiruppadiyam—367 of 1918.
 Conjeevaram-Tiruppallandu of Periyalvar—657 of 1919.
 Kilaiyur-Tiruppadigam—96 of 1925.
 Kumbakonam-Tiruppadigam.
 Tirupalaivanam (Chingleput) Tirumurai—350 of 1928.

SWADI DYNASTY

by

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Most of the books dealing with Karnatak history do not refer to Swadi dynasty. There is scant reference to it in the works on Vijayanagara Empire. The material appears to be scarce, scattered and not easily available.

A study of this dynasty, however, would reveal quite significant features.

Sadashivagad near Karwar, old forts at Sirsi and Ankola, the famous stone cot and an interesting stone seat and a few other remains at Banavasi, antiquities at Swadi, Real casa De Sundem at Bandore (Gao), a marvellous place called Sahasralinga near Sirsi, epigraphs at the monasteries at Swadi, king's throne at Swadi—these are some of the relics that would tell us the tale of this dynasty. Perhaps at Sambrani near Haliyal and Supa relics could be traced.

The Kanara District Gazetteer gives us a brief history of this dynasty. The accounts of foreign travellers—such as Frayer, Gemelli, Hamilton give us some glimpses. Danvers and Buchanan have quite interesting things to say on this subject. The history of Gao by Mr. Saldhana has a small chapter dealing with this dynasty. The Portuguese archives at Gao and Lisbon have a number of records on this subject. Dr. Pissurulenkar has published some of them. Quite a good number of records dealing with Maratha history have specific bearing on the history of Swad dynasty. The Adilshahi records should also contain reference as also historical works on Haider and Tipu.

'Keladi Nripa Vijaya', 'Bilagi Arasara Vamshavali', historical old Kannada Kavyas mention this dynasty while narrating the history of Keladi and Bilagi chiefs. In the Kannada Journals, viz. Sivanubhava and Sarana Sahitya, a few articles have appeared. The contents of Swadi copper-plates are discussed in 'Jayakarnataka'.

There is sufficient virgin field for a research worker in this direction. Factors such as the following would show that the Swadi dynasty though a small one had a significant role in the Karnatak History:—

- I. Foreign travellers such as Frayer and Buchanan speak highly of Swadi kingdom.

It had the most beautiful surroundings with good harbours.

- II. The territory under Swadi kings included the best pepper centre of the world and had extensive trade connections.
- III. Religious centres such as Gokarna and Banavasi as also the monasteries belonging to the Jain, Smart, Madhva, Vecrsaiva faiths were patronised by the rulers of this dynasty.
- IV. It is to be said to the credit of the rulers of this dynasty that they could withstand the pressure from the British and continued to be loyal to the Portuguese who recognised the glittering virtues of the Swadi kings.
- V. Even when they fell on evil days, the members of this royal family did not yield to the pressure of Jesuits. Even to-day the descendents of this family follow the strict religious traditions of the faith to which their ancestors belonged.
- VI. This dynasty had contacts, alliances or clashes with the following powers:
 - (1) Vijayanagar,
 - (2) Adilshahi,
 - (3) Moghuls,
 - (4) Marathas,
 - (5) British,
 - (6) Dutch,
 - (7) Portuguese,
 - (8) Other Chiefs of Karnatak such as Keladi, Bilagi, Mysore, Coorg, Punganur.

The dynasty is variously referred to as Sonda, Sondhakar, Sudhapuri, Sundem and Sunda. In Keladi Nripa Vijaya it is mentioned as 'Sodey'. But in popular speech it is known as Swadi.

Sawai Sadasiva Rajendra Wodeyar who was born on 27—4—1936 is the present heir to the Swadi palace at Bandora (Gao). He is the seventh one in the succession of heirs in Gao, since 1763 when the last of the Swadi king went there to settle with his family. At Swadi there have been seven rulers of this dynasty between 1555 and 1763. Of these four styled themselves as 'Nayakas' and the remaining three as kings.

Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara (1508-1542) made his sister's son Arasappa Naik the ruler of Swadi which belonged to local chiefs of Kadamba family. Thus Arasappa Naik became the founder of Swadi dynasty. He ruled from 1555 to 1598 continuing to pay allegiance to the defeated princes of Vijayanagar. He was valient, broad-minded and of high character. He patronised the four monastaries at Swadi, viz., Havyak Brahmin, Vaishnava, Jain

and Veersaiva. He was a noble person as can be ascertained from the relics available. It was during his time that Bhattakalanka, the head of the Jain monastery at Swadi composed 'Karnataka Sabdanusasana' a well known grammar of Kananda language in Sanskrit.

His son Ramachandra Naik built the fort at Sirsi. The third ruler Raghunatha Nayaka extended the territory of Swadi kingdom. He donated the famous stone cot to Madhukeshvara temple at Banavasi. The fourth ruler Madhulinga Nayaka completely accepted Veerasaiva faith. While Arasappa Nayaka paid allegiance to Vijayanagar, the remaining three were the feudatories of Bijapur. Sadasivaraya who ruled from 1674 to 1677 was the most vigorous ruler of this dynasty. It was he who changed the dependent title of Nayak into Raya (king) after the fall of Bijapur and after his successful contest against Sambhaji (1680-1690). He extended his territory as also the prestige of the dynasty. He collected tribute both from the Portuguese and the British. Sadasivaraya had also to face a powerful enemy like Aurangzeb.

Sadasivaraya was a patron of learning and himself the author of a Kannada work, 'Sadasiva Neeti' a treatise on morals. The author's wide knowledge of the world, his deep devotion to religion and his mystic bent of mind are revealed in this work.

Sadasivagad near Karwar was built in his memory by his son Basavalinga Raya who ruled over Swadi from 1697 to 1715. He further increased the power of Swadi to which his father had added so much. This king was successful in routing the British from Karwar. He had to face the ravages of Bajirao. Basavalinga Raya continued the friendship with Portuguese. While he continued to rule the English were not successful in their efforts to reopen the factory at Karwar. In fact Basavalinga Raya did not allow any other European power to settle in his territory. Sadasivagad is a standing monument of the greatness of Sadasiva Raya and Basavalinga Raya's devotion and affection for his father.

The last of the rulers at Swadi was Immadi Sadasiva (1745-1763). In 1750 he was attacked by the Marathas. In 1763 Haider Ali sent a force against Swadi and defeated it. Immadi Sadasiva withdrew with his family and treasure to Gao where he received a pension and also courtesy from Portuguese Government. His descendants still live in Swadi palace in Gao.

The following is the family tree of Swadi dynasty:

Arasappa Naik	(1555-1598)
Ramachandra Naik	(1598-1618)
Raghunatha Naik	(1618-1638)
Madhu Linga Naik	(1638-1674)
Sadashiva Raya	(1674-1697)
Basava Linga Raya	(1697-1745)
Immadi Sadashiva Raya	(1745-1763)

The succession of the rulers as given above tallies with the copy of the genealogical tree preserved at the palace at Bandora in Gao. The Swadi palace at Bandora is a modest place housing the present descendants with a few royal relics. A replica of the emblem of the dynasty is displayed on the walls. Certain pictures of the ancestors also decorate the walls.

The copy of the genealogical tree at the palace is continued after Immadi Sadasiva Wadiyar and brought up-to-date. The history of this dynasty after 1763 cannot be expected to be glorious. But the Portuguese records contain good many details about this period. A unique feature of the history is that rulers of this dynasty had contacts or clashes with almost all the significant political powers that came on the horizon of Indian history in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. In the clash of empires of those days this tiny state was able to hold its own. This reflects the sturdy independence of the rulers of the Swadi dynasty as also their valour.

It was the patronage of the last great Vijayanagara emperor that brought the Swadi kingdom into existence. It was with Haider Ali's attack that the Swadi kingdom came to a close. Only one chief, i.e., Arasappa Nayaka, the first Swadi ruler, found it possible to pay alliance to Vijayanagara. For, in the year 1565 the Vijayanagara empire received a severe set back. The territories then passed into the hands of Adilashahi of Bijapur. It was after the fall of Adilashahi in the year 1674 that Swadi rulers became independent. For over a hundred years the Swadi Chiefs had to continue under Adilashahi power. Later, these kings had to face the attacks from the Marathas. King Sadasiva was successful in a contest against Sambhaji and from 1682 the Swadi kings made a permanent alliance with the Portuguese power. In the ensuing period the great Moghul Aurangazeb attempted to establish his sway over Swadi kingdom. The mighty British also tried, though unsuccessfully, to have the Swadi kings to their side. The ravages of the Peshavas, the third big power of those days did much to exhaust them. However the final blow came from Haider Ali. From 1763, the Swadi kingdom ceased to be a political power. Thus ended the significant role of Swadi kings in our political history. Perhaps no other small power in our country had to deal with so many great powers of the day. This dynasty had a long and circuitous way to power as also to the loss of power. Its career has been both complicated and colourful. Its history could be traced with reference to the fortunes of the following regimes and the periods:—

- (1) Vijayanagara,
- (2) Adilashahi,
- (3) Marathas,
- (4) Moghuls,
- (5) Haider Ali,
- (6) Portuguese.

Of these, the association with Vijayanagara has been rather brief. The Adilashahi regime over Swadi Chiefs has been fairly long. But no records in relation to Swadi kingdom have been brought to light. The original Persian records are to be closely examined in this behalf. The historical records available on Maratha power contain a good deal of information. A detailed account of the attacks on this kingdom by Aurangzeb and Haider Ali are also to be examined in compiling the Swadi history. The association with the Portuguese power covers the longest period. Portuguese records naturally do not reflect the glory of Swadi as an independent power. The stead-fastness of the Swadi kings under trying circumstances before 1763 and their dependence on the Portuguese favours thereafter are the accounts we gather from the Portuguese records. The architectural ruins at Swadi and the modest palace at Bandora would tell pathetic tales about this dynasty. But the serenity and beauty of the architecture and sculpture at Swadi, the stone throne and the religious fervour still visible in stones at Sahasralinga would tell us a glorious story of the Swadi kings. To-day Swadi is almost inaccessible. A visitor to this village and its relics would have similar feelings as one would have on visiting Hampi.

The place called Sahasralinga in the midst of beautiful forest is on the Shalmala river bed. The hundreds of stones in the river have the carvings of linga or other Saiva images with some writing inscribed on them. The stones are of various sizes. Every piece of stone has some carving on it, mentioning the names of the persons for whom they were set up.

Although the political alliance between the Swadi kings and the Portuguese was effected after 1628, the Portuguese adventures at Swadi were, however, started even before Swadi dynasty was founded by Atasappa Nayaka. Mr. Danvers in his work, "The Portuguese in India", has made references to this effect. Swadi is described as an island in these references. Mr. Danvers quotes a document in the archives of Lisbon which records a treaty between Portugal and Swadi on 27th January, 1532. The Portuguese had visited Swadi even earlier. The treaty of 1532 mainly refers to trade agreements. A stone memorial was then set up as a token of the treaty. It is clear therefore that Swadi was then an important centre. The kings of Swadi certainly enhanced its importance and prestige. The very fact that so many mighty powers of those days sought after Swadi territory and its kings is testimony to their significance. That they were not wiped out of existence during the terrible attacks by the Adilashahi, Moghuls and Marathas speaks of their vigour and vitality. Even after the defeat of the last Swadi king, Haider Ali negotiated with him for a treaty. But the Portuguese did not make it possible for the king to do so. Adilshahis seem to have suffered a defeat once at the hands of Swadi kings. Aurangzeb and Marathas had no easy time with Swadi kings. The British would have been glad to have the friendship of Swadi kings. But they would not succeed. The Portuguese records give glorious tributes to the friendship they had with Swadi kings. If a small

territory and not so big a power could have such importance in the political history, it must be due to some greatness of Swadi kings as also to the strategical importance of the place.

Of the rulers of Swadi three names figure very prominently. They are Arasappa Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty and Sadasiva Raya and his son Basavalinga Raya. They have left indelible marks of their greatness as also historical relics behind them to tell their tale.

The history of Swadi dynasty and the lives of some of the kings of this dynasty may be considered at present as the un-written but significant chapters of Karnatak history.

SOME PROBLEMS OF CHOLA HISTORY

by

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In the following pages an attempt will be made to study a few facts connected with the Chola History with the help of Tamil literature and inscriptions.

1. *Prince Rajadhiraja's* (later Rajakesari Rajadhiraja Chola I) (1018-1053)—*connection with the campaign in the Gangetic valley during the rule of Rajendra Chola I:*

Students of South Indian History in general and History of the Cholas in particular know a lot about the achievements of the Chola armies in northern India in the reign of the famous emperor Gangaikonda Chola. The expedition against the rulers of the States in north India is described in the Tiruvalangadu Plates¹ and the Karandai Plates,² both issued by Rajendra Chola I as well as in Kalingattupparani³ of Jayangondar and the three Ulas⁴ composed by poet Ottakuttar. As the earliest reference to this campaign in the north is made by the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I bearing his 11th regnal year the events connected with the bringing of the Ganga water must have taken place before A.D. 1023. Judging from its duration the campaign must have lasted for at least two years. Attempts made by some scholars to underrate the significance of the campaign and to regard it as nothing more than a pilgrimage to the Ganges⁵ have lost ground in recent times, the historicity of this campaign and its effect have been fully recognised by many distinguished scholars.

According to the Tiruvalangadu Plates: "The light of the Solar race (Rajendra) mocking Baghirata who by the force of his

¹ SH. III. No. 205.

² Quoted by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in *Colas* (Second edition 1955) on p. 237.

³ "கலி,று கங்கை நீருண்ண மண்ணையில் காய்சினத்தோடே
கலவு செம்பியன் துலி,று தெண்டி ரைக்குரை கடாரமும் கொண்டு
மண்டலங் தடைபுள் வைத்ததும்"

(Kalingattupparani, Rajaparambariyam, v. 180. Gopala Aiyar Edition, 1922).

⁴ "தண்டேலும் கங்காநதியும் கடாரமும் கைக்கொண்டு
சிங்காதனத்திருந்த செம்பியனும்"

(Vikramacholan Ula. verses 18 & 19)

"கங்காநதியும் கடாரமும் கைவரச் சிங்காதனத்திருந்த செம்பியர்கோன்"
(Kulottungacholan Ula, v. 25.)

"முதுவானக் கங்கையுநன் மதையுங் கௌதமியுங் காவிரியும்
மங்கையுடனாடு மரபிடுனன்"

(Rajaraja Cholan Ula, verses 21, 22.)

⁵ Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *Colas*, Second Edition 1955 pp. 209-210 T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar—*History of the Later Cholas*, I, Second edition 1954 pp. 165-167.

austerities caused the descent of the Ganga, set out to sanctify his own land with the waters of that stream brought (thither) by the strength of his arm."¹ When the mighty emperor Rajendra Chola I had constructed a new capital, he wanted to sanctify it with the waters of the River Ganga. Quite naturally the move to bring the waters of the Holy river in the north involved the conquest of various States in north India. Therefore the emperor sent an able and trustworthy commander at the head of a large force towards the north and commissioned him to perform the arduous task.

As the Vengi region was administered by the Eastern Chalukya ruler Rajaraja Narendra and as the territories to the south of the Vengi had become integral parts of the Chola empire, the expeditionary force moved from the Vengi country.² The first State overrun by the forces was Sakkarakkottam which is identical with Chitrakuta or Chitrakota, 8 miles from Rajapura on the southern bank of the River Indravati in the Bastar State. A line of rulers who called themselves Nagavamsis and Lords of Bhogavatipura was in possession of this State which was also known as Masuna Desam and Sakkarakkotta Mandalam. The other States conquered by Rajendra's commander such as Madurai Mandalam, Namanaikkonam and Panjapalli must be sought in the same region and held to be parts of Masuna Desam. From Masuna Desam the Chola commander proceeded to attack Indraratha and after defeating the latter, the commander took Oddra and Kosala countries. This Kosala is Maha Kosala or South Kosala and Indraratha of this war is identical with a king of the same name who opposed Bhoja of Dhara.³ Later Dharmapala's Dandabhukti, Ranasura's Dakkana Lata, Govinda Chandra's Vangala Desa and Mahipala's Uttara Lata were subjugated.⁴ Of these lands, Dandabhukti is to be bracketed with the southern and south western parts of the Midnapur district⁵ in Bengal. Dakkana Lata is identical with the area covered by Hooghli and Howrah Districts.⁶ Uttara Lata is the same as the tract consisting of Murshidabad and Birbhum districts. Vangala is East Bengal. Dakkana Lata is a territory contiguous to the

1 Tiruvalangadu plates, SII, III, No. 205 v. 109. The Karandai plates (v) 64 and the Charala plates (v. 71) say that the Ganga water was brought upon the heads of kings residing upon its banks. K. A. N. Golas, p. 237 Note. 49.

2 T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar. History of the Later Cholas I, Second Edition p. 161.

3 Kielhorn, EIX VII, p. 120.

4 “விக்கிரமவீரர் சக்கரக் கோட்டமும் முதிர்படவல் மதுரை மண்டலமும் காமிடை வனைய நாமனைக் கோணமும் வெஞ்சினவீரர் பஞ்சப்பள்ளியும் பாசடைப் பழனமாசுணி தேசமும் அயர்வில் வண்டீர்த்தியாதி நகரகவையில் சந்திரன் தொல் குலத்திந்திரத்தை வினையமாக்களத்துக் கிளையொடும் பிடித்துப் பலதனத் தொடுநிறை குலதனக்குவையும் கிட்டரும் செறிமினையொட்டவிஷயமும் பூசுரர் சேருநல் கோசலநாடும் தன்மபாலனை வெம்முனையழித்து வண்டுறை சோலைத் தண்டபுத்தியும் இரணகுரனை முரணறத்தாக் கித் திக்கனைக் கீர்த்தித் தக்கணலாடமும் கோவிந்தசந்தன் மாவிறிந்தோடத் தங்காதசாரல் வங்காள தேசமும் தொடுகடற் சங்கு கொட்டல் மகிபாலனை வெஞ்சமர்வளாகத் தஞ்சவித்தருளி ஒண்டிறல்யானையும் பெண்டிர் பண்டாரமும் நித்தில நெடுங்கடல் உத்தரலாடமும் வெறிமலர்த்தீர்த்தத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும்”

5 EI XXII. pp. 153-154.

6 EI XXVII. p. 24.

Tandabhukti State to the east of it. To the north east of Dakkana Lata lay Uttara Lata. The kings whom the Chola commander subdued, viz., Dharmapala, Ranasura and Govindachandra were feudatory to Mahipala, a powerful Pala sovereign of Bengal at that time.¹ Thus the campaign in the north was a conspicuous success. Several rulers were vanquished by the Chola general and compelled to part with their immense treasures and elephants. It is likely that the statement uniformly made by Tiruvalangadu plates that the water of the Ganga was carried to Rajendra by the defeated kings of the north at the bidding of the Chola general is a boast without foundation.² During the campaign several streams were crossed with the help of elephants which were used as bridges across them.³ The emperor met the victorious general on the banks of the River Godavari and returned to the capital. That the water of River Ganga together with a stone image of Vinayaka brought from the north and installed in a temple at Kumbakonam and that the assumption of a title Gangaikonda by the emperor followed by the construction of a huge temple at Gangai Konda Cholapuram reveal the historicity of the campaign.⁴ The question now to be answered is this: who was in charge of the campaign in north India? The Tiruvalangadu plates do not give the general's name and they merely say that a commander was commissioned by the emperor to lead an expedition to the North. Here the Vikramacholan Ula composed by poet Ottakuttar comes to our help. The poet says⁵ that the peerless hero who crushed Vanga, thrice attacked Kalyanapura, the capital of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. From this it may be inferred that the campaign in the north was planned and executed by Prince Rajadhiraja who associated with his father from A.D. 1018 onwards in the task of administration. It is a well known fact that Rajadhiraja as crown prince had attacked Kalyanapura once in the time of his father Rajendra I and again twice in his own reign. Therefore one may reasonably conclude that Prince Rajadhiraja had commanded the Chola armies when they invaded several States in North India and had over-powered many powerful kings of the north including Mahipala of Bengal.

2. *The relation between Varanavasi Devar and Vikrama Chola and also an identification of the former with a Pandya king:*

The Chola emperors from Rajaraja I down to the end of Vira Rajendra Chola had followed the policy of imposing their strong control over the Pandyan kingdom after its conquest. Gangai Konda Chola had instituted the practise of appointing his own sons

1 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Colas, II (Second Edition, 1955) p. 209.

2 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—Colas (Second Edition 1955) p. 209.

3 Tiruvalangadu Plates, SHI III. No. 205, v. 112.

4 T. P. Sadasiva Pandarathar, History of the Later Cholas (Second Edition) 1954, p. 166.

5 “வங்கத்தை முற்றுமுரண்டாக்கி மும்மடிபோய்க் கல்யாணி செற்ற தனியாண்மைச் சேவகனும்”—

—Vikrama Cholan Ula lines 36-38. “He who defeated the king of Vanga and thrice attacked Kalyana the capital of the Western Chalukyas.” Tamil History Texts No. 4. Vikramasolan Ula. I. A. Vol. XXII. Kanakasabai p. 142.

as his viceroys in the Pandya country with a view to maintaining his authority in the far south.' In this manner several princes of the Chola royal family bearing the title Chola-Pandya were administering the Pandya country and several inscriptions of theirs have been brought to light in recent times. With the accession of Kulottunga Chola I this policy of effective control of the Pandya country through the Chola-Pandya was decisively abandoned; the emperor allowed the Pandyan sovereigns to exercise an independent authority in their own land after tendering allegiance and loyalty to him. So, from the period of Kulottunga I onwards there was a steady increase in the powers of the Pandyas as their records² would lead one to conclude.

In the time of Vikramachola (1118-1136) this policy of befriending the Pandyas was continued and the emperor married the daughter³ of a contemporary Pandyan ruler. This sovereign seems to have been on terms of close intimacy with his son-in-law. Some years later he went on a pilgrimage to Varanavasi (Banaras) and after his return from his religious tour, renounced the world and permanently settled at Chidambaram⁴ and acquired the honorific title Varanavasi Devar. After his death a fitting memorial was erected over his remains in the shape of a Siva temple in Vikrama Chola Nallur,⁴ a suburb of Chidambaram. In later times the authorities of the temple sold⁵ some of the temple lands to the officers of

1 In the time of Rajendra I Sadaiyavarman Sundia Chola Pandya was appointed as the Chola viceroy in A.D. 1018 and he seems to have ruled upto 1042. Again some time later Prince Rajamahendia was in charge of the Pandya country. In the time of Vira Rajendra Chola Prince Gangai Konda Chola was appointed as viceroy in the Pandya country. (T. V. Sadasiva Pandianathan, History of the Later Cholas, 1954, I pp 157 and 217.)

2 See The Meykitti of Parantaka Pandya, Sadaiyavarman Sri Vailabha etc. in the T. A. Svols & SII V. Nos. 291, 298.

3. "பைந்தளிர்க்கை மாதர் மடப்பிடி. பெற்றவாறணமம் வாரணத்தின்—காதற் பெயர் னளகளபன்"

(Kulottunga Cholan Ula lines 30, 31 & 32.

"மாதர் மடப்பிடி=பெண் சக்கரவர்த்தி. வாரணம்=பெண் சக்கரவர்த்தியின் பிதாவான பாண்டியன். அவர் யோசிரான காலையிற் பெயர் வாரணவாசி தேவர்"

(Kulottunga Cholan Ula* Old commentary—Muvur Ula (Ed.) Kalyanasundara Iyer p. 74.

4 The Chola² emperors had their palace at Chidambaram, and Varanavasi Devar might have resided in that. cf. SII, VII, No. 788.

4. "பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூர் வடபிடாகை மதுராந்தகப் பேரிளமை நாட்டுப் பள்ளிப் படையான விக்கிரம சோழநல்லூரில் விக்கிரம சோழன் தெங்கு தெரு விதியில் தென்பக்கத்து எழுந்தருளியிருந்து பூசை கொண்டருளுதிற நாயனார் வாரணவாசி மாதேவர் கோயில்"

c.f. 275 & 1913—"விக்கிரமசோழன் அக்கன்பள்ளிப் படை" SII, VIII, No. 717. The practise of erecting temples over the remains of the kings was prevalent in the Chola period. Cf. the construction of கோத்தண்டராமேச்சுரம் by Paranthaka over the remains of his father Aditya I at Tondaiman Arur; the construction of Arinjayecchuram at Morpadi by Rajaraja I over the remains of his grandfather Arinjaya; the construction of another Pallipadai temple பஞ்சவன்மாதேவீச்சுரம் at Palaivarai.-Gangai Konda Chola.

5. In the 8th year of Kopperunjinga I the authorities of Varanavasi Madevar temple sold 50 kuli and kani araikani kilkkal for 1000 kasus to Perumal Pillai Sola Kon. On this land the Kali temple was consecrated. (SII, VIII, No. 717). Again in the 10th year of Kopperunjinga II the Kali koyil authorities bought 141 kulis from the authorities of Varanavasi Madevar koil. (SII, XII, No. 150.)

Kopperunjinga when they wanted to build a temple in honour of Kali. (Same as Tillai Kali Amman temple at Chidambaram) in the environs of the Siva temple. The existence of the Siva temple noted above in a good condition in the period of the later Pallavas is evident from the record of the latter sovereigns. It might have been later destroyed in the succeeding centuries. Though one may not succeed in fixing the exact location of this temple at present in Chidambaram, it may be stated that it was situated somewhere near the modern Tillaikkali temple.

Now the identification of the Pandya who resided and died at Chidambaram during the rule of Vikrama Chola can be attempted. Sadaiyavarman Prantaka Pandya, a later contemporary of Kulottunga Chola I claims¹ to have invaded and conquered Telin-gaviman kulam (Srikakulam) in his inscriptions. Vikrama Chola² also claims to have vanquished Telingabhima, king of South Kalinga (land between Mahendragiri and Bay of Bengal) and imposed tribute on the latter. This Kalinga war was fought in 1096 A.D. by Prince Vikrama Chola in the time of his father. As claims regarding the conquest of Kalinga are made by both Parantaka Pandya and Vikrama Chola, it may be rightly inferred that the former had played a prominent role in the conquest of South Kalinga as a subordinate ally of the Cholas. To strengthen the bond between himself and the Chola family, this Parantaka Pandya might have given his daughter in marriage to Prince Vikrama Chola. As Kulottunga Chola II is described as the grandson of a Pandya (later known as Varanavasi Devar) it may be suggested that Mukkokkila Adigal³ might have been the mother of Kulottunga II and that Sadaiyavarman Parantaka. To conclude, Varanavasi Devar may be identical with Sadaiyavarman Parantaka Pandya.

3. *Rivalry between Rajadhiraja Chola II and Kulottunga III:*

The emperor Rajaraja II, owing to the infancy of his sons, had crowned⁴ Edirilipperumal, a relative of his, a few hours before his demise in A.D. 1163. But as the party in opposition to the scheme of enthroning a relative of the late emperor while his sons were there, was a strong one in the land, the coronation of this Edirilipperumal

1. "தெலிங்கவீமன் குளங்கொண்டு தென்கலிங்கமடிப்படுத்து"

(Sadaiyavarman Parantaka Pandya's Mekirti T. A. S. I. No. 3.

2. "குளத்திடைத் தெலுங்கவீமன் விலங்கன்மீசையேறவும்

கலிங்கபூமியைக் கனலெரி படுகவும்

ஐம்படைப் பருவத்து வெம்படை தாங்கியும்

Vikrama Chola's Meykirti—'பூமாலைமிடைந்து' SII, VII No. 79, SII, V, No. 458. To commemorate the achievements of Vikrama Chola in South Kalinga during the life time of his father, poet Ottakuttar composed a parani, Kalingapparani not extant. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, History of the Later Cholas, II pp. 79-80.

3 Tyagapadagai was the principal queen 1127 up to AD T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, History of the Later Cholas, II. p. 82.(1951).

1. "உடையார் விக்கிரம சோழதேவர் பேரனார் நெறியுடைப் பெருமாள் திருமகனார் எதிரிளிப் பெருமாளைப் பெரியதேவர் துஞ்சியருளின நாளிலே மண்டைக் கலிப்பித்துப் போந்தாரானவாதே"

Pallavarayam Pettai Ins. of Rajadhiraja II EI XXI, pp. 181-193. LL 11-12.

had to be postponed for four years.' Those who supported the infant son of Rajaraja II consisting of several influential officers and citizens wanted to secure an assurance from the Prince Edirilipperumal to the effect that he was ready to abdicate the throne in favour of the son of Rajaraja II when that prince had attained majority. After having given such an undertaking Edirilipperumal was anointed and crowned with the title of Rajadhiraja Chola in A.D. 1166. Thus the rule of Rajadhiraja II was a temporary arrangement. But Rajadhiraja II failed to keep up the promise and refused to abide by the terms of the agreement reached in A.D. 1166. The result was the division of the country into two armed camps. In the early regnal years of Kulottunga Chola III this struggle seems to have been going on in the empire. Kulottunga's cause finally triumphed over that of Rajadhiraja who was compelled to surrender power to Kulottunga Chola III. In this connection, the part played by the Vana chieftain Rajaraja Vana Kovaraiyan of Magadai Mandalam may be noted. He came to the Tanjore District, met the enemies of the new emperor in battle,² vanquished him and seized their possessions including cows and oxen. So, in this civil war Kulottunga Chola III scored a final victory over his rival Rajadhiraja Chola II and stabilised his position in the land with the help of several adherents, including Rajaraja Vana Kovaraiyan.³ This chieftain directed the Siva temple authorities at Tittagudi to burn two perpetual lamps⁴ before the God and gave 40 cows from the numerous cows seized by him in the Tanjore District. As 24 more cows were needed, the chief gave 360 kasus to the temple authorities to enable them to purchase the required number of cows. Further he gave 480 kasus from the sale proceeds of the remaining cattle heads.

1. "நாலார் திருநகைத்திரத்திலே இராஜாதிராஜ தேவர் என்று திருவபிஷேகம் பண்ணுவித்து"
Eg XXI

Pallva Rayan Pettai Ins. LL. 12-13.

2. "இராஜராஜ தேவனுன இராஜராஜ மகதை நாடாள்வானேன் இத்தேவர்க்கு முன்னுவது நாளிலே சோழமண்டலம் வலங்கை இடங்கையாய் இன்னுய னார்க்குக் குறும்பெறிய காவேரிக்கு வடகரையில் கஞ்சனாரகரத்திலே விட்டுக்கொடு இருந்து குறும்பெறிந்து நிறைகொண்ட ஆடும் மாடும்" (SII, VIII, No. 284)

3. Contra. The Banas in South Indian History Dr. T. V. Mahalingam observes that this Bana chief had quelled local rebellion among the Valangai Idangai people JIH, XX IX, P. 292.

4. "நாயனார் திருத்தானேருன் லீஸ்வரம் உடைய நாயனார்க்குத் திருநுந்தா விளக்குக்குக் கொடுத்த உருக்களில் திருநுந்தாவிளக்கு இரண்டுக்கு உடலாக நீக்கிவ பசு நாற்பதும் நீக்கி ஆடும் மாடும் எருமையும் கிடாவும் விற்ற முதலான காசு 480.....ஒன்றுக்கு பசு முப்பத்திரண்டாக திருநுந்தாவிளக்கு இரண்டுக்கு பசு அறுபத்துநாலுக்கு கைக்கொண்ட பசு நாற்பதும் நீக்கி பசு இருபத்துநாலுக்கும் பசு ஒன்றுக்குக் காசு பதினைஞ்சாக, பசு இருபத்தி நாலுக்கு ஒக்கக்கொண்ட காசு 360"

(Tittagudi inscription of Rajaraja Vana Kovaraiyan) SII, VIII, No. 284, LL, 7-17.

To conclude, Rajadhiraja seems to have disputed the claims of Kulottunga III in A.D. 1178 and in the subsequent years and finally submitted to the latter. The fact that Kulottunga III was supported by many chieftains as lawful sovereign lends weight to the theory that he was a son of Rajaraja Chola II.

After leaving the Tamil country, Rajadhiraja II seems to have gone to the Telugu country and lived there¹.

¹ 'It may be suggested that Kulottunga never gave up his rivalry and brought about the exile of Rajadhiraja to the Telugu country in 1178 when he seized the Chola throne with the aid of his partisans'. (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Colas, Second Edition, 1955. Note 37. page 409).

ASOKA'S CONCEPT OF WELFARE STATE

by

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Priyadrashi Asoka had declared in one of his royal proclamations embodied in the Rock Edict No. 6:—

“I consider that I must work for the *welfare* of all people. There is no other work for me more important than doing what is good for the *well-being* of all people.”

In this very proclamation, he had further observed:—

“During all hours and in all places, whether I am dining or in the Lady's apartment, or in the inner apartment or in the lavatory or when riding or in the garden—everywhere, the reporters should report to me the business of the people. I shall attend to it everywhere.”

The motive behind this desire to do good was not to acquire fame or any other wordly gain. Doing good to all people was just a matter of duty for the King. Asoka himself answered this question, “And why do I work as aforesaid?”:—

“It is to see that I may discharge my debt to beings and that I may make some happy here in this world and they may hereafter gain heaven.”

In the Rock Edict No. 10, he positively rules out the motive of fame by saying:

“King Priyadarshin, the beloved of gods, does not consider either fame or renown here as of great value in the life hereafter. All that he desires is that the people may listen to his *dharma* and live accordingly.”

It is clear that the concept of welfare-state which evolved only fifty years back in Europe after centuries of political development was evolved in India 2,200 years ago, by the Emperor Asoka. Nay, even much earlier it was evolved in the Epic-age in the form of Ramarajya which was also expounded so lucidly in the parting discourse, delivered from his death-bed of arrows, by that venerable royal preceptor, Bhisma Pitamaha.

Dharmavijaya:

The concept of public welfare originated in the mind of Asoka after the conquest of Kalinga. He was a ruthless monarch before,

the sole objective of his policy was expansion of the empire. In the Rock Edict No. 13, it is mentioned that in the battle of Kalinga, "about one hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away as captives and one hundred thousand slain and many times that number died, leaving behind lakhs of widows and orphans." These ghastly consequences caused deep repentance and remorse in the mind of Asoka and from that time onward he decided that:

"Now, even the loss of a hundredth or even a thousandth part of all lives that were killed or died or carried away captive at the time when Kalingas were conquered—is considered deplorable by Devanampriya."

He now made a decisive declaration:—

"Now to Devanampriya, *Dharmavijaya* (conquest by love and righteousness) is the most important conquest. And this conquest has been won by Devanampriya among all the tribes living on the borders of his territories, in the country of Antiyyoka—the Yavana King living 800 *Yojanas* away, and among four other Kings such as Turamaya (Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt, B.C. 285-247), Antikona (Antigonos Gonatus of Macedonia, B.C. 300-250) and Alike Sundar (Alexander of Epirus, B.C. 272-255)... Let my sons and grandsons listen, that no new conquest by sword is to be undertaken by them. They should consider that the only true conquest is conquest by dharma because what is conquered by dharma leads to lasting friendship and affection."

The Arthasastra of Kautilya (Bk. XII. Ch. I) recounts three kinds of vijayas or conquests, i.e.,

- (1) *Dharmavijaya* is that of a just conqueror who is satisfied with mere obeisance of kings, brought under his sovereignty.
- (2) *Lobhaviijaya* is that of a greedy conqueror, who is satisfied with plunder and booty only, gained in the vanquished country.
- (3) *Asuravijaya* is that of a demon-like conqueror who delights in butchery and slaughter of his enemies.

In the Epic-age we hear of Aswamedha and Rajasuya sacrifices which were performed at the conclusion of a *digvijaya*, when without fight Kings assembled and formally acknowledged suzerainty of the paramount power. No mention of such sacrifices is found in the inscriptions of Asoka, but his *dharmavijayas* certainly appear to have been achieved without shedding a drop of blood. There was no exhibition of brutal strength in them. They only evoked human potentialities of mutual concord and harmony. Asoka won unexpected laurels in these conquests and was able to establish them even beyond the frontiers of his country. He was satisfied that in all places he conquered people conformed to Devanampriya's instruc-

tion in *dharma*. "People even in those countries, where the envoys of Devanampriya have not reached, having heard of the conduct of Devanampriya, his ordinances and instruction in *Dharma*, follow it and will follow it." (R.E. 13).

In fact, *dharmavijaya* was the basis of Asoka's concept of public welfare. By this he had not only conquered the bodies of his people, but even their minds and hearts. This was indeed a marvellous achievement, the effects of which had penetrated countries even beyond the frontiers. The history of the world can show no other parallel to these *dharmavijayas*, so far-reaching in their irresistible influence.

Asoka's Welfare Policy

From the epigraphic evidence available, the following three salient features of Asoka's welfare policy can be discerned. Firstly, that the State must take paternal interest in the welfare of all people. Asoka declared in unmistakable terms in the Kalinga Edict No. II:

"All people are my children. (Sarve manushya mama praja). Just as I desire on behalf of my own children that they should be fully provided with all kinds of comforts and enjoyments in this world, as well as in the other world, similarly I desire the same (happiness and enjoyment in this world and the next) on behalf of all people."

For ensuring maximum public welfare, assumption of paternal role by the State is essential, because according to modern concepts also, the state should, not only take care of physical welfare of all people, but should look after their moral and spiritual welfare too, by providing proper education and social environments to them. Asoka made his people say: "The King is like our father. He cares for our welfare, as much as he cares for himself. We are to him like his own children." (Kalinga Edict. No. II).

This paternal theory of State was in conformity with teachings of previous political preceptors. The very etymological meaning of the word 'praja' was progeny, and the word 'nripa' for King, denoted one who acts as father to his people. Acharya Chanakya lays down a political parable:

"The happiness of a King lies in the happiness of his people. His welfare lies in their welfare. What is in the interest of the people must be in the interest of the King himself. There can be no self-interest as such for a King." (*Arthashastra*, Book I, Ch. XIX).

According to this injunction, a King has to lose his individuality altogether and merge the same into that of his people. This is possible only when he takes himself as father and the people as his offspring (atmaj).

The second attribute of Asoka's welfare policy was appointment of such state-officers as were saturated with the spirit of public service and self-sacrifice. He told them clearly at the time of appointment:—

“You are placed in charge of welfare of several thousands of lives. Let you win affection of all the people. They are like our children.” (Kalinga Edict No. 1).

In several other Rock and Pillar Edicts, these officers have been called as Pradeshtikas, Rajjukas, Yutas and Rashtrikas who were, in charge of various units of administration. Of them, Rajjukas were the most important. They were counterparts of modern district officers. A separate injunction has been issued in the Pillar Edict No. IV:

“These Rajjukas must perform their duties wholeheartedly, without falling a prey to selfishness and fear and bestow welfare and happiness on the people and act kindly towards them.”

In this very edict a very beautiful simile has been drawn between public servants and nurses:

“As a father after entrusting his child to an intelligent nurse feels confident that she will take care of the comforts of his child and will protect it properly, similarly I feel confident after entrusting my people to the high officers known as Rajjukas that they will look after their happiness and welfare properly.”

Howsoever sincere, well-meaning and animated with thoughts of public weal rulers of a country may be, if their officers are steeped in selfishness, are devoid of the sense of duty and are ridden with fear, no public welfare can possibly be accomplished. It is essential that public servants be unselfish, fearless and dutiful; then only real public welfare can be achieved. Asoka had fully grasped this reality and had, therefore, made it a vital constituent of his state-policy.

Asoka ordered his officers to personally visit all regions of the country and come in direct contact with the people to understand their needs. From the Yerragudi and Rupnath Rock Edicts, it is clear that the Emperor himself spent 256 days in a year, going round the country and getting all welfare-projects executed under his personal supervision. He had, therefore, issued instructions to his officers to make personal contacts with the people, for he believed that “in administration those who get lazy and easily tired cannot make progress. They must move about often and do the needful for the people on spot”. (Kalinga Edict No. 1).

In this connection, Asoka laid special emphasis on two cardinal points. Firstly, officers, while dealing with the general public, must maintain *Vyavahara-Samata* or ‘equality before law’, i.e., none must be considered above law, whether a prince or a pauper. Perfect Rule of Law must be observed by officers of the State. Secondly,

Danda-Samata or 'equality of punishment' (E. IV), i.e., for equal crime, equal punishment must be awarded, irrespective of the status of the criminal. No partiality must be tolerated in administration of justice. The clear injunction of the emperor was:—

"The Judicial officers must constantly be vigilant about administration of Justice. No innocent person must be made to suffer and no guilty person should be allowed to escape, by miscarriage of Justice." (Kalinga Edict I).

Again Asoka had instructed his officers to avoid five public evils which tampered with their impartiality and integrity, namely, envy, indolence, harshness, hurry and lack of practice. Officers, who are jealous, and idle do not succeed in accomplishing acts of public good. In the same place (Kalinga Edict No. I) officers have been advised to be not harsh (*akarkasha*), not cruel (*achanda*) and be of gentle disposition (*shlakshnaramba*) in dealing with public matters.

The third attribute of Asoka's state-policy was establishment of religious tolerance. The emperor had given complete freedom of profession, practice and propagation to all religious sects. (R.E. XII).

'King Priyadarshi himself revered persons of all sects (*pashandhas*) by gifts and various other forms of reverence. He desired increase of the spiritual strength of the followers of all religions.'

In the Rock Edict No. 12, Asoka lays down the following five rules of religious tolerance:

1. Restraint of one's speech is the root of religious tolerance.
2. One must respect and reverence his own religion.
3. But one must avoid decrying the religions of others.
4. One should not speak lightly of other religions, without occasion or relevance.
5. On the other hand, as proper occasions arise, persons of other religions should be honoured suitably.

"Acting in this manner," adds the Edict, "one certainly exalts one's own religion and helps also persons of other religions. Acting in a contrary manner, one injures one's own religion and also does disservice to religions of others."

Asoka's unshakable faith was that '*Samavaya eva sadhu*', i.e., 'verily concord of all religions is meritorious.' He desired and promoted progress of all religions alike. (R.E. XII).

Following this element of his state-policy, Asoka, himself a follower of the Buddha, showed no discrimination towards followers

of other sects. On the other hand, he helped them in all ways, in discharge of their religious duties. The cave-edicts of Priyadarshin as well as his grandson Dasharath made it abundantly clear that cave-dedications were made to Ajivakas and Nirgranthas (Jain ascetics) on the Khalitaka hills and elsewhere for residential purposes during the rainy season. All this confirms the contention that religious tolerance was a cardinal feature of Asoka's state policy.

It is well-known in Indian history that Asoka, not only in his own extensive empire, but even beyond its frontiers, accomplished many acts of public good. Following well-laid principles of a state-policy, as envisaged above, he made no distinction among his own people, nay, among the whole mankind and even all sentient beings. In the Rock Edict No. 2 he had given a decisive proof of his broad-based humanitarian state-policy:—

“Everywhere in the conquered dominions of King Priyadarshi, the beloved of gods, and the dominions on the borders, as those of the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Satyaputra, the Kratputra, Tamaraparani, the Yavana King, Antiyoka and other neighbouring kings of the Antiyoka—two kinds of medical treatment have been established by King Priyadarshi, viz., medical treatment for human beings and medical treatment for cattle. For this purpose medicinal herbs, useful for human beings and cattle have been imported and grown, wherever they are not available.”

In the Pillar Edict No. 7, a fairly comprehensive enumeration has been made of other public utility works, undertaken by the Emperor:—

- (1) Banyan trees have been planted on roads for giving shade to travelling people and animals.
- (2) Mango-groves have been raised here and there.
- (3) At every half Krosha, wells of drinking water have been dug.
- (4) Rest-houses for travellers have been constructed.
- (5) For the enjoyment of men and animals, water-sheds have been constructed at several places.

Asoka is not satisfied with these numerous accomplishments and adds:—

“All these enjoyments and comforts are but a trifle. I wish to accomplish much more to make all people happy—so that they follow the path of *dharma* with faith and devotion”

In this very edict mention is made of special officers called *dharma-mahamatras*, who in modern political parlance may be termed as General Welfare Officers, who were responsible for all-

round well-being of all people, including householders, ascetics, mendicants, widows, orphans, workers, religious orders and royal families. They were also in charge of state-charity departments and especially were entrusted with the task of maintaining the moral and spiritual health of all sections of society. They had to see that no one among the people was put to unnecessary harassment by wrongful arrest and detention (bandhan) and that no one was awarded death penalty (badha) without trial and conviction. (R.E.V.)

All these acts of public welfare sound very modern. But they were part of a well-designed state-policy adopted by Asoka 2,200 years ago. The State which does not undertake these and similar acts of public good cannot be called a welfare-state. In free India, we have given Asoka's 'wheel of dharma' a proud place in our national flag, symbolising the nation's will and determination to establish a welfare-state in the country. The directive principles in the New Constitution have also been framed accordingly. Shall we, in fact, translate the concept of Asoka's welfare-state into reality?

GHORAMANTA ALIAS GORAVINDA, A BURMESE GOD

by

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Burma today is a professedly Buddhist country and follows the Pali Canon of the Hinayana School. This form of Buddhism was introduced into Pagan in Upper Burma, the then cradle of the Burmese culture, in the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D. through the energetic efforts of King Anawrahta (1044-77 A.D.) with whose reign started the definite history of the country. According to the available records this form of Buddhism was brought from the Ramannadesa, the cradle of the Talaing culture. As regards the history of the introduction of Buddhism in the Talaing region, we are to depend entirely on the evidence of the Ceylonese chronicles like the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa according to which the Faith was introduced into Suvannabhumi by Sona and Uttara, the two missionaries sent by the Venerable Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Buddhist Council which was held under the patronage of the Great Maurya Asoka. But that is all tradition and its definite historicity is yet to be proved. The only thing that can be asserted with any amount of certainty at this stage of historical research is that the introduction of the Faith must have taken place not later than the fifth or sixth century A.D. But as to the nature of the form of Buddhism, there is yet some doubt. The available evidence go to suggest that Saravastivada, Mahayana and Tantrayana forms of Buddhism had their followers in Ancient Burma.

So far about Buddhism. Now looking at the entire stretch of South-east Asia we find that all the countries that had been colonised by the Indians or were commercially connected with India were permeated with the Brahmanical culture and its elaborate paraphernalia of rites and rituals, gods and goddesses, myths and legends. In Java, Sumatra, Campa and Kamboja Brahmanical and Buddhist cultures flourished side by side. In Siam too, which is professedly Buddhist, finds of Brahmanical deities testify to the prevalence of the Brahmanical culture in the land. But what about Burma? Staying midway between India and South-east Asia, one pauses to think, whether or not Burma could remain unaffected by the impact of the Brahmanical culture. The answer is an emphatic "no". Indeed, she too was highly influenced by this great culture. Archaeological and historical evidences have proved this beyond doubt.

Early Mon inscriptions of Burma testify to the existence of the Brahmanical influence in the Burmese Buddhist courts. These records further testify to the fact that the rituals and ceremonies which were performed by the people of the land were partially Brahmanical in character, and the god who was invariably worshipped by them was Visnu. Brahmanical influence is also indicated by certain ancient place names both in Upper and Lower

Burma. But the best proof of the prevalence of Brahmanism is supplied by the archaeological discoveries of Brahmanical gods and temples in the country. Of the Hindu temples of ancient Burma, one is still in existence. That is the Nat-hlaung at Pagan, the main deity of which is the Brahmanical god Visnu himself. Besides the main deity, the shrine accommodates the representations of as many as seven incarnations of Visnu. Stylistically speaking these sculptures are to be dated in the ninth or tenth century A.D. The presence of this shrine and the sculptures it houses prove beyond doubt the existence of the Brahmanical population in Upper Burma at an early period of the country's history. But with the growth of the Theravada Buddhism in the country, these temples gradually fell into disuse and ultimately became lost. Yet it cannot be denied that most of the images which once sanctified these temples are now emerging out of the debris of the ruins of centuries. Such Brahmanical images have been unearthed from Pagan in Upper Burma, Hmawza in Central Burma, Thaton and Tensas-serim in the south-eastern coast of the country and at ancient Vesali in the Arakan zone. The earliest one of these images seems to have belonged to the sixth or seventh century A.D., while the latest one can approximately be placed in the fourteenth century. Most of the images discovered are those of Visnu in different forms. Next comes Siva. Next come in order of importance Surya, Brahma and Ganesa. About these gods Dr. Niharranjan Ray has discussed at length in his work *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*. But small as the span of his investigation was, the learned scholar could not deal with other Brahmanical deities like Candi, Durga and Paramesvara whose presence, however, in the Burmese Brahmanical pantheon he has recognised in his work. A perusal through the Burmese literature shows that not only these Brahmanical deities but many others were not merely known to the Burmes people of yore, but some of them became actually incorporated in the Burmese Buddhist pantheon and are even now worshipped by the people as *Nats*. In this paper I shall try to speak a few words about a less known and less important (according to the Burmese reckoning) Brahmanical god in Burma, a god whose identification has become a problem to many a scholar.

In the *Thirty-seven Kings* (a work in Burmese) by U Po Kya, there is the reference to several Hindu deities, distributed into six sets, each of which contain the names of five gods and goddesses who are regarded with great respect in Burma. These deities have been found mentioned in ancient Burmese literature and inscriptions. In one of these sets, *viz.*, the fourth ascribed to King Thalon (A.D. 1628—38), there is the mention of Ghoramanta, also known as Goravinda, along with two goddesses Syasvati (Sarasvati) and Candi (Candi), as also two gods, *viz.*, Paramisva (Paramesvara, an appellation of Siva) and Mahabinne (Mahavinayaka, another name for the god of Ganesa). While there is no difficulty in identifying the last four deities, the matter is not so easy in the case Ghoramanta. The following observations have, therefore, been made in an attempt to identify this divinity.

Ghoramanta:

We shall first take up the name Ghoramanta. In Burmese pronunciation it sounds like *Goraminda*. The word *ghora* means fierce, while *manta* means hymn, charm, incantation. Going by the formation of the word, one may be inclined to take the word Ghoramanta to signify a god who is invoked with prayers fierce in nature. As such the word seems to refer to some fierce Tantric god. But against this contention it may be said that in the seventeenth century, the period under investigation, Tantricism was almost in the wane in Burma and its place was gradually being taken up by a later form of Vaishnavism through the efforts of the Manipuri brahmins. Besides we do not know of any Tantric god having the name Ghoramanta or any other similar name. As such it is rather difficult to accept Ghoramanta as a Tantric god.

The term Ghora also means the god Siva. One may be inclined to identify *manta* with the Pali word *manda*, Skt. *mandra*, meaning sound, the word thus referring to the sound of the hand drum (*damaru*) of Siva. If this identification could be accepted, it would have been possible to identify Ghoramanta with Siva. But the identification of *manta* with *manda* is not phonetically possible.

There is a further difficulty in trying to identify Ghoramanta with Siva. Against this identification it may be said that nowhere in the Brahmanical literature is Siva mentioned as Ghoramanta. Then again in the particular set under consideration, Siva has already been referred to by the name Paramisva (Paramesvara). It may be pointed out here that according to the list supplied by U Po Kya, the name of the same god has never been mentioned more than once in the same group.

Then again it has been suggested by some that *Ghora* of *Ghoramanta* reminds one of *Aghora*, another name of Siva. These scholars are of opinion that Ghoramanta actually refers to the Aghora cult, a form of Saiva Tantricism still prevalent in certain parts of rural Bengal, which might have been prevalent in Burma during the period under consideration. As regards this theory it may be said that such a cult might have been prevalent in the country during the period but it has got nothing to do with Ghoramanta as this identification of Ghora with Aghora, i.e. Siva, puts us in the same difficulty of having the reference to the same god in the same list.

Thus, on the face of the above mentioned grounds, it is rather difficult to accept Ghoramanta as referring to Siva.

Now let us discuss the other name, *viz.*, Goravinda. The nearest known name of a Hindu god is Govinda which is one of the many names by which the Hindus adore Visnu. It may be pointed out that in U Po Kya's list there is some sort of reference to Visnu in each and every group excepting the third one. Therefore, one may be inclined to identify Goravinda with Govinda. The only difficulty one confronts in identifying Goravinda with Govinda is the presence of *ra* as the second syllable of the word. But it may be pointed out here that in Burma it is a very common practice to

insert a *ra* or *ar* or simply *r* in a word, particularly in religious texts, to give the word a more dignified appearance. Though this insertion is rather arbitrary yet the custom is very old and as a result phonetically wrong forms are passing on in Burmese language as correct ones. It may be pointed out that such changes are noticed in other languages as well.

Now, if Goravinda can be regarded as a phonetic distortion of Govinda, then it may be argued that the word signifies the Hindu god Visnu. This identification, again, fits in well with the context for the reasons given below.

(1) It has been pointed out above that Saivism and Vaishnavism entered Burma centuries back. As such, although Siva and Visnu are Hindu gods, yet they have been absorbed by the Burmese popular Buddhism after an application of Buddhistic touch on them. Even now these two and many other Brahmanical deities are worshipped in this country as *Nats* as has been mentioned above.

(3) According to the list of U Po Kya, in all the groups excepting the one mentioned above, there is direct or indirect reference to Visnu. In the group with which we are concerned all the popular gods and goddesses of the time have been referred to excepting Visnu unless we agree to identify Goravinda with Govinda. That in the seventeenth century Burma, Visnu's popularity did not wane much is evident from the fact that both before and after this century the name of Visnu is found mentioned along with other popular gods and goddesses of the time. Moreover, if the identification of Goravinda with Govinda be not accepted, there crops up a lacuna so far as the popularity of the Visnu cult in Burma is concerned, a gap which becomes difficult to be explained.

(3) It may be pointed out further that Burma came in very close contact with Manipur in Assam sometime in the sixteenth century. As a result, a good number of Manipuri brahmins came into this country and settled here. These brahmins originally migrated to Manipur from Navadvipa in Bengal, their original home, which was the birth place and the early centre of activities of Sri Caitanya (A.D. 1485—1527), a very famous exponent of Neo-Vaishnavism. So popular was he that a new Vaishnava cult grew after his name. The Manipuri brahmins are devotees of Visnu and they regard Caitanya as one of His apostles. So, when they came over to Burma they did not fail to bring with them their religious faith also which they follow even now very sincerely. It may be mentioned further that in their religious works and devotional songs these brahmins refer to Visnu as *Govinda* and not as Visnu.

We shall again go back to the word *Ghoramanta* which may be just a wrong form of Pali word Goracanda, Skt. Gauracandra one of the many names by which Sri Caitanya is called by his followers. The difficulty of accepting this identification lies with the first, third and last syllables. It may be pointed out, however, that in Burmese the pronunciation of *gha* and *ga* often gets confused. As such it is not very unlikely that *Ghora* of *Ghoramanta* is just a form of *Gora*, the spelling being based on a confused pronunciation. So far

as the third syllable is concerned, it is not very unlikely that *ma* is a scribal mistake for *ca*. The last syllable *ta* for the expected *da* also seems to be based on a confusion in pronunciation. If this contention be accepted, the problem becomes very simple and it does not fit in with the context badly. Against this view it may possibly be said that the change suggested is rather too drastic. But as a defence for the change suggested above, we may say that the possibility of such a change in spelling cannot be ruled out altogether.

There is again a suggestion that Ghoramanta refers to a god riding on a horse. Against this possible interpretation, the following points may be raised:

(a) Amongst the many words for a horse in Sanskrit and Pali, one is *ghotaka* from which the later Bengali word *ghoda* has been derived. Against the contention of taking *ghora* for a horse, it may be said that it is not at all likely that the name of a god will be formed out of a vernacular word when more dignified forms are available from the classical languages. Phonetically also *d* changes to *l* (in Pali and Prakrit) which at times changes to *l* and not *r*. Thus, *ghoda* may at the most become *ghola* and not *ghora*.

(b) Then again, it is not easy to explain the change of *a* of *ghoda* to *a*, particularly in Burmese in which there is a general tendency to lengthen the final *a* and not *vice versa*.

(c) Moreover, there is no important Hindu god which is known to be riding on a horse. Reference may be made to Surya and the divine physicians Asvins. None of them, however, rides on a horse. Surya, who has got the horse for his carrier, moves about in a chariot drawn by horses and not on the back of a horse. The Asvins too are regarded as moving about in chariots drawn only by horses. Reference may be made in this connection to Raivata, the son of Surya, who has got for his carrier a horse. But Raivata is not a very significant god even in the Brahmanical pantheon, and, as such, it is not very likely that such a god did ever find a place (was ever incorporated) in the Burmese religious pantheon.

In a few of the points discussed above it is hardly possible to accept the suggestion that Ghoramanta or Goravinda represents a god riding on a horse. It appears further that Goravinda suggests a better reading and it may be taken to be an ornamental spelling for Govinda, one of the many names of Visnu. But if the reading Ghoramanta be insisted on, it may be taken to be a mistaken form of Pali Goracanda, Skt. Gauracandra, which also suggests the prevalence of the Visnu cult, a fact which fits in well with the religious history of Burma during the period under observation. Moreover, in view of the fact that when in ancient kingdoms of Kamboja and Campa, Visnu was known by various names like Narayana, Hari, Govinda, Kesava, Vasudeva, Murari, Acyuta, etc, is it too much to expect that he would be known by more than one name in Burma which was so much influenced by Vaishnavism and the Vaishnava culture in the days of yore?

ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

Neolithic Cultures in India: a resurvey of evidence

by

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Sites in the N. Karnataka region produce a range of surface finds, among which certain ground stone tools, stone blades and geometric tools, peculiar forms of pottery wares, and other objects were inferred by Foote to be Neolithic¹. Several other workers adopted the term: thus Longhurst referred to typical sherds from Bellary as Neolithic, and Richards placed a small collection of typical pottery forms and wares with his Neolithic stone collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Again at a later date the Hyderabad Archaeological Department referred to typical Neolithic pottery from cave sites near the Asokan edict at Maski². Not only did Foote recognize the surface assemblages from these sites but he exactly understood the typical siting of the Neolithic settlements.

The brilliant inferences of Foote and others received definite confirmation in Wheeler's excavations at Brahmagiri³, but for no very clear reason the report upon this work adopts the term 'Stone Axe Culture' which culture is once referred to as a 'crude Chalcolithic Culture'⁴ whilst the term Neolithic is not used. Since that date the characteristic features which Foote had recognized have been further localised in excavations at Sanganakallu near Bellary⁴ at Piklihal near Mudgal⁵ and at Maski in Raichur District. On the basis of this evidence (excluding that from Faski to which I have not had access so far) it is possible to reconstruct a convincing picture of many features of life in the period in this region, and it is now possible to consider the appropriateness of the term used by the earlier writers.

In a recent paper on the Neolithic cultures of the Old World⁶ Childe proposed a single economic criterion for the Neolithic, indicating a "self-sufficing food-producing economy"⁷. For his purpose he included in his range Chalcolithic cultures in which "stray objects of native or even smelted copper" appear, but did not include those

Statement marked with an asterisk refer to hitherto unpublished work, mainly by myself.

1 Foote, R. B., I.P.P.A., 1916, p. 17 ff.

2 ARHAD 1935-6, Apr d.

3 Ancient India 4, 1947.

4 Ibid. p. 199.

4. Subba Rao, B. Stone Age Cultures of Bellary, 1948.

5. Allchin F. R., Development of Early Cultures in Raichur, Ph.D. London University, 1954.

6. Kroeber, A. L., Anthropology Today, an inventory of Papers of the International Symposium on Anthropology, Chicago 1950.

7. Ibid, p. 193.

cultures which "have once enjoyed a full 'Bronze Age' economy but, cut off from sources of metal have reverted to stone tools and weapons". He notes that there is no single Neolithic period for the whole of the area, and thus that any reference to a Neolithic period must relate to a given region. In enumerating the regions of the Old World in which Neolithic cultures are known he writes that India is excluded "for lack of authenticated relevant material"². He then enumerates certain features which are either present in all or many of the Neolithic cultures he includes. I shall try to set forth the evidence from our region for each one of these features.

Primary Economy:

Plants Cultivated: Evidence of cultivation of plants is at the moment limited to Foote's discovery of the ash of "coarse straw like that of the great millet" in what I accept as a neolithic context*. Certainly if any cereal was cultivated it would have been one of the millets which to this day are the staple crops of the region. Cultivation of cereals may be inferred from the frequent occurrence of querns and grinding or rubbing stones in Neolithic levels including a quern in situ in a series of floors in immediate proximity to a hut wall at Piklihal, and a quern with rubber still in it from a similar context*. The inference is strengthened by the very large number of unbacked blades of regular length and width, with both ends removed, which are found in neolithic occupation levels and which were probably used to make composite knives and sickles.

Domestic: No analysis is yet available of the animal bones from any of our sites. Indeed the publications of two of the sites make no clear reference to any evidence of the sort. At Piklihal a quantity of bone fragments and teeth were recovered from Neolithic layers, but these have not yet been studied. There is however convincing evidence of other kinds which points towards the domestication of livestock. In the Neolithic occupation layers at Piklihal two terra cotta figurines of humped bulls were found together with a number of terra cotta horns. In a Neolithic grave the shoulder bone of a bovine was found as a deposit together with ground stone axes and blades. Among surface finds at Piklihal and Maski are terra cotta figures (of typical Neolithic fabric) of cows, pigs (?), fowls (?) and even perhaps buffalo. Moreover recent investigations of Zeuner (not yet published) and Allechin* have demonstrated that the so-called cinder mounds of the region are largely composed of cow dung ash (this view had been expressed by Foote) and are in origin, at least, Neolithic. These facts lend support to my hypothesis that the many humped bulls of a peculiar style which are to be found bruised and painted on the rocks about the neolithic settlement areas at Piklihal (and at such major Neolithic sites as Bellary, Maski and Billamrayan Gudda), are of Neolithic origin*. All these types of evidence lend force to the general hypothesis that cattle played a major part in the neolithic economy of the region.

1. Ibid, pp. 195-6.

2. Ibid, p. 197.

Hunting: In the absence of bone analyses, it is only possible to point out that deer of several species are figured in bruising in similar contexts to the cattle, whilst lunates of stone could have been used as composite arrow heads. These facts may indicate that hunting continued to play a part in the food supply.

Rural Economy:

There is no evidence of the system of agriculture (as indeed is the case in many parts of the world). The construction of stone revetment walls on the level parts of hills, and the accumulation of rich soil deposits was demonstrated at Piklihal from the Neolithic period and appeared at that site to have continued without intermission to this day when small fields are still made and maintained by the method. These may indicate that small terrace fields were cultivated. The possibility of composite stone sickles has already been mentioned.

The unsatisfactory nature of the evidence for cultivation is paralleled in many parts of the world. Stone axe blades may have been hafted as hoes, and digging sticks used, but in the absence of wooden remains such statements will remain speculative.

Dwellings: In the lower Neolithic at Piklihal the occupation of Site VII was of a small cave before which a level platform of stones was constructed. In the Upper Neolithic at this site a levelled mud floor was extended across the floor of the saddle and post-holes and fragments of burnt wattle and daub must mark a hut foundation. The roof was probably thatched and the hut must have been very similar to the modern "gudse" house of the region. At many Neolithic sites in the region traces of levelled terraces and occupied caves may be observed. At Piklihal furniture of the huts included a rough stone-built hearth, tripods of stones standing in the floors and a rectangular quern let into the floor.

Size of settlements: No direct evidence; but the number of settlements and the area settled was smaller than in the subsequent period. Also the density of settlements must have been low and the family units were probably scattered around the hills which were settled.

Woodworking tools: Ground stone axe blades occur in fair numbers. These could have been hafted either axe or edge-wise but no evidence of hafting is known in the region. A very small number of narrow bladed tools which cannot have been hafted appear to have been used as chisels. A small number of boring tools are also found.

Textiles: No evidence so far.

Pottery: The pottery is hand-made, beaten and perhaps tournette built. No evidence of the wheel is found in local wares. Of frequent occurrence are indications of scraping on the inner surface of the vessel. Decoration includes incised and painted patterns, and forms include many spouts and lugs, the channel spout, footed

vessels, "offering stands" with three or four "horn like" legs (at Piklihal)* and sherds of perforated vessels.

Stone working: Boring tools are found as are a very small number of perforated "mace heads" pierced by percussion and boring. Stone vases are not known.

Beads: Disc beads of magnesite occur in the upper Neolithic at Brahmagiri and Sanganakallu.

Weapons: The presence of lunates and worked points of stone may be taken to indicate arrows, etc. The mace head is very rare, but does occur.

Burial rites: The neolithic burials of Piklihal and Brahmagiri indicate extended inhumation in shallow graves for adults, and pot burials for infants. Of the adults one case had two ground stone axes, five large chert blades, a small bowl and the shoulder of a bovine for gravegoods, whilst two cases had a spouted globular vessel at the head and other vessel at the loins. A youth of 10—12 years was buried in the Lower Neolithic of Piklihal without grave goods. No regular orientation has yet been observed.

Trepanation: It is not easy to see why Childe includes this as a characteristic of the Neolithic, as he mentions cases in W. Europe only. The absence of any evidence in our region need not therefore be taken as indicating the absence of a Neolithic culture in Childe's meaning.

Figurines: Animal figurines have already been mentioned. The humped bull is at present the most frequent form. At Piklihal two male human figurines were found as surface finds. These may have been Neolithic in origin although the ware was inconclusive.

Amulets and Seals: No evidence from our region.

Temples: No evidence from our region.

Chieftainship: No evidence from our region, but the tradition of the Tamil Sangam texts that the pastoral tribes of the hill forests were led by 'Ko' or tribal chiefs may well reflect some sort of chieftainship.

Art: Circumstantial evidence (already mentioned) associates a certain range of rock bruising and paintings, found almost always in close association with Neolithic settlement sites, with the Neolithic Culture. Not only are domestic and wild animals portrayed but also are human figures, sometimes ithyphallic.

Childe concludes his survey by tracing the lines of 'primary' spread of Neolithic cultures. His argument may well have meaning in the context of W. Europe, but its validity in Asia is less certain. Only in the unlikely appearance of a neolithic stage preceding the chalcolithic or bronze age stages of the Indus Valley, would it

be possible to use existing evidence to demonstrate such a 'primary' Neolithic spread into India. Further, the evidence of the appearance of ground stone tools, leads to a more probable explanation. That which spread was perhaps neither a 'neolithic' nor metal-using culture basically, but a *food-producing*, settled, culture (either spreading in the form of folk migration, or of ideas, or both) which utilised whatever resources were locally available for tool making. Such a theory takes into account the Bronze Age Indus Valley sites, the Chalcolithic sites of W. India of the Nasik-Jorwe group and the Neolithic sites of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic-Bronze Age Karnataka region, and also accounts for there being as yet in no one region of India evidence of a distinct sequence. We are thus driven back to the conclusion that the Neolithic is a food producing stage based technologically upon ground stone tools and stone blades, whilst the chalcolithic is a stage (at least in our context) in which certain classes of tool are made exclusively of copper (for example axes and chisels) whilst others are made of stone (blades, knives, sickles, etc.). In this case the "full Bronze Age" of Childe would represent the stage when all types of tools are made of metal (copper or bronze) but some types of tools (e.g., blades, etc.) also occur in stone, presumably among the poorer strata of society. In the case of the Karnataka Neolithic there never appears to have been a time when any type of stone tool is quite replaced by copper. The few items found are in some cases clearly of a luxury character, whilst the stray finds of swords at Kallur, the chisel of Piklihal and the axe or wedge from Brahmagiri seem to be very slender ground to argue a Chalcolithic culture.¹ This does not mean that further research may not reveal one.

We may now attempt a critical survey of the Neolithic culture of our region. Does it resemble the other cultures quoted by Childe? It seems that within the limits of our evidence the Karnataka Neolithic meets the criteria to a remarkable degree. Is it then a "self-sufficing food producing economy"? There is little doubt that food was produced, and that there was a degree of local self-sufficiency, none the less there is some indication of trade in stone implements*. Again the stray metal objects reported may have been importations. In these circumstances (and similar conditions seem to have pertained in the Neolithic Cultures of W. Europe) it seems that some return to the purely technological criteria would be valuable and we shall redefine the Neolithic of the Karnataka region as a food-producing, settled economy technologically based on ground stone tools and stone blades. Any discussion of the primariness or secondariness of the culture must depend upon the precise meaning with which these words are used and ultimately upon a firm chronology for the cultures of the regions of India. The evidence of dating is at present largely wanting and I shall not speculate on it.

Outside the N. Karnataka region there is not perhaps sufficient evidence to justify the assumption of Neolithic cultures. There are however some indicators which may well point the way to neolithic settlements which are as yet unknown. In the lower Godavari valley

1 Lal, B.B. Chalcolithic phase in S. Indian Prehistory. JRASB XV, No. 1, 1949.

around Amaravati a large collection of basaltic artifacts was made many years ago. A study of photographs of these lead me to the conclusion that they were the products of a similar industrial tradition to those of our region, and this view is confirmed by Dr. Subba Rao who has actually seen the material. Similarly I have recently been making a typological and technological analysis of large numbers of basalt and hornblendic artifacts from the Banda and Mirzapur Districts and the Kaimur Hills*. There can be no doubt that they are the products of an industrial tradition very close to that of our region. A study of specimens and illustrations of artifacts from the Shervaroy hills suggests a similar conclusion, although the numbers reported in no way compare with the '40 packing cases' from the immediate vicinity of Amaravati or the vast Kaiur collection of the British Museum. It is perhaps significant that in none of these areas is there as yet any clear evidence of Chalcolithic cultures, any more than there is evidence of extensive Neolithic cultures in the part of W. India in which these have recently been discovered.

NEW LIGHT ON MEGALITHIC DATING IN INDIA.

by

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All over the Deccan table-land occur in considerable numbers sepulchral circles of stone, dolmens, menhirs and cairns usually referred to as megaliths. Dr. Aiyappan (1945) enumerated roughly two dozen different forms of burial which can be associated with the iron-using megalithic builders but Childe (1948) has drawn our attention to the difficulties of defining the term megalith. The classification of megaliths is not merely based on material or magnitude but also on function and complexes of traits. Apart from this difficulty of finding an adequate definition, the problem of megaliths in India evoked more curiosity than scientific interest until recently. They were all practically assigned to a prehistoric period in so far as their date was concerned. Wheeler's (1948) work at Brahmagiri in the Mysore State broke this spell and rescued them from their commonly supposed prehistoric origin and character. The correlation between the pottery both in types and technique between the town-site of the Asokan period and the Megalithic burials one mile away at Brahmagiri must be regarded as a major achievement in Indian archaeology. For the first time in Indian archaeology a scientific study of megalithic pottery was made at Brahmagiri, Cochin and Sanur but not much work has since been made to attempt a distribution map of megalithic pottery, particularly of the so-called Andhra type.

We may briefly recall (Codrington 1930) the forms and technique of megalithic pottery. Of the forms the most peculiar are large pyriform urns, three- and four-footed urns and jars and large terracotta sarco phagi, a few with legs. The techniques of megalithic pottery are very interesting. They are as follows:—

- (i) Black polished ware, probably fired at low temperature as it weathers much easier than the red.
- (ii) Red polished ware.
- (iii) Red-and-black polished ware. This is perhaps the most common technique associated with the megalithic culture of South India and the Deccan. As Gordon (1950, 1952) has noted it stretches from the urn-burial cemeteries of Adichanallur on the South, Maheswar on the north bank of Narbada northward and on to Sisupalgarh near Bhuvaneswar in Orissa. Dr. Sankalia found it near Nasik. It also occurs in quantity on the megalithic sites in Mysore from some of which the stone-circles are missing as a result of removal either by stone-masons or by flood. T. Narasipur may be cited as a good example of the latter class.

- (iv) Russet-coloured ware with its varieties of rectilinear and curvilinear pattern in a paste of Kaolin or lime. It occurs in considerable quantity on all Andhra sites: Maski, Kondapur, Amaravati, Chandravalli and Brahmagiri.

At first, it looks as if heavy concentration of this type is mostly confined to the Coimbatore District. Foote (1901) collected in 1879 from burials a large number of specimens including bowls, cups and vases with wavy lines in Kaolin or lime on them (Nos. 1076 to 1086, 1092, 1111 to 1117, 1119 to 1123, 1151a, 1151g, 1151h, 1151i, 1151j and 1151p). In many cases he has not given the names of the sites, however, No. 1092 (these numbers refer to the Madras Museum Catalogue, 1901) a red bowl with wavy lines came from Vallalur. Sol. W. H. Tucker (1930) found this ware at Sulur, MacQueen at Rakiapalayam and Walhouse at Nallampatti. The writer had the opportunity of examining a number of red bowls and vases with the usual wavy lines from megaliths of the Coimbatore District at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with the kindness of Mr. Irwin. Their exact provenance was, (1)x however, not available.

We know now that the distribution of this pottery goes beyond Coimbatore. Foote obtained No. 1011, a red bowl with wavy lines in a megalith from the Madura District. North-east of the site on the left bank of the Tungabhadra opposite Hampasagara he (1916) found in a group of megaliths washed by flood No. 2886-6, a red bowl with the lattice design. It has been illustrated on Plate 53. The late Dr. Krishna (1942) found a large sized red vase with flared neck and lattice design in Kaolin in a megalith at Brahmagiri. Wheeler, however, found none there in 1947. This russet-coloured ware with curvilinear decoration in white was also found by K. Govinda Menon (1937) in a granite dolmen at Tiruvilwamala in Cochin State. The distribution of this pottery therefore is of comparatively limited extent no longer. More and more of digging up of megaliths individually will help us to note further their distribution. It should not be confined merely to digging of megaliths in their context to town-sites.

This type of pottery has also provided a firm datum line in Indian Archaeology. On the town-site of Chandravalli, it has been

* Chandravalli also produced cups and dishes of the same type of pottery from megaliths : M.A.R. 1939, p. 22.

found in association with the Roman coins of Augustus and Tiberius and the crude lead and potin coins of the Andhras. At Brahmagiri, Chandravalli and other sites, the rouletted ware is also associated with it. All these evidences would provide a date for this yellow-painted pottery in the first century A.D. But Col. Tucker's evidence from Sulur pushes back the date of this pottery still further. Along with the megalithic pottery at Sulur was also found a bronze coin which was identified by John Allan of the British Museum as a coin of Eran struck in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. On the basis of the available evidence at the moment, this pottery ranges in point of time from the 3rd Century B.C. to 1st century A.D. Consequently, megaliths where the so called Andhra pottery occurs will have to be placed between these dates.

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EARLY PALLAVA PAINTINGS AT PANAMALAI AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE PAINTINGS AT SITTANNAVASAL

by

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Panamalai is a small village to the north-west of Villupuram in the South Arcot District of Madras State. It derives its name from the hill which is at the north-east corner of a big irrigation tank. Here, on the top is the beautiful Siva temple¹ built during the time of the famous and gifted Pallava king Narasimhavarmān II Rajasimha (c. 700-720 A.D.)². This temple belongs to the series of beautiful temples such as the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram and the Jalasayanesvara or the Shore temple at Mamallapuram which are the earliest existing examples of structural stone temples of South India built by the king. The temple at Panamalai is important in many respects particularly with regard to the paintings discovered recently in it.

What is the necessity of building the temple on the summit of the hill overlooking the big tank? In the regions where natural irrigation facilities are lacking and which consequently depend on rain water stored in tanks it is necessary not only to excavate tanks to serve as reservoirs but also to arrange for their proper safeguarding against breaches etc., which might be brought about by unexpected heavy rains and floods. In South India these two practices have been in vogue from time immemorial and they are attested to by numerous references in the inscriptions especially of the early Chola times. Here are found special references to *eri—variyaṁs* tank (supervision committees)³. When the kings of Pallava dynasty made new settlements they should have also arranged for irrigation facilities wherever necessary and also for the supervision of tanks etc. dug out for the purpose. The temple at Panamalai built on the top of the hill shows clearly that it was probably intended to serve as a structure wherefrom watching of the tank was very easy both by the men specially engaged for the purpose and also incidentally by the devotees who frequented the temple every day. Here in the temple is found a judicious combination of utility with religious practice, which is indeed remarkable and which amply bears out the great resourcefulness of the king responsible for its construction. This achievement was perhaps due to the fact that either Rajasimha or his immediate predecessors were responsible for the excavation of the tank and hence felt keenly the necessity to provide for its safeguarding.

¹ For a description of the temple and its date see G. Jonneau Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. II, pp. 11 ff and A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, pt. III, pp. 7-8. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 40.

² The date of Rajasimha has been discussed recently by N. Lakshminarayana Rao in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp.

³ There is a Kotandarama temple at Madurantakam and the deity is called Eri-katta-perumal. This temple dates from the early Col. period.

Secondly the temple at Panamalai shows certain architectural features, which prove its importance in the evolution of temple architecture during the early Pallava period as they are distinguished from those of the other two temples at Kanchipuram and Mamallapuram.

Leaving aside the *mandapas* etc. that stand in front of the main temple, which are later additions, if we imagine it to stand alone as it did originally, crowning the hill, we get a magnificent mental picture of it. The charm of it is enhanced by the beautifully piled up superstructure over the *sanctum* which reminds us of the beautiful descriptions of the *sikharas* of Meru, Mandara and Kailasa met with in our ancient literature. The temple faces east, has a *garbhagriha* (sanctum) preceded by an *ardhamantapa*. On the interior of the back wall of the sanctum is carved the characteristic Somaskanda group of figures as beautiful bas-relief. Outside, there is a small shrine attached to each of the three walls of the main shrine. The two shrines on the north and south face east while the western one faces west.¹ The superstructures of these small shrines are of the *sala* (wagon-shape) type and are almost distinct from the simulated superstructure of the main shrine. This feature is repeated once more above, though the superstructure of the third storey in continuation, is of a peculiar shape. Over the corners of the central shrine are found cubical *koshlas*, a feature repeated in all the three storeys of the temple. The crowning piece of the main shrine (which is the real *sikhara*) has a globular shape although the *kudu* ornamentation is found only on its four sides. Now the plan and the elevation of the temple show the simplicity of the design and the effective manner of its execution which has preserved all the aesthetic qualities of a fine specimen of architecture. The grandeur of the temple is also due to the fact that the walls of the temple have not been encumbered with any sculptures in relief except for the rampant lions forming the base of the pilasters. Added to these, the temple stands by itself without being enclosed in a wall.

With these points in view if we compare this temple with the other two temples mentioned above certain factors emerge which have an important bearing on the fixing of relative dates of these three monuments.

While the plan of the Panamalai temple shows the main shrine with a comparatively small vestibule, and with a subsidiary shrine on each of its three sides, there are nine subsidiary shrines around the Kailasanatha temple where the *ardhamantapa* is also large and pillared. In the case of the Shore temple there are no subsidiary shrines at all attached to the walls of the main shrine and it has signs of the subsidiary shrines fused with the walls themselves and becoming merely decorative embellishments to the shrine. As regards the superstructure while there is so much of distinction between the central piling and the piling over the subsidiary shrines in the Panamalai temple, there is not so much of a distinction per-

¹ A. H. Longhurst, *ibid*, pl. IV (c)

ceptible, in the superstructure of the Kailasanatha temple and it has become more elaborate and taller than that of the Panamalai temple. In the case of the Shore temple, the distinction between the piling of the central shrine and of the piling of the subsidiary shrines has become still less than that found in the Kanchi temple and its superstructure has assumed a tall and imposing form which is not met with in the other two temples and which greatly contributes to the grandeur of the monument. Thirdly while there is practically no sculptural embellishment on the walls of the Panamalai temple a number of bas-relief sculptures in a vigorous style adorn the walls of the Kanchi temple. This feature has been carried to its extreme in the Shore temple although the sculptures on its walls have been very badly weathered. As mentioned above while the Panamalai temple is not enclosed in a *prakara*, the Kailasanatha temple is enclosed by one and that is lined up in the interior by a continuous series of small shrines. In the case of the Shore temple the *prakara* seems to have been a large and massive one and it is distinguished from that of the Kailasanatha temple in that there are no shrines lining the walls which have been topped by a series of couchant bulls, the latter feature appearing for the first time here.

Thus between these three noble edifices a distinct sequence based on the evolution of the architectural and other features can be established. Since the development of the features occurred during a comparatively short period of two decades or so and that too in such rapidity as is unbelievable a proper appraisal of the relative dates of the three temples has not been made. By means of following the track of the architects of Rajasimha's time as pointed out above, it is evident that the very first shrine to come into being in the novel attempt at building structural temples in stone was the one at Panamalai. This was probably built when the king was comparatively young and when he was perhaps in charge, as a viceroy of his father, of the region now comprising the South Arcot district.

The second temple to be built by the great king was perhaps the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram, his capital. In the South India of Rajasimha's time his Kailasanatha temple should have been, architecturally speaking, the noblest structure which adorned fittingly the capital city of the famous kingdom. This glorious monument went into oblivion for a long period and the enjoyment of its beauty was made possible only recently when it was re-discovered.

When we have estimated the comparative dates of the Panamalai and Kanchi temples as above, it follows that the Shore temple comes after the Kailasanatha temple as is clear from the advanced stage of the evolution of architectural features met with here. Further in the temples at Panamalai and Kanchi there is not found a separate shrine besides the main shrine whereas in the Shore temple there is the small shrine facing west at the back of the main shrine facing east, both of which have been connected by another shrine containing an Anantasayin figure, which is in the nature of complicating the otherwise beautiful plan and elevation of the temple

group. Besides this, the massive proportions of the various parts of the temple and the elaborate way it was decorated with basrelief sculptures on the exterior of the walls of the sanctum, vestiges of which can even now be seen, are clearly suggestive of its late date compared to that of the other two temples. Thus the Shore temple is the last of the series of big temples of Rajasimha's time that have survived and it is not the first commencing the series as has been held by some.¹

The most interesting aspect of the temple at Panamalai relates to its pictorial decoration, vestiges of which have been discovered only a few years ago. As is usual the Panamalai temple also immediately after its erection was plastered over and painted with glowing colours. From the present state of preservation of the temple, it is evident that during the 1,250 years of its existence, the temple was renovated or repaired on a comparatively few occasions only. This is supported by the existence of painted floral designs peeping out here and there from below its cornice. Very few attempts at whitewashing the temple appear to have been made because there are not more than two or three very thin layers of chunam superimposed on the apparently original thick layer of plaster finished with a fine film of lime-wash. Even these, have fallen off in most places of the temple and considerable damage has been done to the layers of plaster and chunam that now exist in patches and fragments by the vandalism of human beings and by various other destructive agencies.

The fragments of plaster attached to the northern wall of the temple appear to have been comparatively better preserved than those elsewhere. Here it was the late French savant of South Indian Archaeology Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil that discovered, below one or two apparently unpretentious superimposed layers of white-wash, the exquisite paintings which form the subject of this article. Originally it appears that this small shrine was painted all over its interior, but the painted surfaces now existing are confined only to portions in the north and west walls. The discovery that the Professor made here was of a panel of painting on the northern wall. The panel shows a standing female figure in the posture of resting on something behind her with her left leg bent and leant against it. The expression on her face is rather pensive or melancholic and there is an umbrella of rare workmanship held over her head. She wears an elaborately and delicately worked *karandamakuta*, ear-rings, *keyuras*, *valayas*, *haras*, etc. Her lower garment has been delineated in glowing colours with simple yet attractive designs on it, the whole unmistakably suggesting the consummate skill of the artist who did it. Apart from the decorative elements, the things that matter very much in representations of figures painted or

¹ Soon after the discovery of the paintings here, Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, and I visited the place and examined them. Struck with the amazingly beautiful paintings Dr. A. Aiyappan on his return contacted authorities concerned in the management of the temple and the Department of Archaeology, New Delhi and tried his best to move them in the matter of the preservation of the paintings. But unfortunately this effort has been in vain.

sculptured, such as modelling, proportions and other features that go to make them real works of art, have all been found to perfection in this much damaged panel. True to the Indian way of painting, the artist has exhibited his remarkable capacity in the sure *rekhas* (lines) of the figure. In order to emphasise the modelling of the figure he had also resorted, to a very limited extent to shading as is evident in the face of the figure and in other parts. The manner in which the expression of the pensive mood has been delineated shows the high proficiency of the artist and consequently about the height of development that the art of painting had reached when the panel was done. Besides the figure, the umbrella over it is a superb specimen of its kind and its beauty is enhanced by the use of colours like yellow, green, and red appropriately and effectively. Although the panel is fragmentary and little or nothing is known about the attendant figures and the setting, the representation has been identified as of Parvati. The identification of the figure as Parvati may be accepted but as to the exact scene in which she is depicted nothing is clear.

It was this panel of wall painting that figured prominently in the announcement of the discovery about the paintings here. In fact when the present writer along with Dr. A. Aiyappan visited the temple for a study of the paintings, he saw a panel of painting on the western wall of the same northern shrine. This panel is so obscure and fragmentary that nothing could be made out at first sight except a few lines here and there. But on a closer examination of the broken painted lines on the wall one would at once come upon a representation of a figure of which the head and a portion of the right shoulder are all that could be made out. On a still further examination it would be clear that there are on the right side of the figure, which is exposed, the parts upto about the elbow, of four arms, one of the front upper arm of which is thrown across the chest in a magnificent sweep. Following the lines of the arms towards the neck not only do we see the *kanthis* and *haras* of rare workmanship but also the head of the figure with an elaborately decorated *jatabhara* on it and with the face showing features which are suggestive of deep introspection and rare seriousness. On a further examination around the head a few more lines projected upwards could be seen which turned out to be those of a leg lifted up. From the above description it follows that represents an eight-armed figure with one of its legs lifted up. From the manner in which one of the front arms is depicted in the graceful *gajahasla* pose and the left leg shown lifted up vigorously and dexterously, it is quite clear that the representation is that of Siva as Natesa and that too in the form of *Urddhva tandava* which is peculiar only to South India. Once the figure is recognised to be so, then there is produced in the mind of the informed beholder a picture of the *Urddhva tandava* Nataraja which is at once glorious and magnificent, despite its extremely fragmentary and damaged condition. For, the few exquisite lines that make up the mutilated arms and leg, the fine tones of colour and shade that are visible, the splendid manner in which the features of the face have been shown suggesting extreme resoluteness, the virile yet graceful manner in which the postures of arms and leg and the *bhargas* (flexions) of the body are delineated and the restrained but beauti-

ful *bhushanas* (decorations) that adorn the figure, all go to make the figure a rare master-piece the like of which has not so far been met with in Indian Art. When the figure is so beautiful even in a very bad state of preservation, its glory when it was not damaged can be easily imagined. Then it would indeed have been a marvel. Besides the great aesthetic qualities of the figure its importance in the evolution of the form of Nataraja in South India with its particular *urddhva tandava* form is such as to make it a unique representation of this form in Indian art and also the earliest of its kind as will be shown below.

The significance of this form and its special association with South India will be better understood if the story on which it is based is told. It is well known that Siva performed first his dance in the *Tarukavana* where he went to convert a group of *Karmatha rishis* steeped in ignorance, from their atheistic ways to religious life based on devotion to the Lord. In order to give release to his devotees, Patanjali and Vyagrapada, Siva performed his dance again at Chidambaram in South India which is according to the Saivite literature the centre of the Universe. When he came to dance here, he was challenged by the goddess, the patron deity of the town and there arose between them a dance contest which was at once soul-stirring and bliss-giving to all the *devas*, *rishis* and others assembled there to witness it. There was no prospect of Siva vanquishing the goddess when accidentally one of his ear-rings fell down. In order to restore it to ear without anybody noticing it Siva took it dexterously by the toes of one of his legs and put it on his ear by gracefully lifting the leg up to the side of the ear. One of the conditions of the contest of dance being that all the movements and forms assumed by one during the dance, however difficult they may be, should be repeated effortlessly and with a rythme, by the other. The form assumed accidentally and out of a necessity namely *urddhva tandava* by Siva was consequently required to be performed by the goddess. Being of the fair sex she blushed at the idea and out of modesty refrained from attempting to perform this dance *karana*. It ultimately meant her defeat at the hands of Siva. Since then this form has become a favourite theme of the artists of South India of all periods and regions.

Having known about the qualities of the paintings and their themes, it becomes necessary to know about their dates so as to appreciate their proper place in the history of South Indian wall paintings. Professor Mon. Dubreuil proclaimed that the paintings at Panamalai discovered by him were co-eval with the temple itself. That is they should have been painted by artists of Rajasimha's time immediately after the construction of the temple. Though this announcement of his could be accepted by itself as conclusive so far as the date of the paintings is concerned, in the absence of clear evidence substantiating this fact from his pen we have to take it *cum grano salis*. This has become all the more necessary in the light of learned discussions that have been carried on disputing the same French savant's dating of the famous Sittannavasal paintings. These recent discussions have resulted in the spreading by eminent scholars of the so-called authentic later date assigned to the paintings by the protagonists instead of the earlier date of Dubreuil.

The conclusions of such men as Prof. Dubreuil can hardly be taken because there is no further to the ultimate except if we desire to take a retrograde step which means returning to the abyss of *maya* or illusion.

There are three more considerations which help us in determining the date of the paintings, viz.—

- (1) the position of the layer bearing the panels of paintings;
- (2) style and qualities of the paintings; and
- (3) a comparison of them with dated or approximately dated paintings of comparable age.

As regards (1) above, the paintings are done directly on the fine chunam over the first coat of plaster on the wall. The technique adopted here is the same as at Sittannavasal and Kanchipuram although the affinity between the latter paintings and Panamalai paintings is greater. In view of the fact that this temple during its long period of existence appears to have undergone renovation, etc., comparatively on a few occasions only, and in that the plastering of the kind met with in the small shrine with the paintings is found all over the temple except where it has flaked off and also due to the paintings having been found on the first layer of plaster, there seems to be little doubt that the paintings belong to the same date as the temple.

Secondly, the style, beauty and exquisite workmanship of the paintings as already described, are characteristic of the Pallava period alone.

There remains now the comparison of the paintings belonging to the same period and products of the same school. The relationship between the Panamalai-Kanchi group of paintings of Rajasimha's time and the Sittannavasal paintings remains to be known. If the ascription of the latter to the time of Pallava Mahendrarvarman I as has been done by Prof. Dubreuil was accepted, there could have been no difficulty in establishing the fact of the former having descended directly from and showing the continuity of the traditions of the latter. But this has been seriously questioned by Sri K. R. Srinivasan in a paper¹ which he submitted to the 1944 Indian History Congress. According to him, though the excavation of the cave was done in the 7th century A.D. it was not due to Mahendrarvarman I, but may have been done under the aegis of the Pandyan kings of the period. The reason he attributes for this is that no inscriptions of the kings of the Pallava dynasty have been found in the Pudukkottai area because their sway hardly extended beyond Tiruchirappalli whereas the area was always on the border of the Pandyan kingdom. Then he says on the strength of a Pand-

1. K. R. Srinivasan, *South Indian Paintings: A Note on the date of the Sittannavasal paintings*. Where he also gives a list of other works bearing on Sittannavasal paintings.

yan inscription dating from the 9th century, engraved in the rock near the cave, that all the five bas-relief sculptures of the cave and the existing paintings of the verandah and the sanctum were produced only then. Of the paintings on the ceiling of the sanctum it was he along with Dr. S. Paramasivan, who recognised two layers for the first time. He is of the opinion that the inner or first layer is co-eval with the excavation and therefore belongs to the 7th century while the second layer is attributed by him to the 9th century A.D. The main reasons for this are his new discovery, the evidence of the inscription and the evidence of certain architectural features of the niches and the entrance to the sanctum.

In view of this stand it becomes necessary to examine the date of the Sittannavasal paintings *de novo* before their connection with the Panamalai-Kanchi group is traced. First of all the question whether the excavation of the cave was due to Mahendravarman I or not may be taken up for examination. The chief argument advanced against this ascription is the non-existence of Pallava inscriptions in the area where the cave is located. In his paper mentioned above, Mr. Srinivasan does not mention any other convincing factor than this in favour of his opinion. In the absence of more definite evidence there is no reason to reject Prof. Dubreuil's ascription of the cave to Mahendravarman and accept that of Mr. Srinivasan's. True no inscriptions mentioning definitely a king of the Pallava dynasty have been met with in the territory. This might at best mean that the Pallavas had not had direct control over the area, its control having been vested in the local chiefs who might have been the vassals of the Pallavas. This is supported by the fact that having come upto Tiruchirappalli it would not at all be a difficult proposition for the Pallava kings to establish their rule over the area quite adjacent to the town, had they not been actuated by the noble desire of "live and let live". That the local chiefs were benefited a lot by being subordinate to the Pallavas is borne out by their significant achievements in the field of culture as exemplified by the borrowing of art motifs. The very style in which the pillars, corbels, niches and sanctum of the Sittannavasal cave have been executed has hardly any exact parallel in the Pandyan country while there are several similar caves of the time of Mahendravarman owning places such as Dalavanur, Mahendravadi, Marhallamira. Secondly the famous musical inscription of Kudumiyamalai furnishes fine Grantha characters which belong to the early Pallava period, but only few inscriptions in this script have been reported even from the heart of the Pandyan territory. Thirdly the fact that the chiefs ruling over the areas in and around Pudukkottai owed allegiance to the early Pallavas is attested to by one of the Kudumbalur inscriptions⁵ where it is stated that Bhutivikramakesari of the Kodumbalur family fought on the side of Narasimhavarman I Mamalla against the Chalukyas. In the light of these facts it is clear that the rock-cut cave at Sittannavasal, if not produced directly under the orders of Mahendravarman I, was probably excavated by the artists of his country. Mr. Srinivasan's ascription of the excavation to a non-Pallava source—probably Pandyan—cannot therefore stand.

Regarding the carving of the bas-reliefs, Mr. Srinivasan says that the bas-reliefs including the two in the verandah, of which one represents Parsvanatha Tirthankara, were not co-eval with the cave but were added at a later period, for the following reasons, viz., the linear dimensions of the verandah and the sanctum are irregular; the pilasters of the niches in the verandah and of the entrance to the sanctum have bevelled capitals instead of the roll capital; and the style of the sculptures, which do not appear to have been completed, shows no refinement. These features of the sculptures and pilasters are not characteristic of those of the Pallava period. The incompatibility of the architectural features of the niches, etc., and those of the pillars of the cave itself is cited as evidence in support of this. Added to these, according to Mr. Srinivasan, the evidence of the Pandyan inscription is of the nature of clinching the issue, because it mentions not only about renovations carried out in the cave but also about making of figures or some such thing as indicated by the term *sempavai* occurring in it. And that the architectural features mentioned above belong only to the later period but not to the earlier period is affirmed by Srinivasan, above all on the strength of his knowledge of the architecture of the Pudukkottai and other adjacent areas, in the earliest examples of which he is sure that the bevelling of the capital, etc., are absent.

The views of Mr. Srinivasan who was in charge of the Pudukkottai State archaeological monuments for a long time are entitled to respect. But in the present instance his findings seems to have been vitiated by his desire to prove as in correct the findings of a scholar of rare vision and unfailing judgment. We shall examine the points raised by Mr. Srinivasan one by one. First of all the proposition that the bas-relief figures were no co-eval with the excavation of the cave does not bear scrutiny even for a moment, because, whatever be the date of the three figures in the sanctum, the representation of Parsvanatha and the other figure in the verandah should, on grounds of style alone be assigned to the early Pallava period, i.e., they should have been carved immediately after the excavation of the cave. If, for purposes of dating, the evidence of style cannot be said to be substantial, although it becomes as effective as any other evidence if only properly evaluated, in this instance, or at any rate the Parsvanatha figure, was already there when the Pandyan inscription of the 9th century A.D. was carved, is obvious from the inscription itself. To quote the words of Mr. Srinivasan: "The inscription refers to the renovation of the temple of Pannakar of Pannavar (Parsvanathar) and the endowment of lands for lamps and worship". Renovations can only be effected to a structure or shrine which owing to usage, during a long period, fell into desrepair. Here by the Pannakar shrine is meant only the cave containing the figure of Parsvanatha which proves beyond any shadow of doubt that the Parsvanatha figure was carved long before the time of the inscription under reference but also establishes on very firm ground the fact that the cave temple was itself dedicated to that Tirthankara. When this figure was carved on one side it is but natural that the figure of the inspirer of this noble task, probably he was a great Jain *acharya*, also was caused to be carved on the opposite side. The result was of the nature of satisfying the artistic requirements

of balancing the two sides as well as of the nature of honouring in a remarkable manner the great *acharya*. This is also borne out by the fine workmanship of both the figures.

When the sculptures in the verandah are thus known to be co-eval with the excavation, Mr. Srinivasan's remarks about the unevenness of the linear dimensions of the verandah and about the bevelled pilaster capitals which he thinks were the results of the renovations effected during the 9th century, because the unevenness of the excavation is not characteristic of this cave only pointless it is found in many other equally early caves also. Similarly the bevelling of the capitals does not start abruptly from a period later than the Pallava period because examples of bevelled capitals are known in the monuments of the early Pallava period such as those at Mamallapuram. In fact, from the occurrence of such capitals in the Mamallapuram monuments precisely in similar contexts as in the present cave it is easily seen that this evidence instead of proving Mr. Srinivasan's thesis, is in the nature of knocking its very basis out. It cannot also be taken as valid that these pilasters were added at a later period than when the figures were carved because it is against architectural canons of India to say that architectural embellishments were added to a niche which did not have them originally.

If we now compare the sculptures carved on the back wall of the sanctum with the two in the verandah, differences in style between them will become apparent. The inexpressive features of the face, a stiffness seen in the limbs and the contours of the body and the general lifelessness of the figures of the sanctum are in great contrast to the beautiful figures in the verandah. The deterioration in workmanship noticeable in the figures of the sanctum may therefore be taken to indicate a date considerably later than that of the verandah figures. Probably the carving of the former formed one of the items of renovation works done during the 9th century as mentioned in the inscription. It should be remembered here that it was during the 9th-10th century A.D. that the art of sculpture reached its zenith of development in South India, a number of beautiful examples belonging to the period being reported from such places as Kodumbalur in the Pudukkottai area itself where the Sittannavasal is also located. When the art in this area was thus progressing rapidly it is rather curious that such unimpressive figures as those of the sanctum of the cave in question were also carved. Whatever be the truth, it is certain that these figures are later in date than the verandah figures.

Now we pass on to the date of the paintings in this cave. That this art was in a fairly high stage of development in South India at a very early period is borne out by references to it met with in the ancient Tamil literature. Not only do they refer to the practice of the art in general terms but there are definite references also to the technique of fresco painting in that literature. To quote Mr. Srinivasan: "We may mention here the fact that there are some references to the fresco technique in the early Tamil works of the Sangam period dating roughly from about 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. and the following quotation is enough to show that the practice was in vogue,

whether indigenous or not from at least the beginning of the Christian era.

Ven-sutai-vilakkattu-vittakar

Iyarriya-kai-vinai-c-cittiram

meaning, 'the painting executed by the expert on the clean white plaster over lime mortar'. Examples of these paintings are not now extant probably because they were executed on the walls of temples and mansions built of brick and mortar, which naturally perished after a few centuries". Thus the existence of the glorious tradition of the art of painting in South India as handed down from a time long before the excavation of the cave in question is clear from the above. It follows as a consequence that the cave was also embellished with paintings since its excavation. In fact the paintings that are now found on the ceilings of the verandah and the sanctum were thought to be the remnants of those painted soon after the cave was excavated by scholars. But according to Mr. Srinivasan the first layer of paintings in the sanctum alone might be taken as co-eval with the cave while the second layer there and the paintings on the ceiling of the verandah and the pillars were executed during the 9th century. The sole basis for this conclusion is the inscription. Hence it may be carefully examined.

This inscription states the following:—

'Maduraiyasiyan.....ahamandapam pudukki
mukamandapam eluppi, etc.".

The gist of this inscription (368 of 1904) as given in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1903-04 is that "a certain Jaina *acharya* caused the renovation of the inner *mandapa* and the erection of a new *mandapa* in front".

Mr. Srinivasan summarises the passage as follows ".....Madirai Asiriyam, repaired or renovated the *ardhamantapam* and built a *mukhamantapam* in front of the cave temple....." There is no difference between these gists of the inscriptions except for the fact that the Epigraphist translates the word *ahamandapam* as inner *mandapa* while Mr. Srinivasan translates it as *ardhamantapa*. It seems that this word *ahamandapam* has been the basis of the conclusions that Mr. Srinivasan has arrived at. It is apparent that Mr. Srinivasan has gone wrong in translating the word into *ardhamantapam* and proceeding to argue on that basis.

The scribe cannot be taken to be ignorant of the difference between *ahamandapa* and *ardhamandapa*. The word *aham* in Tamil means inside or inner and therefore *aha mandapa* or inner *mandapa* would really mean, where there are two *mandapas*, that which is beyond the one in front.

In his time the new structural *mandapa* was put up in front, and prior to this the cave had only two *mandapas*, the inner *mandapa* and the other *mandapa* which was no other than the verandah, but

about which he had nothing to say. It follows that the word *aha mandapa* of the inscription does denote only the sanctum and not the verandah. It would be clear that Madirai Asiriyā arranged for the renovation of the sanctum and for the erection of a new *mandapa* in front of the cave. From the fact that the verandah is conspicuous by its absence in the inscription, one point becomes clear, that is the renovation was confined only to the sanctum and did not extend to the verandah because the latter was not then in need of re-embellishments. On the other hand the already existing pictorial embellishments and the representations of Parsvanatha and the *acharya* here were so beautiful and attractive as to compel the Asiriyā to put up a *mandapa* in front in order that these works were preserved better and longer. The necessity for renovating the sanctum arose perhaps because the paintings here had become faded due to soiling by bats and insects as well as ascetics inhabiting it. Accordingly during renovation the original layer of painting of the sanctum was super-imposed by another layer of painting. This is again perfectly in accord with the age-old practice in South India of painting or white-washing over the existing layer of painting during renovation and it was never the practice to remove completely the existing layer of painting and painting anew as has been supposed by Srinivasan in the case of the paintings of the verandah. This is borne out unequivocally by the examples of superimposed layers of paintings at Tanjore and Panamalai. The Sittannavasal cave under reference affords, in a remarkable manner, of evidence this. Why should there be two layers of paintings in the sanctum and a single layer in the verandah? If the renovator of the 9th century could remove the entire painting then extant in the verandah and paint anew on a newly applied plaster base, it is difficult to conceive why he did not do so in the sanctum and preferred superimposition. If we examine this fact in the light of the usual practice there seems to be only one reason for the renovator to do so in the sanctum. That is, as has been mentioned by him in unequivocal terms in his inscription itself, his renovation of the cave, as distinguished from the addition of a new structure, consisted probably only of superimposing a layer of painting on the existing layer on the ceiling of the sanctum. It may be possible to agree with Mr. Srinivasan's hypothesis that the verandah paintings and the 2nd layer of paintings were done by the renovator if at least both these layers are continuous. Neither he nor Dr. S. Paramasivan who made a special study of the paintings and prepared an elaborate report on them, has anything to say on the matter. Their silence on this crucial matter may only mean that the layers are not continuous. My examination of them also showed the same. In the circumstances the only deduction possible is that the renovator did stop with laying the painting on the ceiling of the sanctum and left the paintings in the verandah untouched as they were probably in a good condition or at any rate much better preserved than the paintings of the sanctum. The calculated silence of the inscription as regards the verandah bears eloquent testimony to this fact. As if crowning these pieces of evidence are the differences between the styles of the paintings in the verandah and of the second layer in the sanctum. No doubt lotus pond and carpet designs are seen in both the verandah and the sanctum. But the superb conception and beautiful

execution of the lotuses and lotus leaves of the verandah with those of the new layer of painting in the sanctum will at once give a lie to the hypothesis that they belong to the same date. This is also proved in a significant manner by the carpet designs of both sets of paintings. The suave, beautiful and rythmic lines composing the designs in the verandah are distinctly superior to those of the designs of the paintings in the sanctum. Above all the wonderful manner in which the figures of Bhavyas, dancers and the royal couple as well as the animals and birds are depicted in the paintings in the verandah is characteristic only of the works of art of the schools of the early Pallava period and not of the schools of any other later period. If we examine the figures and designs of the paintings of the verandah such as the lotus and the geese and the human figures, their features correspond exactly to those found in the sculptures of the early Pallava period and not with the features of the sculptures of the 9th century A.D. Besides, some of the features and motifs met with here are found to be repeated in the subsequent period.

This leads us on to the main question of the relationship of the Sittannaval paintings with those of the Panamalai-Kanchi group. Certain striking correspondences between them further confirm that the latter paintings belonged to the same school which was responsible for the former. While the Sittannaval paintings are preserved better the Panamalai-Kanchi paintings are in a bad state. The continuance of the traditions of technique and colour compositions are apparent in the latter group. Especially the lines, shading of colours and decorations observed in the two Panamalai figures are found to be in the same style in which the Sittannaval paintings are done. This is remarkably borne out by another interesting features, viz., the identity of dance postures between a dancing figure from Sittannaval and the Nataraja from Panamalai. The former is depicted as dancing with the right hand thrown across the chest, as the latter is. The methods of brush-stroke and sweep of line employed in both the figures to achieve this significant posture is the same which has not been met with in any other representation either sculptural or pictorial. Though continuity of Sittannaval traditions is seen in the Panamalai paintings, certain amount of fall in standards relating to expression is observable in the latter. A comparison of the facial features of Panamalai Nataraja with those of the king in the composition of royal pair at Sittannaval reveals that the calm composure and beautiful pose observed in the latter are to some extent wanting in the former. This is another proof to show that the Sittannaval paintings were done earlier than those of Panamalai.

Thus it has been found that the paintings discovered recently at Panamalai not only belong to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. but also throw significant light on the chronological sequence between the extent early Pallava paintings by proving independently their own posteriority to the paintings of the verandah of the Sittannaval cave temple.

MUSANAGAR ASVAMEDHA BRICK-INSCRIPTION

by

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Brick-inscriptions commemorating the performance of sacrifices are not so common as Yupa inscriptions doing the same. The brick inscription that is being noticed here is therefore interesting. It commemorates the performance of not an ordinary, but an Asvamedha sacrifice.

The brick was found many years ago in a mound near Musagagar in Kanpur district by the *janaka* father of the present Maharaja of Jaunpur, who was adopted in the Jaunpur family from a Zamindar family hailing from Kanpur district. It was lying with him when I visited Jaunpur in 1948. He later presented it to the Hindu University.

The fire-burnt brick in question is 19" long, 19" broad and 4" thick. Its dimensions are rather unusual, for we rarely come across such square bricks. It is interesting to note that the inscription is not done on the broad surface of the brick, but on one of its narrow sides, the other five faces being blank. It is not improbable that the brick was fixed in a structure apparently made of bricks on edges, built in connection with the sacrifice it commemorates. This structure was most probably the ornamental platform round the sacrificial post or pillar (*yupa*). In later centuries, we find Vedic sacrifices commemorated by inscribed stone *yupas*.

The average height of the letters is one inch; but some letters like *ka*, *a* and *sva* have a considerably greater height ranging from 1.5" to 1.9". The palaeography of the record would suggest its engraving during the century preceding or following the Christian era. The following peculiarities are worth noting. The length of the verticals of *va na* and *san n* and *s* is considerably shorter than that in the Asokan script. The left and right verticals of *pa* have equal height. *Da* is still open to right. *Sa* has developed a rounded back and its central limb is hanging down from its left curve. *Ma* has got a round base, but in the case of *va*, it is round in some cases (cf. *vatayani* and *Devamita*) and nearly triangular in others (cf. *as'va* and *asvamedha*). The lower portion of *ta* is no longer triangular, as in the Asokan inscriptions; it has become pronouncedly round, as in the Pabhosa and Hathigumpha inscriptions. Medial *a* is shown by a straight stroke to right (cf. *vata*); but medial *e* is indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of the letter (cf. *medha*). Medial *i* is denoted by a straight upward stroke slightly bent at the base and attached to the top of the letters (cf. *yani* and *mita*). The palaeography of the inscription is nearest to that of the Pabhosa inscription, both the records belonging to the Allahabad region. We may therefore refer it to a date about the first century B.C.

The language of the record is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. There is a punctuation mark similar to the so-called Ujjain symbol at the right end of the record. It is therefore clear that it ended with its present last word. Two letters at the beginning are damaged and we cannot altogether rule out the possibility of the inscription having begun on another brick, not yet recovered. This possibility, is however slight and it appears most probable that the inscription was a short record consisting of four words only.

Apart from the initial word, the record presents no difficulty in decipherment. It reads *Asvavatayaniputasa Devamitasa asvamedha*. There is a mark above *dha* which looks like a superscript *r*. Only the last two letters of the first word are clear; they read *beke*. The preceding letter is incomplete; it looks like a *cha* or *cha*. There was probably one more letter, which has been too badly destroyed to be deciphered. The first word ends in locative singular and probably denotes the name of the place where the sacrifice was performed. It ended with *cha beke* or *beke*.

The inscription records an Asvamedha sacrifice performed by Devamitra, who is simply described as the son of Asvatayani. The sacrificer's mother obviously belonged to the Asvavatayana *gotra*¹ and was therefore known as Asvavatayani (Sanskrit, Asvatayani). The custom of naming the mother by her *gotra* name was quite common at the time of this record.

The only information which this record gives about Devamitra, who performed the Asvamedha sacrifice, is that his mother's *gotra* was Asvavatayana and that the sacrifice was performed at... (*cha*) *beke*. It is remarkable that not a single royal title is associated with the sacrificer's name. If he had borne such a title, it would probably have preceded the term Asvavatayaniputra. But by no stretch of imagination can the extent first two letters be regarded as part of any royal title. It may be that Devamitra was either not a king or that he did not care to put his royal title before his name, there being no space for it in the short space on the brick. The former alternative seems improbable; we are yet to get an instance of a commoner performing the horse sacrifice. It is worth noting that most of the kings of Ayodhya, Kausambi and Panchala content themselves with giving only their names on the coins, without prefixing any royal title to them. If, however, we assume that Devamitra was a king, we are not in a position to identify him with any known ruler of Madhyadesa. A king named Devamitra flourished among the rulers of Ayodhya, who issued coins of the Bull and Goose (Cock) type; he is known from a solitary specimen in the Indian Museum². It is tempting to identify him with the sacrificer mentioned in this record; the provenance of the coin and the inscription would support this view. But the palaeography of the legend on the coin is decidedly much later than that of the brick inscription. On the coin *va* is not only triangle-based but also broad-topped, and *ma* has neither a round nor a triangular base, but shows that form wherein we see two slanting lines meeting to-

1 The *Gotrapravaramanjari* gives this name in the Visvamitra group.

2 *Smith Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Plate XIX, 18.

gether on a horizontal base. This form of *ma* is much later than its form in our record, showing a graceful round base. Devamitra of the coin flourished at Ayodhya probably not earlier than 200 A.D. There can be no doubt that Devamitra of our inscription ruled at least a couple of centuries earlier.

Cunningham refers to 394 coins found by him at Kausambi, of which about 344 were of the early period³. Out of these about 30 were inscribed, of which sixteen bore the name of Bhasatimitra, two of Devamitra, one of Asvaghosha and three of Jyeshthmitra. Unfortunately Cunningham neither described nor illustrated the coins of Devamitra. What happened to them we do not know; for the British Museum, which acquired the entire collection of Cunningham, does not have in its Kausambi collection any coins of Devamitra. If Cunningham's reading is correct and there was really a king named Devamitra at Kausambi, it is very likely that he may be identical with Devamitra of our brick record. The kings known from Cunningham's coins flourished in the period 150 B.C. to 50 B.C. The palaeography of the present record places our Devamitra also at about the same period. Ancient Indian history shows that there were rulers like Ikshvaku Santamula I, Salankayayana Devavarman and Kadamba Krishnavarman I, who performed the Asvamedha sacrifice, though they did not rule over big empires.

Before concluding this paper, I may take the opportunity to refer to inscribed brick tablets discovered in 1953 by Mr. T. N. Ramchandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India at Jagatgram in Dehra Dun district, U.P., within two miles of Kalsi, famous for its Asokan rock inscriptions. These tablets reveal that a hitherto unknown king named Silavarman, who flourished in the latter half of the 3rd century A.D. as suggested, by the palaeography of the record, had performed four Asvamedha sacrifices⁴. It appears that the custom of commemorating Asvamedha sacrifices by brick tablets was fairly common in northern U.P. from c. 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. Bricks were used for this purpose, probably because the sacrificial *chitis* were made out of that material.

³ *ASI*, Vol. X, p. 4.

⁴ *Indian Archaeology*, 1953-4, pp. 10-11.

A NOTE ON A YADAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF SAKA 974

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Mr. L. B. Kadam Deshmukh of Devalali (Ahmednagar) is the owner of this grant. Mr. B. M. Purandare, a common friend of Deshmukh and myself, acquired it for me for study for which I thank them both. It consists of three copper-plates (2" \times 4½") woven into a oval ring (2" \times 1½") which bears an effigy of a flying Garuda and figures of Sankha, Cakra and Gada (conch, disc & mace) in relief. Except the outer side of the first plate, all the five sides bear a writing of 49 lines in Nagari characters of the 10th-11th centuries of the Christian era. The language is corrupt Sanskrit. Except a small prose piece, the rest of the record is in verse.

The grant is dated as Saka 974, the cyclic year Nandana, the month Pusya, the 15th day and a complete lunar eclipse. According to the southern system of the 60 years, cycles, Nandana indeed coincided with expired Saka 974. The Indian Ephemeris¹ by D. B. Swamikannu Pillai and the Indian Calendar² by the late Mr. Sewell and Dikshit which follow Suryasiddhanta show that the months Asvina and Pausa in Saka 974 were intercalary and expunged ones, respectively and there was a lunar eclipse on the 15th of Margasirsa. Consequently the donor of this grant must have followed some other Siddhanta. According to the apparent system of Brahmasiddhanta, Vaisakha and Jyestha were the intercalary months in expired Saka 975 and 972 respectively and there was neither any intercalary nor any expunged month in Saka 974³. According to this system, therefore, the lunar eclipse will naturally fall in Pausa and the corresponding Christian date will be 4-12-1052 A.D.

In this grant has appeared the following pedigree of the early Yadavas: (1) Drdhaprahari (750-775); (2) his son Seunacandra (776-800); (3) his son Dhadiyappa (801-825); (4) his son Brahad-bhillama (826-850); (5) his son Sriraja (851-875); (6) his son Vaddiga (876-900); (7) his son Bhillama II (901-922)⁴; this Bhillama had two wives, namely (a) Lasthiyavva, the daughter of Rastrakuta—Jhanjharaya and (b) Nayiyaladevi, the daughter of Calukya Goggi; (8) this Bhillama's son Vesuka (923-947)⁵; (9) his son Bhillama III (948-974; who had the wife Balladevi, the daughter of Calukya Jayasimha; (10) In this dynasty was born Seunacandra II. This pedigree

1 Vol. III p. 107.

2 Tables p. 48.

3 Sewell: The Siddhantas and the Indian Calendar.

4 Epi. Ind. III, p. 217.

5 Ind. Ant. XVII, p. 117.

is practically identical with those occurring in the Bassein⁶ and the Asvi⁷ plates, of Saka 991 and 1021, as far as Seunacandra II of this grant is concerned and there is nothing peculiar to tell about it.

Regarding the donee this grant supplies the following information. In the village Opari situated in Madhya-desa there lived a Brahmana Silana or Selana of the Vatsa *gotra* and the Madhyandina branch. He emigrated to Dharato to find employment under the then king Paramara Vairisimha of that place. As Vairisimha seems to have lived before Saka 870,⁸ Selana must have been of the same time. Selana's son was Pavvana Nayaka who must have then lived between Saka 871-900 approximately. His son was Visnu who might have, therefore, lived between Saka 901-025. Visnu's son was Sridhara Dandanayaka who must have apparently lived between Saka 926-950. But as this Sridhara has been favoured with a grant described in this chapter dated Saka 974, each of these approximate periods must be lengthened atleast by six years to suit the date of this grant. This Sridhara was appointed by the king Paramara Bhoja of Malwa to defend the fort Enakai. As the last known date of Bhoja is Samvat 1105⁹ (Saka 970) Sridhara's appointment might have taken place before that year. But as the earliest known date of Bhoja's successor Jayasimha I is Samvat 1112¹⁰ (Saka 977), the probable date of Bhoja's demise should be about the year Saka 973 or the beginning of 974. This Sridhara was favoured with the grant of four villages for handing over the fort to Bhillama III and entering in his service. It appears that taking advantage of the situation arising out of the death of Bhoja, Bhillama III must have opened talks with Sridhara and won him over to his side. By what other means he did this we cannot be too sure; but the grant of four villages is certainly not a trifling allurement and therein lies the main interest of this grant. It very nicely points out how men of yore like those of our own times changed sides for earthly gains. In the Bassein plates is mentioned one Sridhara. If the two Sridharas be identical, then in Saka 991 he appears to have been raised to the higher position of a Maha-Pracanda-Danda-Nayaka.

The place-name Enakai can very easily be identified. In the north-eastern part of the Nasik district there is a dilapidated hill-fort Anakai which has also got some ancient remains. It is at present a station on both Dhond-Manmad and Kachiguda-Mamnad lines of the Central Railway. The early Yadavas ruled the country comprising, among others, the tract of atleast the Godavari valley and this fort lies on its northern border. Considering the very advantageous position of the fort, Bhillama III must have tried to bring it under his sway.

6 Ind. Ant. XII, p. 119.

7 Bharata Itihasa Samshodha^a a Mandala, Quarterly Vol. III No. 1, pp. 3-5.

8 Epi. Ind. Vol. XIX, p. 241.

9 Epi. Ind. XIX, p. 71.

10 Epi. Ind. Vol. III, p. 48.

There is one more interesting point in this grant. Konattha, Rui, Pippalaccha and Kumarahara were the four villages granted to Sridhara; but subsequently in the time of Seunacandra II Kumarahara was substituted by Devalavalli and this is the probable reason why the grant comes from Devalali.

ROCK SHELTERS OF THE MADHYABHARAT.

by

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Bhanpura is an ancient site in Mandsuar district of Madhybharat. It is 19 miles west of Chattrapura Railway Station on Bombay-Delhi line. There are hundreds of natural caves scattered among the Vindhya ranges which extend in a line to the North of Bhanpura and an exploration was done to get the traces of early habitation in these Rock caves.

On 4th June, 1954 I ventured to enter this forest in search of these caves and inspected nearly half a dozen caves along the southern slopes of these hills but could not get any trace of human habitation in them. On the information of Shri Rodmalgi, a local pleader, visited Sitakhardi, a place four miles to the north of Bhanpura.

As soon as I entered the thickly vegetated valley, I could see two awful rocks peeping through the lofty green trees. After a walk of 5 minutes I ascended the gradual slopes of hill and reached the base of these rocks. I could see two big rock shelters nearly 150 long facing each other full of primitive drawing hitherto unknown to the outside world.

The rocks consisted of pinkish sandstone and have in due course denuded and exposed at the surface forming roofs and hollows in them, and under these roofs and hollows the majority of drawings have been painted. I have for the purpose of study marked such groups of paintings as 1, 2, 3 and so on from northern side of the Western Rock shelter. Human as well as animal figures and trees and some mystic symbols are painted in hematite pigment and they help us to understand the social activities of bygone days. These figures are, sometimes, exquisitely painted. In all there are thirteen groups of such paintings out of which the western part contains 10 and the eastern 4.

The rocks are converging towards the southern side and a rivulet runs between them making a sudden sally. In front of group No. 10 from here, there is a path going upwards toward the summit of the hill.

Eastern Rock shelters, which face westward and are higher than the western one, are accessible through a similar Stone Platform with a stair case in west. Here there are the remains of two stone structures one at group No. 11 and the other at group Nos. 12 and 13.

The structure at No. 11 is probably a room and was used either as a residential quarter or a shrine. It is entirely built of unchipped stone and is well cemented in red clay. The walls were twice plas-

tered and though the plaster is now in decaying condition, it exhibits five line-drawing and colourful objects and motifs represented on them. The lower plaster which is evidently older was first white-washed and then drawings in red, black and yellow were decorated. The second plaster of later date was washed in yellow ochre and painted in same colours. As the plasters are much damaged, it was not possible to identify the object of the drawings. The measurements of this room are as follows:—

<i>Wall</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Breadth</i>	<i>Height</i>
Southern Wall	8'	1.5' to 2'	6' to 7'
Western Wall	7'.7"	"	"
Eastern Wall A	10'	"	"
Eastern Wall	7'.9"	"	"
Northern Wall With Door	1'.3"	"	"

There is no roof at present but formerly it had a high roof and the drawings at the top of the covering rock were probably drawn by standing on the roof of this room. The height of the covering rocks is nearly 18 inches from the ground. There was a platform all around this roofs and to the west a stairway through which there were paths leading south and northwards.

The other structure consists of two walls at right-angles to one another. The southern wall measured 9' and western wall 24½, the thickness of the wall is 2' and height only 5' to 6'. This enclosure is nowadays the abode of Panthers and wild bears. On the rock facing west nearing this structure there is an inscription which is of very great importance. It is in Brahmi script of 3rd or 4th century A.D. and reads DASHAPATI and helps to date the drawing of these caves.

The presence of Swastika and some geometrical, motifs and designs of high order the stylish peacocks of group No. 1 clearly show an early historic influence. The frescoes of the room still support the existence of an early historic settlement.

The earliest habitation was probably Proto-neolithic and the drawings at the base of some groups suggest the presence of the most archaic forms. The bottom of these shelters is now covered with high platform and heavy debris of fallen rocks and so it was not possible to examine the bed of these caves for some artifacts and other objects which could help in dating the earliest drawings.

The other habitation was probably early historic. There are scattered throughout the rocks some mystic drawings in black and bright red pigment and are either some unknown scriptures or decorations in Shankha script of that time. Upon them sometimes Swastika and other drawings overlap, which might have been painted by Dashapati.

Probably there was standing a Gupta temple of 3rd or 4th century A.D. Some stone carvings of that period were found lying on the western platform.

The pigment of the majority of the drawings is similar to that of the signatures of Dashapati. We can tentatively attribute them to this period. These drawings represent many artistic motifs and decoration. We can classify them in two groups (1) highly stylised decorative forms and (2) crude decorative designs.

The two peacocks of Rock Panel No. 1, the square design of Rock Panel No. 11 and the hens and cocks of Rock Panel No. 13 as well as the Swastika of No. 12 show a much developed sense decoration and the power of brushing. The boldness in brushing and the treatment of forms remind us of the Gupta drawings of various other Rock cut caves in India. Different pigments such as red black, yellow and other are also used to decorate them. The treatment of these groups enables us to correlate them with the fresco drawings of the room in east Rock shelter. If an attempt be made to clear the debris we may get some clue to fix the period of these drawings. At present we can with the epigraphic evidence put them in 3-4 century.

The third class of drawings is probably of much later date and may be late medieval. The group No. 6 represents a man facing a seated tiger. Though the treatment is very primitive the drawings are not earlier. The pigment used in it is light hematite and can be easily rubbed off by hand. At some places these drawings overlap the earlier ones. I could even find a stone on which the pigment was prepared. It was lying over the western platform and just below these drawings. At the top of one of these group an inscription in Nagari character of much later date is written in the same pigment as that of these later drawings. It reads "Goradena गोरदेना". Such drawings are very few and might have been painted by some passer-by or a robber band who must have come for refuge in these remote shelters.

At the northern end of the stone platform of western rock shelter there was a water reservoir now considerably damaged and it was noticed that the rock in the western side which also serves as one of the walls of the reservoir indicate some traces of drawings which can typologically be put into the earliest group.

It is remarkable to note that the drawings are painted below the high water-level line and must probably have been painted much earlier than the erection of the platform and reservoir.

Now we come down to the most archaic and primitive drawings which we can put into the earliest category of Protoneolithic Art. As Mr. Carlyle suggests (Refer in I.A. 100, pp. 55) some of these rude paintings appear to illustrate in very stiff and archaic manner scenes in the life of ancient stone chipper. The drawings are not derivative and we can not call them works of great skill; yet their expressive nature gives us an informative sketch of the aboriginal culture of remote past.

It would have been very difficult to get the chronology of these drawings; but on 22nd November, 1954, I had a chance to visit Modhi, an ancient site near Bhanpura (8 miles to the west of it), where a

temple of 13th century still stands magnificently with its classical carvings. Just near these ancient remains there are hills presenting metamorphic structure and Quartzite blocks lying on the western slopes. These blocks varying in size (from $10 \times 12 \times 4$ to $50 \times 20 \times 22$) are of pinkish but quartzite sandstone. Here under the natural roof and hollows of these rocks lay hundreds of frilled cores and flakes finished tools and sometimes paleaoliths.

The walls of these rocks are decorated with primitive drawing. The hollow of these rocks served as shelters for those who left their stone implements long ago. They not only left the chipped stones and artifact but they have left a rich heritage of Prehistoric Art hitherto unknown. The long processions, the hunting scene the ceremonial dances, the cattle-rearing and other such drawings show their achievements in material as well as religious and social life. Some of these rocks no doubt were decorated at different times and most probably by different people, who rather moved through these regions. For want of sufficient data we are unable to know who were the people who made these artifacts but the presence of Paleaoliths Proto-neoliths and Neoliths definitely help us to conclude three different chronological eras of drawings. The most archaic forms are the silhouette drawing in dark hematite pigment. The next group is drawn in outline drawings and is closely related to Hoshangabad drawings.

Here in one of the Rock shelters drawings akin to Sambar and Reindeer are painted and in the other an elephant is drawn. In one of the hollows of Rock No. 3 are painted three processions. A line of 29 human figures hand in hand and marching in rhythmic way towards their left, are headed by an archer. This may even be a ceremonial dance. At the top of this there is another line wherein a similar archer is behind a line of five persons. The leading man of previous group is having a spear and looks as if attacking. Towards the upper right end of this group is a herd of cattle mostly bullocks and they are driven by a man having a staff in his left hand and a sword-like thing is attached to the waist.

In Rock No. 2 is drawn a representation of domesticating an ox. A female figure (as suggested by the dress) is holding a rope tied to the neck of the ox and a male is driving it from behind.

On Rock Nos. 1 and 2 drawings of latter period were also noticed, they have been painted over the earlier drawings. Most of them are line drawings and represent different stylized forms of trees, hills, horses, camels and other motifs such as sun with rays concentric circle, honey-comb designs and flowers.

The debris below these rock shelters No. 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8 is very thin and contain nothing else but frilled irregular cores, flakes and some finished tools. In Rock No. 4 a clear, spear and one serapen of Achulian Technique were found lying under a roof.

I visited these rock shelters again on 25th October, 1955 and I could recover more paleolithic implements from this area and took photographs of these shelters. I also copied few more details

of Rock No. 1. The drawings are generally very faint and painted at the tops or sides of hollows and except No. 1 the others could not be photographed. On a close study of these drawings we can divide them under following types.

Type—

- (1) Silhouette drawings of Animals.
- (2) Silhouette drawings of Human figures.
- (3) Outline drawings of Hunters and dancers.
- (4) Outline drawings of Animals.
- (5) Decorative designs.
- (6) Drawings suggesting trees, huts and fencing.
- (7) Drawings of horses and riders.

Types No. 1 and 2 represent the earliest drawings. They represent the boldness of brushing and hurried action. It has been observed in Rock No. 1 that the other drawings overlap these earlier drawings.

The drawings of types 3 and 4 are sometimes drawn over No. 1 and 2. They have a close resemblance with Hoshangabad drawings and there too they have been drawn on drawings similar to type 1 and 2. These drawings are sometimes covered by decorative designs of type 5 as Rock shelter No. 6 which again underlie the drawings of type 6 and 7.

The Types 6 and 7 represent the latest phase in chronology of these drawings and resemble the drawings of Sitakhardi Group Nos. 2 and 7 and might have been painted a thousand years back or say in 11th and 12th century when the rocks were quarried for mediaval Jain Temples just near the site.

It has been observed that this area is full of such rock shelters but due to the thick vegetation and fear of wild animals it was not possible for me to approach them. Many of these rock shelters are below the high level mark of the proposed Chamble Dam waters and it is essential that a detailed study and excavation of the debris in them must be completed before the completion of the Dam.

DRAVIDIAN CULTURE SECTION

BEGINNINGS OF TELUGU LITERATURE: ITS DRAVIDIAN ORIGINS

by

K. RAMAKRISHNAIYYA, M.A.

In this paper it is proposed to show that like the Telugu language, Telugu literature also indicates traces of its origin in early Dravidian. Telugu language may now fairly be considered as one belonging to the Dravidian family of languages, a family comprising all the main languages spoken in Southern India—thanks to Rev. Dr. Caldwell who having instituted a comparative study of these languages, laid their family relationship on a strong foundation. In the Telugu country itself there are many scholars who do not like this idea of the South Indian languages being considered as a family group, leaving alone Sanskrit—the revered *Devabhasha* which is considered as being the source of all languages on the face of the earth. No doubt one must admit that this plant of the Dravidian family has at a very early age, been grafted on the well-grown tree of the Sanskrit language and the resultant graft planted on a congenial soil on the banks of the Godavary and tended carefully with the waters of the river by the king Rajarajanarendra of the Chalukya family, produced its first fruit of rare excellence in the form of Mahabharata of Nannaya Bhatta. Overpowered by the grandeur and beauty of this work generally considered as the very first work in Telugu literature, we are apt to completely ignore the original Dravidian plant or the special qualities of that plant that went into the graft. That is why the present day historical accounts of Telugu literature generally begin with poet Nannaya and his Mahabharata, Nannaya being hailed as the *Adikavi* and the originator not only of Telugu literature but also of the Telugu language, as some would put it. Some of the present day scholars even seem to consider mere translations of works of other languages into Telugu as ‘everlasting contribution to Telugu culture and Telugu research’. Leaving alone this line of Telugu research and culture let us try to trace the nature and extent of the Dravidian element—I mean the common features of the early Dravidian culture that can be found in individual literatures and languages of this family group.

Dr. Caldwell urged upon scholars of the Dravidian languages to apply his principles and further work upon them independently, as he has concentrated only on Tamil: “I trust it will be found I have not left much undone that seemed to be necessary for the elucidation of Tamil, but I hope this branch of work will now be taken up by persons who have made Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam or Tulu their special study, so that the whole range of Dravidian languages and dialects may be fully elucidated”. In this connection he has referred to a desideratum also—a comparative vocabulary of the Dravidian languages—distinguishing the roots in the four most distinctive languages from those found only in three, two or

one. My comparative vocabulary with philological notes, though on a small scale, has been published by the Madras University and a comparative study of the Dravidian roots and their development in the various languages is still being worked at and awaits publication. Meanwhile many students of Dravidian linguistics seem to have been much inconvenienced for want of copies of Caldwell's Grammar, and it is highly gratifying to learn that the Madras University has undertaken to bring out a new edition of that work under the able supervision of Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai. Some editing or editorial notes on this seems to be highly necessary. I would mention a few points which appear rather controversial. One such point is the derivation of the native word 'Tamil'—the very name of the people and language of that name—from the word 'Dravida'. Caldwell has struggled hard to effect this derivation, and some modern scholars seem to lend support to that theory by bringing in some novel ideas regarding the sounds in Primitive Dravidian. The theory now put forward about the existence of sonant sounds g, d, b, in the Primitive Dravidian which are said to have disappeared sometime before the age of Tolkappiar without leaving any trace or tradition in Tamil as also the theory of the sonants and combined consonants standing as initial sounds in words of early Dravidian, as 'dr' in 'Dravida'—both these seem to require further investigation and proof. For these seem to be against the genius of Tamil and other Dravidian languages. A mistaken notion of Caldwell that is being repeated without contradiction is with regard to some euphonic insertions which, he thought were introduced in order to prevent hiatus. The use of the particle 'n' in *tinnaga-n-egenu* instead of *tinnaga-y-egenu*, and Tamil *irukkindra-n-a* instead of *irukkindra-v-a*, in Tamil *padi-n-eindu* and *padi-n-arū*, Coorg *padu-n-anje*, *padu-n-arū* etc., of m in *enna-m-o* instead of *yenna-v-o*, of t r in Telugu *poda-r-illu* and *sundaru-r-alu*, of d in Kannada *madi-d-a*, of t in Telugu *karaku-t-ammu*, of g in *aru-g-uru*, and of k in Telugu *pada-k-ondu*. All these are not particles euphonicallly introduced to prevent hiatus, but either regular significant parts of words or those formed on the analogy of those forms.

When we consider the development of literature in these languages the very first idea that occurs to our mind is the nature and the form of the metre or the chandas used in them. When we think of Nannaya's Mahabharata in Telugu or Pampa's Bharata in Kannada or Kambaramayana in Tamil, or Bhasha Naishadha in Malavalam we will at once be struck by the Sanskrit metres or metrical forms that are imported into these languages, may be with some necessary adjustments affected. But in earlier literature in these languages we find its nature to be quite different. Tamil literature, leaving aside its fantastic claims to higher antiquity, can easily be traced to the beginnings of the Christian era. The meters *venba*, *ahavalpa*, etc., employed therein based on the native *ganas*, *ner-nirai*, *asai* as they are called, not on the *akshara ganas* of Sanskrit, not only differ very much from that of Sanskrit *vrittams* but accord or adjust themselves easily with what is called the *desi chandas* in other South Indian languages. This *desi chandas* is based on what are called *matra ganas*, the *in-endra-ganas* of Telugu and *Brahm-endra-Rudra ganas* of Kannada which go to form *desi metres* like *dvipada*, *ragada*, *sisā*, *shatpadi*, etc.

meters which were used in early Telugu and Kannada literature before Sanskrit vrittās were adopted in these languages. These are generally set to music and sung instead of being read like the Tamil songs of old Tamil literature which seem to have had definite 'puns' of their own, each 'pun' representing a different mode of singing.

2. Another feature of Telugu and Kannada literatures whose roots can be traced to the early Dravidian is the common binding factor of *monai* and *yadugai* of Tamil. Unlike the vrittams as Sragdhara, Sardula, and Mattebha etc. these are things not borrowed from Sanskrit but are quite indigenous. Though each of them in Tamil is of eight varieties, whose use is left to the choice of the poet, Telugu and Kannada adopted only one variety which is observed compulsorily in all the forms of the verse either indigenous or borrowed from Sanskrit. This is an instance where a Dravidian feature has been extended to Sanskrit borrowings also by suffixing Telugu terminations, so also we may say in Telugu literature Sanskrit vrittams were converted and adopted into Telugu by making *ya'i* and *prasa* compulsory.

3. With these features as the basis indigenous literature in Telugu and Kannada countries began to grow; in Telugu dvipadas which resembled Kural venbas and sisas one line of which having eight ganas may be said to have been made up of two 'ahavalpa' lines of four ganas each, ragadas, gitas, udaharanas, elas, and shatpadis, all of which depended on matra ganas for their composition, came to be written in the language of the country. Though these were looked down upon by Sanskrit scholars, the Chalukyan kings began to patronise them.

In the early centuries of the Christian era Telugu and Kannada literature was probably in the form of short poems or stanzas like those of early Tamil literature—made up of lines of three or four matra ganas, set to music and amenable to various talas and sung by people at various festive occasions or in tune to various family or outdoor duties. These were probably in the form of dvipadas, ragadas, gitas, elas, shatpadis etc. There must have been a lot of literature at that time only handed down from mouth to mouth like the *palas* or the songs of our women folk—even until very recent times, without ever being committed to writing. After the advent of the Andhra rulers into this middle country—the Telugu Kannada area—this Desi or Dravidian element was undermined before the superior culture and attainment of the Sanskritists. Further south, native kings of Tamilnad fully patronised the language and literature of their country and so even the Buddhists and Jains who migrated there had to learn the language of the country and compose works in the language. In the Telugu and Kannada countries, owing to Andhra rule for about four or five centuries and the brahmanic faith of the rulers that prevailed over Buddhism and Jainism in these countries respectively, Sanskritists got an upper hand and they managed to gradually give a Sanskrit turn to the indigenous language and literature. They imported a large amount of Sanskrit material and even big samasas in the tatsama form by adding mere desya terminations at the end. They have adjusted the desya ner-nirai-formed ganas an native Dravidian system to the

various akshara gana vrittams of the Sanskrit chandas and by making them a compulsory feature there, they managed to effect an easy synthesis of the indigenous Dravidian system with the Sanskrit system of chandas.

The earlier poems of the desi type were not restricted to four-line stanzas. But most of the Sanskrit vrittams were four-line stanzas. Since the Dravidian metrical stanza generally consisted of short lines composed of three or four ganas only, in order to make them appear big or bring these into line with the long-footed Sanskrit stanzas of the Sanskrit metre—like Sardula or Mattebha or Sragdhara, they have converted two of these short lines into one pada and by putting three more padas of the same type together they made up the quartrain which now resembled those of Sanskrit chandas. For instance two lines of dvipada were converted into one line and four of such lines were bound by what is called *yati* and *prasa*, and this was made to appear under a new name called 'Taruvoja'. Similarly with a slight adjustment in ganas, a new type called 'sisa' was brought into existence. What is called 'madhyak-kara' is formed by doubling lines of three ganas each.

Later the Sanskritists tried to bring about a mixture of these indigenous and Sanskrit metres into one composition. They used to compose a number of stanzas in desi metre and then add one or more Sanskrit vritta at the end. This kind of composition they called an 'udaharana'. A similar kind of combining marga and desi types of chandas was also seen in Kannada as early as the 8th c. A.D. as such were referred to by the author of Kavirajarga as old types of Kannada literature in the name of *Chattane* and *Bedende*. Many of the indigenous metres were frequently used in what are called yakshaganas—which may be considered as a popular drama which came into prominence particularly in the age of the Naik kings of the South. These indigenous types in their ensemble may be called the desi literature as opposed to the Marga literature introduced by the Sanskritists and excelled in the works of Nannaya and his followers.

Thus it is clear that there is a common literary and prosodial tradition of Dravidian origin in all the desi literatures of the South Indian languages.

1. కందము మమళిన వృత్తము
మొందొందెక గొందు, బాటిబాటెసెయె బెడం
గొంది పరిశమరె పెటి
లొందరదూపిం, బెడందె గబ్బుపదమ్మం॥
2. కందంగళ పునాగిరె
సుందర వృత్తంగ, శక్కరం చవుపదిమ
త్తందడితికె తిపదిగ
శందం బెత్తెసెయె పేట్రొడను చ్చాణం. (కవి. రా. 1.34, 35)

TAMIL NAYANARS IN TELUGU LITERATURE.

by

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The Nayanars of the Tamil country played an important role in the evolution of Saivism in South India. The Tamil word 'Nayanar' means a devotee. They are sixty-three in number and were drawn from all strata of Hindu Society, the twice-born and the low-born, the kings and the commoners. They lived approximately between the 5th and the 10th centuries of the Christian Era.

In Telugu they are styled as 'Aruvattumuvvuru Nayanarlu' and are included in the 'Sahasraganamalika' which forms one of the devotional litanies of the Saivites of the Telugu country. Curiously enough the number 63 corresponds to the *Tri-shasti-salaka purushas* of Jain tradition embodied in the encyclopaedic work of Hemachandra Suri, the well-known Jaina Samayacharya in his *Tri-Shasti-Salukapurusha Charitra*.

At the outset let us remember that in South India, Saivism had to contend with the two formidable rivals, Jainism and Buddhism, before it could win its way to popular favour. In the great social upheaval and religious confusion that ensued, these Nayanars stood firm and led the banner of Saivism to victory. The deflection of the popular current towards Saivism was mainly due to the heroic deeds of these devotees. Their burning faith in Siva as the supreme deity was powerful enough to carry conviction even to the non-believers. They were not, however, ostentatious or exhibitionist, but on the other hand humble, pure of body and mind alike. Their inspiring example moved even the kings to embrace the gospel of Saivism. Thus we see the Pallava King Mahendra-varman I who was at first a Jain becoming an ardent Saivite under the influence of Appar (Tirunavukkarasu or Vagisar Nayanar). With the zeal so characteristic of a new convert Mahendravaram caricatured Buddhists and Jains in his Sanskrit burlesque *Mattavilasa-Prahasana*.

These Nayanars, besides being the living embodiments of devotion and sacrifice, were great poets. Quite a volume of devotional verses flowed from their hearts providing emotional sustenance for Saivite devotees of later ages. Tevaram which consists of the hymns of Appar, Sambandhar, and Sundarar and Manikkavachakar's Tiruvacakam form the basis of Saivite devotional literature. Further as all scholars know the four Saiva samayacharyas—Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar and Manikkavachakar—are the exemplars of the four main paths of devotion respectively—Dasa or the path of the servant; Satputra Marga or the path of the good son, Sakha Marga the path of a friend and Sanmarga, the true path, the path of a devotee. All the four were inspired Saints and men of God who electrified the country with their songs of devotion and set in motion a wave of Bhakti, which passed throughout the land kindling the light of spiritual aspiration in every living soul.

Besides these four main Nayanars, Tirumular, the author of Tirumandiram, Chiruttondar, Amaraniti and others also played an equally important role by their devotional acts. Thus the Nayanars apart from saving Saivism from the onslaughts of Jainism and Buddhism, gave it a new stimulus. They brought home the real nature of Bhakti and the existence of God to the rival sects.

The stories of the Tamil Nayanars must have been very popular in South India as they seem to have spread into the neighbouring Telugu and Kannada areas through Saivite mendicants. In Telugu Literature we find for the first time references to some of these Nayanars in the '*Sivatatwasaramu*' of Mallikarjuna pandita who lived between 1100-1180 A.D. In Nannechoda's Kumara Sambhavam the earliest Saivite Classic in Telugu we find a reference to Tirunilakanta Nayanar in Canto 5 verse 143¹. But the complete stories of the Saints are given only by Palkuriki Somanatha, the famous Telugu poet and apostle of Virasaivism, who is said to have lived from 1190-1260 A.D. In this earlier work *Basavapuramu* Somanatha links some of the stories of the Nayanars with the main story of Basava to prove that 'Devotion tinged with pride is useless' and that 'Bliss is conferred on the truly devoted without any consideration of birth or brains'. Indeed, the stories of the 'innocent-Bhaktas' form the most interesting chapter of the work. Somanatha introduces the story of Sundaramurti and through that narrates briefly the accounts of some other Nayanars. It is in his later great work '*Panditaradhyacharitra*' (the biography of Mallikarjuna Pandita) that Somanatha enumerates the names of all the sixty-three Nayanars, and deals with the stories of some of them in the Puratana Prakarana of that work. The story of Udaya Nambi is again narrated at length in the Mahimaprakarana.

The names of some of the Nayanars as given by Somanatha differ from those found in Periapuranam, though the themes are the same. Later Telugu poets generally followed Somanatha who first recorded in Telugu, these stories as current in popular tradition. For instance Nandanar is referred to only as 'Tirumallaprova'. Tirunalaipovar திருநாலிப்போவார் has transformed like that. Iyarpagai இயற்பகை Nayanar as Elayagha, Kotpuli-Kolpuli, கோட்டிலி; Athipatta அதிபத்த as Adibharta; Kalikkamba கலிக்கம்ப as Kaliyamba. Sambandhar is known only as Pillai Nayanar and Tirunilakanta is called as Potter Gundayya (Kummari Gundayya). Not only in names but also in the minor details of the stories, there are changes

Besides these two main works we find copious references to the Nayanars in his other works '*Vrishadhipa Satakamu*' and '*Chaturvedasaramu*.' Thus it is Somanatha that introduced the themes of these famous Tamil Saints and gave them a permanent footing in Telugu Literature.

1. For this and for some other details in this article I am indebted to Sri N. Venkata Rao, my supervisor.

manuscripts I was lucky enough to come across these two rare works both of which are complete and are on palm-leaves. If these are published, I am confident they will provide a store-house of interesting material for a comparative study with Tamil, besides being valuable additions to Telugu Saivite Literature.

It is explicitly stated in the Telugu works that the Nayanars belonged to Dravida desa. For instance, Gundayya is said to belong to the famous place of Kanakasabhai.

Nanjaraja's work gives an account of some of the religious customs peculiar to the Tamils, which are interwoven with the stories of the Nayanars, such as the worship of Kumaraswamy. In Andhra, Subrahmanya is mostly represented as a serpent and the concept of a god with two wives is not in vogue. Further we find no temple dedicated to Subrahmanya at present though we hear of one at Chebrolu in the Yuddhamalla's inscription dated 980 A.D. Even Visakhapattinam which was constructed by Kulottunga Chola is stated to have taken its name after the deity of the place—Visakha or Kumara whose temple is now submerged under the sea.

Thus, the lives of the Nayanars have attracted the attention of Telugu writers from the 12th Century till the present day. They reveal the influence of Tamil tradition on the neighbouring Telugu and Kannada cultures. They also provide a clue to the existence of a common culture flourishing in earlier times, and, studied in the proper light, may help to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between the various linguistic groups inhabiting South India and knit them into closer and more abiding brother-hood.

AN EARLY TAMIL EPIC.

by

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An epic has been defined as a narrative of length dealing with events of importance and grandeur. Its events and persons stimulate us because they enhance our faith in the worth of man's achievement and his nobility and dignity. Cilappadikaram consists of not more than five thousand lines of poetry and celebrates the great achievements of Kannaki (the heroine of the poem) and of a Pandya and a Chera king, who are to be regarded as the other heroes of the poem. Kannaki stands pre-eminent because she is represented as having emerged successful in the conflict with the Pandyan king, who admitted his guilt in ordering the death of her innocent husband wrongly convicted of theft. To her the gods render allegiance: the fire-god obeys her commands and swallows the city of Madurai, leaving unhurt such of those as she exempted; the sun-god speaks to her in response to her pointing to the innocence of her husband; the guardian angel of Madurai city (called Madura devi) treads before her with faltering steps, waits long to gain access to her and cajoles her into giving a hearing (Canto XXIII); the celestials under the lead of Indra descend from heaven, appear before her, show her her dead husband in flesh and blood and then escort her to heaven. She re-appears, after reaching heaven, to bless the Chera king, Senkuttuvan, who had consecrated a temple in her honour. She also forgives and blesses the Royal dynasty of the Pandya who had wronged her. In these achievements of hers, the poet, Ilanko, expresses the significance of human achievements. Her essential nobility shines throughout the book. She could have quarrelled with her husband for having practically deserted her; she could have cursed her rival Mathavi, who came in the way of her marital happiness; she could have denied her husband access to her, when he often turned up for financial help. On the other hand, she gave him her anklets, the last of her jewels with a smile on her face, when she found he was in distress and in need of money, if only to please her rival, Mathavi. This gentle nature and nobility of her character have earned her everlasting fame. If Kannaki is not a heroine of the other type, winning wars and laurels, it is because at the time of composition of the epic, that is, the second century A.D. the Tamils had become a well-settled race, intent more on the art of peace than of war. Moral courage, presence of mind, endurance under trying circumstances and desire to vindicate the honour of her husband are the distinguishing characteristics of this remarkable character.

The Pandya king, whose ideals of kingly honour and justice are so high that he actually collapses and dies on finding that he has been the instrument of miscarriage of justice, deserves also to be regarded as a hero of the epic, even though his personal courage and prowess do not figure in the story. The circumstances in which he was placed misled him into a deviation from the normal course

of justice, and in his anxiety to placate his queen he rashly ordered the execution of Kovalan (the husband of the heroine, Kannaki) on the basis of a false charge made by the real culprit but he does not think of the extenuating circumstances. Instead, he is overwhelmed by his act of injustice and wills himself to death in order to save his honour. By thus sacrificing his life, he has won immortal glory. Here, again, we find man in his magnificence and nobility.

If a hero should surpass others in strength and courage, we find such a hero in Senkuttuvan, the Chera king. He has the valour of Achilles; several are the battles he has already won. He has conquered many chieftains and won battles with the other two great kings of the Tamil country, the Chola and the Pandya, whose seals he is using in token thereof. He has established friendly relations with "Nurruvar Kannar" (the Sathakarnis) of the Central Provinces. He has also gone, as far as the Ganges and defied the might of the Northerners. Now, he again goes north and conquers the Aryan kings Visittira, Rudra, Bairava, Chitra, Singha, Sveta, etc., and subjugates them. He captures Kanaka and Vijaya, sons of Balakumara (Canto XXVI), and after reaching his own capital, Vanchi, orders that the prisoners be taken to the other two Tamil kingdoms and exhibited before their sovereigns. A vain-glorious deed perhaps! The etiquette of war required that one should not pursue those that were fleeing, one should not capture those that were trying to escape. The Chola and Pandya kings, to whom the captives were shown, remarked that it was rather strange that Senkuttuvan should have made captives of persons fleeing for their lives after putting on the garb of ascetics. The fact was of course that most of those who fled had been spared and only a few who braved and gave battle were captured. The Pandya and the Chola, while apparently insinuating against the Chera king, were only indirectly praising his prowess which enabled him to bring mighty warriors as captives.

To the question whether Cilappadikaram is an oral or written epic, the answer is that it is largely written and only partially oral. A large number of verses in "kanalvari", for instance, were probably a part of oral composition already existing, which, sung to the accompaniment of the musical instrument "Yal", was familiar to many. (Cf. Canto VII 1.20 et. seq.). The verses, however, in "Aychiyar kuravai" (XVII and "Kuravai" (XXIV), etc., were obviously the poet's own compositions and not collections of separate lays already existing.

Ilanko had a rich supply of stories, an important source of material for an epic poet. Witness for instance, the stories of Nala and Damayanti (XIV 1.50 et. seq.), Rama and Sita (XIV 11.46-49), Devasura war, Mahabharata war, etc. (XXVI 11.236 et. seq.), of the Brahman who hid the treasure trove (XXI), of the Pandya who chopped off his right hand (XXIII), of the thieves who bolted away (XVI), of the monkey that was grateful (XV), of the Brahman lady who killed a mongoose (XV), of the seven chaste women of Puhar who wrought miracles (XXI), etc. These stories and episodes can be detached and enjoyed by themselves.

Ilanko was mainly a literary epic poet. He wrote for readers rather than hearers. He avoided stock phrases and embellished his poem by fashioning his words with care and artistry. It was customary to compare the gait of a woman to that of a swan and her speech to the voice of a parrot but Ilanko re-created these dead metaphors and introduced new life into his descriptions. (Vide Canto II—11.38-80). Addressing Kannaki, his bride, Kovalan said, for instance, that the swans defeated by her gait tracked off in shame to hide themselves amidst the flower-beds in the fields and the parrots, though they found they were not her peers in the matter of speech, which had the sweetness of a lute and a flute and nectar all commingled, would not leave her hands in the hope that they would learn from her the secret of her speech charm.

Many are the ways in which Ilanko describes such familiar things as the approach of an evening or a dawn. Canto IV portrays the fall of an evening in Puhar, the Chola capital. There the poet shows how it caused pleasure to persons like Mathavi who were in the company of their lovers and how equally it was distressing to persons like Kannaki who had been separated from their husbands. The shepherds sing sweet notes on their flutes; the beetles do so through the Mullai (November) buds; the tender breeze spreads fine fragrance all round; women with sparkling ornaments light the lamps; the crescent moon, though young, dispels darkness even as the Pandya kings, though young, would annihilate their enemies. Thus the evening came, spreading sweetness among the lovers. To the lonely wives on the other hand who had been separated from their husbands, it brought only anguish; they discarded their pearls and sandal-paste and chose not to decorate their bed-chamber with flowers.

This is only one description of the onset of an evening. Other descriptions in the book show a pleasing variety in language. They occur in Cantos XIV (1.83 et. seq., XXII, XXVII and XXVIII) each has a distinctive splendour. The descriptions of dawn in Cantos XIII, XIV and XVII are also remarkable for their grandeur.

Cilappadikaram appeals by its fine poetical texture, by its choice of apt and significant words, phrases and lines. The pauses and the stops, the play and counter-play of words found in Canto XVIII (Tunba malai 1,8 11,24, etc., and 11. 9-10 and 11. 25-28) have a subtle effect of their own, which does not perhaps become evident until the second or subsequent reading. The wavering rhythms in which the poet couches the passages breaking the news of Kovalan's murder are also remarkable. Mention must also be made of the austere sublimities to which the poet rises in describing the omens and super-natural occurrences portending evil on the eve of the appearance of Kannaki at the Pandyan king's court. (Canto XX 11.1-27).

Ilanko's characters speak with variety. There are three dreams, one of Kannaki, another of Kovalan and a third of the Pandyan queen and each has a variety of its own, both in conception and import. There are again two epistles, both sent by Mathavi

to Kovalan (Canto VIII and Canto XIII) but each has an individuality of its own. One is couched in a tone of remonstrance, while the other is written in a spirit of repentance, even though the purpose of both the epistles was to re-gain the love of Kovalan. Ilanko's art lay in skilful variation of even repetitive themes. The incident relating to the death of the Pandyan king and queen has to be repeatedly told in different settings but the artful way in which the poet mentions this in Cantos XX (77-81), XXV (11. 95-99), XV (11. 78-86), XXVIII (212-213), XXIX (1. 20) avoids monotony.

The artifice of employing synonyms to take away the tedium is also found in Ilanko. Take, for instance, the use of five different words in five lines to indicate the same object, viz., temple (Canto XIV-11. 7-11: the words are *koyil*, *niyamam*, *nakaram*, *kotta*, and *palli*). So also, in Canto X-11. 119-140, the words *Othai*, *Oli*, *Pani*, *Mankalam*, *Pattu* are used to denote a single meaning. Side by side with this, one meets with the employment of the same word, *Koyil*, five times in five successive lines in Canto V (11. 169-175) but one does not experience any monotony here, because of the otherwise sweet setting in which the word occurs.

Ilanko's style is ornate in places. A uniform clarity is not always aimed at by the poet and some passages are intelligible only after repeated readings. We come across such passages, which nevertheless appeal to us by their poetical texture, in Canto XIII (11. 48-51) containing a pun on the word *Mathavi*, Canto XIII (11. 87-92) containing two epistles in one, Canto XIII (11. 184-188) containing a pun (*ciledai*) bearing on the words "*Kannir*" (meaning tears and water from the plant) and "*Kal*" (leg and wind), and Canto XIII (11. 151-170) describing the majestic flow of the river *Vaiyai*.

Cilappadikaram contains a wide sweep of history, philosophy, religion and ethics. It contains accounts of the relationship between the Chola, the Pandya and the Chera kings of the Tamil country. It narrates how one king succeeded another in the Chola region and in the Pandya kingdom. (Vide Canto XXVII *Nirpadai* 11. 118-123; *ibid.* 11. 159-171; *ibid.* 127-138). It points out that the Chola king was reckoned as the first and foremost citizen of the Chola state (Canto 1-11. 31-32). It states how the Chera king *Chenkuttuvan* viewed kingship, how he wished to be loved by his subjects, how his sole desire was to bring happiness to them, how he scorned the idea of ever being cruel to them, how he regarded kingship as an office full of thorns but nevertheless a great opportunity given to him to serve the people. (Vide Canto XXVI (*Kal Kol*) 11. 16-18; Canto XXV (*Katchi*) 11. 100-104).

Philosophy is conveyed through the characters, *Kaunthi Adigal* and *Madalan*. *Kaunthi Adigal* says to *Mankattu Brahman* that it is not impossible for man to achieve anything under the sun if he is true unto himself and to the world, and if he loves his neighbours as he loves himself (Canto XI). *Madalan* exhorts King *Chenkuttuvan* to do acts of charity. "Youth is evanescent, wealth rotates, the body is mortal. The world is a stage, where we are actors; we

pass from one birth to another just as actors change from one make-up to another. We will be judged only by our actions; we will receive rewards or punishments according as we have done good things or evil. Do therefore good things, here and now". In these words he spoke to King Chenkuttuvan (Canto XXVIII—Nadu Kar—11. 133-186).

Religious references to Sivan, Murugan, Vishnu, Korravai (or Durga) and Argha abound in the work. Ethical passages occur frequently, especially towards the end of the work; "Do no harm to others; Realise the existence of God; Honour those who are devoted to God; Hate falsehood; Avoid backbiting; Neither kill nor eat flesh; give alms, do penance; Never be ungrateful; Despise friendship with the wicked; Never resort to perjury; follow the wise path", etc., etc. (Canto XXX (Varan taru) 11. 186-202). That the wise and the learned should forgive the unwise actions of misguided or ignorant people is brought out by the poet in his own inimitable style in Canto X (Nadu Kan)—11. 237-237.

Ilanko draws several morals from the events of his epic; that an unjust ruler is inevitably punished, that a chaste woman receives the homage of all human beings and celestials; that no man can escape his fate. Besides, many a lesson he has left the reader to draw indirectly, e.g., one should not indulge in gossip, one should take great care of trust property; one should be brave and never despondent; one should have faith in God. Ilanko apparently thought that poetry was intended not merely to beguile one's leisure but it should inspire and instruct. All in all, Ilanko has achieved unqualified success as a poet and takes a high rank among the epic poets of the world.

In later periods, poets like Tiruttakadevar, Sekkilar and Kambar attempted to copy it and even rival it, but throughout the centuries it has maintained a central place in Tamil literature. It has an unparalleled variety of appeal and deserves to hold a high place not only in Tamil literature but also in world literature.

A PAGE FROM THE HISTORY OF MALAYALAM LANGUAGE:—TAMIL AND MALAYALAM.

by

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The history of the early beginnings of Malayalam language is still shrouded in mystery. The rescarches so far done in the field have not yet solved any of the problems connected with it. It is proposed in this short paper, to present a few such problems and suggest a method of solution.

There are three views on the subject:—

- (1) Malayalam is as independent a language as Tamil, Kan-
nada or Telugu is.
- (2) Malayalam is a recent off-shoot of Tamil.
- (3) Malayalam is the mother of Tamil.

That Malayalam is the elder sister, younger sister, or daughter of Tamil is only a different version of the above mentioned opinions.

The opinion that Malayalam is the mother of Tamil is expressed by no less an authority than the late lamented Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer. His argument is based mainly on the assumption that Malayalam has retained the archaic forms of the Dravidian family of languages and, therefore, she can claim the legitimate motherhood of Tamil and other Dravidian languages of Southern Dravida. The first point he brings as an evidence to support his theory is the sutra in Tolkapya "Atinira akara maikara may tirintatu". In words like Mala and Tala the ending letter "a" has turned to be "ai" in modern Tamil. It is to say that in the ancient Tamil, the words Talai and Malai were not in vogue and Ta'a and Mala which are found in Malayalam at present, have the traits of the ancient Tamil. Modern Tamil is the daughter of the ancient Tamil. Modern Malayalam which retains the archaic forms like Tala and Mala is identical with ancient Tamil and therefore, is the mother of modern Tamil.

Let us try to meet this argument first. A close examination of the ending "a" of Tala Mala in Malayalam proves that it is not "a" guttural vowel or pure "a", but "a" the palatal one, which is to be pronounced as "ai". In compound like Tala plus ute—Tala-yute, this palatal vowel is obviously pronounced. Therefore, one cannot say that the "a" in Tala and Mala of modern Malayalam is different from "ai" in Talai and Malai of modern Tamil. The modern Tamil pronounces the ending "a" of the above two words clearly as "ai" as it ought to have been.

The next point Sri Ulloor quotes in favour of his theory is with regard to the usage of demonstrative pronominal bases of "A", "E" and "U" in Tamil and Malayalam. "They are never used in colloquial Tamil; only in Tamil poetry they are found. But Malayalam uses them both in literary and colloquial languages. This fact indicates the antiquity of Malayalam as a spoken language. According to Tolkapyyar these pronominal bases were never in any of the colloquial languages of the Dravidian family and therefore, we can never expect them to have been used in the ancient Malayalam colloquial too, as there is no other evidence available. It may be argued that they were present in old Malayalam as they are found in modern Malayalam. But many of the modern Malayalam usages are found absent in the old language and therefore the point regarding the pronominal bases cannot be taken as a reliable evidence to support the theory.

The most convincing argument to support the antiquity of Malayalam as quoted by Ulloor is based on the personal termination of Dravidian verbs. "Some scholars are of opinion that the personal terminations in verbs were a new innovation in Sen-Tamil whereas Malayalam does not have it anywhere in its colloquial form". Ulloor does not quote the authority, in this connection, and we are at a loss to know who those scholars are. Moreover, the colloquial Malayalam spoken by the aboriginals of Kerala has the personal terminations even to day. Invariably the poetical language of Malayalam has the personal terminations and therefore, it is more probable that Malayalam had dropped off the personal terminations from its verbs than to ascertain that it has never had.

In the light of the above discussion it is rather difficult and impossible to establish the antiquity of Malayalam. On the other hand, it is clear that the spoken languages in West Coast and East Coast were once upon a time, not much different, and the evolution of the above two has taken place in due course, in two different situations determined more or less by geographical, cultural and political environments of the two countries. Language, especially the spoken one, is never static; it should ever be changing with the environment of the people who speak it. We have historical evidences to prove that the conditions in West Coast and East Coast were very different at least from the early centuries of Christian Era.

Another important fact to be remembered by the researchers in this field is the connotation of the terms Tamil and Malayalam, when they seek to establish any kind of relationship between the two languages. Tamil means only "language". Even to day a few commentaries on Sanskrit works written in Malayalam are called "Tamil Kuttu" meaning "a commentary in the language of the soil". This shows that the language of the West Coast was known as Tamil, till recently. The word "Malayalam" meant only the country and never the language of the West Coast, till about 150 years back. It was after the advent of English education that the term Malayalam began to be used to denote the language of the West Coast, as against that of the East Coast. In this sense we may safely say that Malayalam is only about hundred and fifty years old as a language under-

stood as different from the language of the West Coast. But notable difference in the languages of the West Coast and East Coast began to appear even from the 9th or 10th Century A.D. There is not a single inscription or literary work available in Malayalam, say in modern Malayalam language, prior to the dawn of Kollam Era, i.e., the 9th Century A. D. The literary language in the West Coast have enriched both Sen Tamil and Sanskrit during the early centuries of the Christian Era. This cannot be exclusively owing to the political supremacy of the Tamil Kings of Chola and Pandya as some of the scholars believe. Sanskrit continued to be the literary language of the scholars of West Coast even after the dawn of Kollam Era. But in Sen Tamil few works only were written by the scholars of West Coast since the emergence of a new language for Kerala, almost different from that spoken in the East Coast.

The circumstances under which a new language for West Coast emerged are too well known to the students of History and Sociology to be narrated here. The fusion of Aryan and Dravidian cultures was more intensive in West Coast than elsewhere in India, Sanskrit, the language of the Namputiri Brahmans who settled down in Kerala easily got itself mixed with the spoken language of the people with whom they had blood-relationship. As a result of this the higher strata of the Society evolved a language of its own and this slowly gained literary status. The language of the soil, generally spoken by the people at large got itself mixed with Sen Tamil, the literary language and this gave birth to another type of literary language. The former is called Manipravalam and the latter Bhasha Misram. These two types of literary languages in due course blended together and the modern Malayalam is the offspring of this curious mixture of two types of colloquial and literary languages. This explains why in modern Malayalam there is little difference between the literary and colloquial style.

The relation between Tamil and Malayalam as envisaged by various scholars should be rewritten, in the light of the facts now stated. "Malayalam" is neither the mother nor the daughter of Tamil; it is not an independent language too. Malayalam was Tamil and continues to be "Tamil", the meaning of the term Tamil being "Language". It is obvious that modern Malayalam is not modern Tamil, as those who speak those two languages cannot, ordinarily, follow each other intelligently. It will be very interesting and instructive to study the relationship between the ancient Tamil spoken in West Coast and East Coast. In all probability they might have been not much different from one another. In syntax, vocabulary and grammar the pure modern Malayalam and the pure modern Tamil show great affinity and to an unbiassed linguist both are the same.

KAMBA RAMAYANAM—A SOURCE FOR TULASI RAMAYANA.

by

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“Literature in respect of its demand or usefulness either” says Pratap Chander Roy, “is more than anything else in the world a cosmopolitan concern. The productions of genius are the common inheritance of the world. Homer lived as much for Greeks, ancient or modern, as for Englishmen or Frenchmen, Germans or Italians. Valmiki and Vyasa lived as much for Hindus as for any race of men capable of understanding them”. Consequently the story of Ramayana has provided the chief plot for various types of Kavyas to the authors of north and south India alike. In Tamil Kambar wrote his Ramayana Epic as early as twelfth century A.D., and it is so magnificent that no other epic has till now surpassed the same. V. V. S. Iyer, the late learned critic of Kamba Ramayanam, categorically states that this Tamil epic has outlived the very original, namely the Valmiki Ramayana. It is said that in the Telugu Literature, there are more than three hundred major and minor works on Ramayana. Ezhuttachchan’s ‘Adhyatma Ramayana’, and ‘Abhinava Pampa’ Nagachandra’s ‘Ramachandra Charita Purana’, commonly known as ‘Pampa Ramayana’, are among the best of epics in their respective literature.

Tulasi Das, due to his poetic excellence in depicting the matter in simple manner, and extraordinary skill; exposition, stands above all in the field of Hindi Literature. The work that has given him eternal glory is his masterpiece on the story of Ramayana, named by him as the ‘Rama-Charita-Manas’, translated by W.D. PP. Hill as ‘The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama’. The composition of this work was taken up by Tulasi in the year 1574 A.D. as has been specifically mentioned by the poet “

after

studying various Puranas, Nigamas, Agamas, etc., and a few others. The poet says in the very beginning.

नानापुराणनिगमागमसम्मतं यद् रामायणे निगदितं कचिदन्यतोऽपि ।

Here Tulasi expresses in general the various sources for his epic. After explicitly mentioning about ‘नानापुराणनिगमाग’ that is ‘various Puranas, Nigamas and Agamas’, he makes specific mention about the other sources, as ‘कचितन्यतोऽपि’ that is ‘and a few others’ which do not come under नानापुराणनिगमागम’. Critics so far have gone only up to a few dramas like ‘Prasanna Raghava’ by Jaidev, and ‘Mahavir Charita’ by Bhavabhuti, etc., but few have endeavoured to go deeper into the extent of various sources, and hence, it is a sphere for further research.

I am here-in taking a particular picture from Tulasi Ramayana and analysing critically all the possible sources for the same. The picture is that of the Pre-matrimonial love of Rama and Sita. This picture is found in Valmiki Ramayana, and to our utter surprise, is having a transcendental expression in Kamba Ramayanam, and not in any other epic, either in the northern or in the southern languages, not excluding 'Raghu Vamsha' by Kalidasa who has given expression, in his own unique way to the Pre-matrimonial Love of Dushyanta and Sakuntala in his immortal Drama of 'Abhigyan Shakuntalam'. Now the question naturally arises as to why Valmiki and other epic poets of Sanskrit and other languages excluding Kambar of Tamil and Tulasi of Hindi, did not include the scene of Pre-matrimonial Love in their works.

In the mythological stories, the position of Sita and Draupadi has a unique feature. The father of each had proclaimed a vow that his daughter would be given in marriage to that person only who would succeed in the specific deed of valour, and that if none would turn up successful in performing the deed proclaimed, his daughter would remain 'Virgin' throughout her life. Janaka, the father of Sita had announced that he who would break the bow of Shiva would alone get the hand of his daughter Sita. Thus, Sita was a "Veeryashulka" that is, a virgin to be given in marriage as 'shulka' (payment) of a deed of Veerya (valour). Thus she had to be a virgin, pure in thought, word and deed till the time of the breaking of the bow, after which alone she could think of the person who broke it.

Now, Valmiki, Kalidas, etc., were fully conscious of this condition, and deliberately had the plot of Pre-matrimonial Love away from their epics which were meant for serious study for all times, and not books of the hour alone as were dramas. Jaidev in his drama 'Prasanna Raghava' and Bhavabhuti in his 'Mahavir Charita' had included the element of Pre-matrimonial Love of Rama and Sita in their own way, as they were plays to infuse the 'Rasa' or Aesthetic Pleasure for the moment of its enactment on the stages. There is a specific difference between the treatment of a drama and an epic. Drama has a greater freedom in its scope of the plot, characterisation, dialogue, style, language and even the ideal, whereas the epic has to be restricted in all the regions of matter and manner. Epic writer has to think more deeply about the cultural aspects, and has to be limited in his extraneous expressions and digressions. Hence Valmiki and Kalidas had to avoid the picture of the Pre-matrimonial Love of Rama and Sita.

'Kalavu' and then 'Karpu' that is pre-matrimonial love and then marriage had been the order of the sangam days, and has found expression in sangam literature. The Great Poet—Saint Tiruvalluvar has divided his immortal work of Ethical Code 'Tirukkural' into 'Kalavu' (Pre-matrimonial Love) and 'Karpu' (Chaste Matrimonial life). Here the hero and the heroine fall in love at first sight due to their destiny, and this love develops to the extent of committing suicide, should they not get married.

This picture in Kamba Ramayanam which was brought out in a period prior to the twelfth century in all probability, has been portrayed in a magnificent manner in a complete canto of 'Mithala Katchippadalam'. The eyes of Rama, by chance, as luck would have it, fall on the Virgin Sita who happened to be standing on her place corridor upstairs, and looking down at the adjacent street. Sita also in the same way gets a vision of Rama who was going along the Royal Street of Mithila with his brother Laxmana following their teacher Vishwamitra. The seeds of love are sown in their hearts. Rama with Sita within, reaches the Ashrama, and Sita gets Rama into herself, and both suffer the pangs of love and unbearable pain of separation. They feel for not having joined then and there itself. This is the crowning scene in the Balakanda of Kamba Ramayanam. Kambar has strictly followed the treatment of matrimony as depicted in Sangam Literature, and specially in Tirukkural. He has in several places followed Tiruvalluvar word by word proving thereby that he has adopted the Valmiki classic and set the same in the literary line of Dravidian Culture.—As a critic has put it, Kambar has infused Dravidian Spirit in the garb of the story of Rama.

Tulasidas was a Bhakta (Devotee) first and then a Kavi (Poet). He is, hence, said to have been a Bhakta Kavi, as against a Kavi-Bhakta who is a Kavi first and Bhakta next, like Kambar. Tulasi was in his early days mad after his wife, so much so that he once crossed the Ganges in floods sitting over a crocodile, at midnight! When he reached the house of his wife on the other side at the banks of the deep and wide river, his wife 'Ratna' insulted him by saying

“लाजन लागत आप को, दौरे आयहु साथ ।
 धिक धिक ऐसे प्रेम को, कहो कद्रूँ मैं नाथ ॥
 अस्ति-चाम-मय देह मम, तामें जैसी प्रीति ।
 तैसी जौ श्रीराम महुँ, होत न तौ भवभीति ॥”

Don't you feel ashamed of having come after this body of bones and flesh of mine? Should you have the same affection towards the Lord Sri Rama, you would get rid of the fear of birth and death, and secured eternal salvation. Tulasi came to his true senses immediately, renounced the mortal world and started on a pilgrimage which stretched on to a long period of 14 years, 10 months, and 17 days. Tulasi came so far as Rameswaram which is situated just at the east of Madura, the centre of Tamil Sanga.

In the north, his chief abode was at Kashi. It is stated by the late learned Mahamahopadhaya Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer in his biography of the Tamil Saint Sri-la-Sri Kumaragurupara swamigal that Tulasi used to regularly attend the Hindi discourses on Kamba Ramayana delivered by him at Kashi. The same view has been expressed by Sri Srinivasacharya in his article on "The Nature of Tamil Kavya". Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai also in his recent broadcast on 'Kambar' expressed the same view that Tulasi was among the regular listeners of the talks of Saint Kumaraguru-Para Swami-

gal at Kashi. As a Bhakta-Kavi Tulasi gave expression to his ideas and ideals in his own way, and as per his reading of various works on the Story of Rama, and what he had heard at Kashi and at several places at the time of his long tour right upto Rameswaram.

Though Sita was a Veerya Shulkyā, though Valmiki, Kalidasa or any other epic writer had not given expression to his aspect of the theme in their narration of the Rama Story, Tulasi has given a very minute and picturesque account of the Pre-matrimonial Love of Rama and Sita by bringing them both together in the garden of Janaka. Rama with his younger brother Laxmana who was also nearly of his age, was going through the garden to pluck some flowers for the morning pooja, and at that very time Sita with her girl friends was going to pray at the Parvati Temple which was situated in the same garden.

Now, the poet says—

“कंकण किंकिणि नूपुर धुनि सुनि ।
कहत लावन सन राम हृदय गुनि ॥
मानहु मदन दुंदुभी दीन्हीं ।
मनाना विजय विश्व कहँ कीन्हीं ॥”

Rama, hearing the tinkering and gingling sounds of the anklets and other ornaments of Sita, tells Laxmana, after deep thinking, “it appears as if Kamadeva, the God of Love, is blowing his trumpet, and winning the whole of the Universe”. The seeds of love are sown in the hearts of Rama even without seeing Sita. After saying so, Rama again looks back—

“अस कहि फिरि चितर तेहि ओरा ।
सिय मुख ससि भागनयन चकोए ॥
भए विलोचन चाह अचंचल ।
मनहुँ सकुचिनिमि तजे हगंचन ॥”

Rama's eyes became chakora birds and to them Sita's face turned to be the Moon! Then he began to stare at her. He was full of love for Sita.

Sita, however, who happens to look at Rama on the persuasion of her girl friend, gets the same feeling, and

“लोचन मग रामहिं उर आनी । दीन्हें पलक कपाट सयानी ॥”

‘She draws Rama into her heart through the door-way of her eyes, and shuts the doors of eye-lids!’ Both now are deeply immersed in the love of each other. Tulasi, like Kambar, explains the cause of this Pre-matrimonial Love as “प्रीति पुरातन लखै न कोई ।” ‘Their long left love is known to none’ meaning thereby that Rama is the incarnation of Vishnu and Sita, the incarnation of Lakshmi, Kambar had stated “பிரிந்தவர் கூடினால் பேசவும் வேண்டுமோ ?”

Thus we see that Tulasi has given expression to the Pre-matrimonial love in an extraordinary way. Now, when we go deep into the matter, there are two vital points to be said. The first is that Tulasi in the course of his tour to Rameswaram, as a great devotee of Rama, should have certainly enquired about and learnt the Ramayana prevalent then in Tamil Nad. The Vaishnava cult was centuries ago prevalent among Tamilians, and the existence of the same in an abundant measure in the north since the 10th century and earlier, owes its roots to the Dravidian Saints. Kabir Das has explicitly mentioned in one of his dohas as—

“भली द्राविड ऊपजी, लाये रामानन्द ।”

‘The element of Bhakti began in Dravida Nad, and was brought to the north by Ramanand.’ This being so, the chief Ramayana epic of Vaishnavas was the Kamba Ramayanam at the time of Tulasi. Therefore Tulasi must have certainly come across the same through the Sanskrit scholars of the South. Though this is a circumstantial proof, it has to be necessarily agreed to upon, as Tulasi at that period was a ‘Jignasu’ a learned Bhakta searching after truth, and was in the formative stage.

The second point is the psychological respect of the person of Tulasi. Tulasi left his wife away, and became a Bhakta by sublimation, thereby leaving the feelings of his lady-love in the sub-conscious. As Dr. Freud and many other Psychologists have stated, the sub-conscious has its outlet in artistic expositions to a very large extent. Tulasi gets his sub-conscious satisfied by giving expression to this aspect of the plot, which is not in line with the cult of his part of the country and sphere of literature, as Sita was a ‘Veerya Shukla’. But, when Tulasi found this aspect of the plot in Kamba Ramayanam he ventured to express the same, in his Mahakavya, or ‘Maha Purana’ as is called by certain scholars. Thus, this element of Pre-matrimonial love, which the sangam literature including Tolkappiyam and Tirukkural, and other Tamil classics have approved of as a proper form of step in life, finds a predominant place in the best epic of Hindi, the Tulasi Ramayana.

Thus Kambar has considerably influenced Tulasi, and Kamba Ramayana is one of the sources for Tulasi Ramayana, ‘the Rama Charita Manas’.

PROSE IN THE VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD

by

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Measured merely by its volume, poetic fiction is by far the most important variety of Telugu Literature in the Vijayanagar period. This is mainly due to the predominance of Prabandha over any other form. Of course Prabandha is a special feature of Telugu Literature. People no longer were satisfied with the translations of Puranas and Itihasas. They wanted something new and original from the poets if not in theme at least in the treatment. Hence this age could produce a Prabandha. The most important characteristic of this new type of Kavya is the amplification of description, the narration of the story is not at all significant. Though the rulers belonging to Sangama and Saluva dynasties encouraged Telugu poets, Krishna Deva Raya of the Tuluva dynasty showed greater regard to Telugu literature, he being the foremost poet-statesman of Andhra and Karnataka countries. In his court flourished a galaxy of poets. Allasani Peddana headed these Ashta Dig-gajas and Krishna Deva Raya presided over this academy of poets. This Royal recognition gave great impetus for men of letters in Telugu. The Court of Krishna Deveraya became a place of pilgrimage. Successors of Krishna Deva Raya continued this patronage of Telugu literature.

During the reigns of Vijayanagar monarchs flourished Nachana Somanatha, Pillalamarri Pina Virabhadra, Peddana, Pingali Surana, Ramaraja Bhushana and Tenali Ramakrishna. I mention a few who are famous for their rare imagination, subdued emotion and melodious style which can be seen even in their prose pieces.

All authors of this period attempted prose also. The prose portions of their works deserve attention. Nachana Somanatha is a lover of paradox (Antyanityama) Virabhadra's prose pieces are sweet. Peddana's compositions in prose are known for their grace. Ramaraja Bhushana employed slesha in his vacanas. Ramakrishna's prose allows much display of queer vocabulary. Out of all Surana's is a unique performance, though he used slesha it is with colloquial ease and freedom. Only few can approach Krishna Deva Raya in his recourse to Sanskrit words, harsh sounds and lengthy descriptions.

In addition to the above, pure prose works also flourished in this period.

Venkatesa Vinnapamulu is the first among them. It contains 166 prayers. This is also called 'Venkateswara Vachanamulu'. The author of these religious narrations is Talapaka Pedd Thirumal-ayya, son of the celebrated musician and poet Annamacharya. These have a style of their own. Venkatesa Vachanas have an austere

grace about them. Thirumalarya lived in the age of Krishna Deva Raya (1468—1553). Tirumalai Tirupathy Devasthanam published these devotional prose pieces. Each of these contains a moral and a Makuta. A feeling of self-resignation pervades every one of these vachanas. All these can be adjusted to raga and tala and can be sung. This is called Tala Gandhi vachana. Prabhakara Sastry edited these prose poems.

A number of vachanas succeeded Venkatesa Vachanas. They are *Bhavani Manohara* vachanas, *Kasikadheeswara* Vachanas and *Sabhapathi* vachanas. Two of these have makutas as *Bhavani Manohara* and *Kasikadeehswara*. These are very long and express the greatness of Parama Siva. Though written in pure prose they lack in clearness. They are philosophical and metaphysical in nature. These were adaptations to a large extent. These are the outbursts of much industry and can be managed by Vedantins only. These form a perfect contrast to Venkatesa Vachanas being allegorical and containing a number of jingling words.

Sabhapati vachanas give details about the kings and their campaigns, the procedures of the courts etc. It is considered as a valuable source for the re-construction of social literary and religious conditions of the 16th century. These descriptions are in the colloquial language and worth preserving.

Rayavachakamu is another historical work written in pleasant Telugu prose by one Sthanapati Viswanatha. It is an outstanding example of prose literature. It also belongs to the 16th century. This marks the dawn of a new epoch in prose writing. There is an elastic glow which pervades this great work. Several subjects of great importance to history and literature find a place in it. How the glorious emperor-poet encouraged the scholars can be gleaned through the pages of this wonderful work.

Viveka Sindhu is a commentary on Brahma Sutra by Sankara translated by Kasi Chenna Basaveswaradu of the 16th century. This is said to be a re-translation of a Marathi work. *Vachana Vichitra Ramayanam* also belongs to the age of Raya, (1670). The author is Gopinatha Kavi.

The most commendable of all the prose writings of this age is *Bhagavata Saram* of Pushpagiri Timmana. It is written in simple prose. This narration of the story of Lord Sri Krishna is sweet and charming. Next to *Bhagavata Saram* comes the popular *Bharata Savitri*. It is famous for its theme as well as language. It deals with Krishna's arrival at Vidura's home. This ideal prose was written by Ellara Narasimha Kavi who lived from 1511 to 1558. This is being used by ladies in every Telugu home. *Paramananda Bhoda Prakarnam*, another prose work, belongs to 1560. The author is Dasa Goswami Siddharama Kavi. It is a treatise on Yoga and Vedanta. About 1670 there flourished one *Brahmandavachanam*. After that a number of philosophical treatises followed, viz., *Satwika Brahma Vidya Vilasa Nirasanam*, *Ajnana Dhwantha Chanda Bhas-karam* and *Mumukshu Jana Chandra Hasamu* which were written

in colloquial prose. The last of these writings seems to be the *atmabhoda Prakarana Vyakhya*.

We can get the mental value consisting in these prose works when we compare them with poetical pieces. We cannot possess at least a part of the mental standard by studying poetical descriptions and by understanding the ideas in them. Hence the utility of prose compositions.

There are a number of inscriptions which are full of colloquial prose. They register a number of gifts made by Krishna Deva Raya. They show how the dialectical forms which flourished then and there were sound. They are destined to live long. We cannot dispense with them. As Jespersen maintained in his "Language, its Nature, Origin and Development," that "popular dialects in spite of many archaic details are on the whole further developed than the various standard languages with their stronger tradition and literary reminiscences". We also learn from the inscriptions and other writings of Krishna Deva Raya that we can never be unmindful of the richness and beauty which the Telugu language and literature have acquired on account of its mixing up with sister languages such as Canarese and Tamil.

We achieve great vigour and variety to mother-tongue when we recognise the colloquial language by adopting that style of expression which approximates to elegant speech. All the civilised nations treat this kind of language as the standard language. The standard English is defined as the language of the kings, the language of Parliament and the language of Universities. So we have to be in advance. We have to shape our language to suit our modern thought, so that it may be capable of expressing the details and distinctions with precision.

It is admitted on all hands that vast bulk of words in any language are common to the literary language and colloquial speech. Max Muller in his *Science of Language* said "it has been one of the fatal mistakes in the Science of Language to imagine that dialects are everywhere corruptions of the literary language. Everywhere there has been a literary language, dialects are by no means mere modifications of it." To have a comprehensive knowledge of different branches of language, study of linguistics should be encouraged in Universities. It is gratifying to note that some of our Universities (Andhra, for example) are introducing linguistics as a special subject at the Degree level in their re-organised courses. We are expecting the evolution of a well-thought-out method of teaching this subject.

India offers very rich and diversified linguistic materials. We have to make substantial contributions in the field of linguistics. We correctly gauge the way in which matters are moulded and say that this science of language forms the firm basis of the study of various languages. In order to bring linguistic science to prominence publicity and specialisation are needed. Adequate provision for the same is essential. I believe a large number of Indian Universities

will realise this and enable young men to devote themselves to the study of Linguistics. Then only these students of linguistics can fully and rightly appreciate grammar and literature. This is about Indian Linguistics in general. Permit me to quote here Sir William Hunter's observation "the perfect understanding of the structure of the Dravidian Languages will revolutionise our knowledge in regard to Linguistics in general." This along with the opinion of the present Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University that the study of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam alone is bound to yield the desirable results, I want to repeat these statements here as well as in the Academic council and Senate of Andhra University.

TELUGU LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE 12TH C.A D.

by

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In the following pages is presented for the first time a study of the inscriptional Telugu of the 12th c. A. D. The main conclusions have been summarised here respecting such features only as have a definite significance for Telugu phonology and the development of the grammatical forms in the language. The study is based on 340 selected inscriptions from volumes IV, V and VI of the South Indian Inscriptions (published by the Archaeological Survey of India) and the corpus of Inscriptions from the Telingana districts published by the Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad Government. The inscriptions from these publications only have been taken up for study as authoritative and dependable for linguistic purposes. The selected inscriptions are fairly representative of the inscriptional language of the 12th c. A. D.

1. *ḷ* occurs thrice in the inscriptions; it has no etymological justification in one word, and is doubtful in the other two. నలుపంగలనాఱు (SII V.1083); గణపకొడుమ రామరాయ విష్ణుయశైవ బడియాల బాపతి (V.1023); పటననాయకురాలు (V.1281)

So it can be definitely said that *ḷ* had disappeared from the language by the 12th c. Even in the 11th c. *ḷ* had only a lingering existence.

2. In old Telugu the Sanskrit *r* vowel as a rule became 'ri' and this practice continued in the 11th and 12th c. Nannaya combined *r* and ri in *yati*; Tikkana too seems to have combined *r* and ri likewise. However the *ru* treatment seems to have begun from the 12th c. We see it in the word *pitru* which occurred twice in the inscriptions: ఉత్తరపుడిమ్మనం ద్రిశుసానముం (IV.1248); పిఠి పిఠు బ్రహ్మణ (V.1355)

The earliest example of *r* > *ru* in literature in the *Yatis-thāna* is to be found in Panditaradhya Charitra, variously ascribed to the 12th or the 13th-14th century.

3. Forms like *śēsina* with a palatal sibilant for the dental *sēsina* (for *Cēsina*, by *gasaḷadavādēsa*) due to assimilation sporadically appear in the inscriptions. Such forms abound in the later language (Cf. Rāyavāchakamu

16th c.—written in the spoken dialect). These are ousted in New Telugu (NT) due to the influence of the literary dialect.

4. Syncopation was a very common feature of the language as may be seen from the numerous examples in the inscriptions. For example *ko/ku* is much more frequent than *ko/uku*. Nannaya eschewed such syncopated forms in his *Bhārata*, probably because he did not consider them elegant. But they were adopted by the Śaiva poets beginning with Nannichoda, particularly Palkuriki Somanatha. The adoption of such forms by the Śaiva poets not accepted by Nannaya and those of his school although presumably they were current among the people, seems to be one of the reasons why later grammarians considered these poets as *alukshanikas*. కొండ పట్టణి (IV_678, 688); పోంకి పెండ్లి (VI_637); కామ్మి (VI_633); కామసాన్ని సమ్యక్ పుగా (IV_734); స్వామి పరిహర ముగా బెట్టిన భూమి ఇచ్చి వులాలు పెక్కిలి (IV_1080); విద్వేన (IV_1020) etc.; ఇ పము కొలుమాన పంపన మలేపటి కాంపులు నడపంగలవారు (VI_1080).

5. The loss of a medial syllable with compensatory lengthening of the preceeding vowel is one of the most characteristic features of NT. This tendency has changed the face of NT. in a substantial manner in much the same way as the simplification of a double consonant with compensatory lengthening did in the development of the NIA. vernaculars from the Apabhramśa. But that the beginning of this tendency is to be located in the 12th c. is attested by about half a dozen examples in the selected inscriptions :

Nouns : గ్రామాలు (VI_121); సంస్కృతపాఠం బెట్టిన తిరుగు మాటలు (IV_995); తీర్థాన (V_1034); సుందానకు (V_1114);

Conjunctive Particle : నిత్యమా నెందు సమయా, నిత్యమా మెదు (VI_617)

Verb : నయికవిలం బొడిచిన పాపమునం బోదురు, పెద్దకొడుక కపాలమానం నుడిచిన పాపమునం బోదురు (IV_1316).

6. Absence of sandhi is common in the prose inscriptions, but sandhi is consistently observed in the verse inscriptions. In this particular, 12th c. practice agrees with that of spoken Telugu throughout the historical period. There has never been a strict application of sandhi rules right from Old Telugu to New Telugu as may be understood from the inscriptions, and prose writings which are outside the influence of the classical literary tradition.

అశ్వద్రాక్ష సాభింగాను ఇస్తిమి (VI_121); నిమ్మియ ఊరి తూర్పున (V_1277); అఖిల దీపము వెలుగును పోగగానువున అరి వన్నించ్చితిమి (V_1316); నిత్యము మానెందునెయి ఈ దీపమునను భోయంగలవాండు (IV_674, 681); దీపము ఒక్కంటి మాడలు ఏను, ఈ దీపము (V_1333).

7. The on-glide v, which is very prominent in NT. and which, it may be noted, is considered as a vulgarity in pronunciation by the grammarians, has already appeared in a few cases in the 12th c. అఖిల దీపము పోగ్కంటి (V_1331).

8. The softening of the initial surd of a word occurring after another in the nominative case, *gasaladavādēśa*, as it is called, is very commonly observed as in Old Telugu. పుష్పము నీసినవారు (IV_662); దీపము వెట్టించిన (IV_692); వెయి వోంక ప్రాంకులు వెట్టించ్చితిమి (4_1050); కులూహంక మాడలు పదియు (4_1063).

In New Telugu which has a zeal for clarity, this tendency has been almost arrested.

9. *Vairi Samasas* which are vehemently tabooed by the grammarians are freely used in the inscriptions.

నిత్యపడి, జన్యమొదవు etc.

10. The following noun stems are noteworthy.

(i) *nitya* 'everyday', Late Middle Telugu. *nityamu* with the regular neuter termination-mu. In one inscription it is found as *nicca*. We have now this word as a *nityabakuvachanānta*: *niccalu* 'always'.

(ii) Some Sanskrit neuter stems continue to appear with the vu termination as in Gr and in the 11th c. e.g. ధమ్మశ్చ (VI-738); శిందారువు (VI-135); పాకారువు (VI-135). In LMT. there are brought over to the regular neuter series with - mu.

(iii) Sanskrit *dēva* retains the final vowel without changing it to u before the nom. sg. *mdu*: దేవణ్ణు In Nannaya we get both a and u forms.

అయ్యప దేవణ్ణు (V_207)

వెమ్మూడి దేవండు (V_1015)

బొద్దని నారాయణ దేవని ప్రధాని (IV. 753)

This shows that vowel assimilation was not complete in the Early Middle period.

(iv) The word *jīvitamu* and its corrupt form *jītamū* both appear with the same meaning, viz. salary. Nannaya and Nannichoda both used *Jīvitamu* in this sense.

మా జీవితమున కిమ్మనాంటిలోని అవ్వలకుంకి చెలువు. (VI_646); కిమ్మనాంటిలోని మా జీవితమున నామకురి తూర్పున స్థిరము భూమి పరివ్రజను (VI_640).

Later on this meaning was appropriated by *jītamū*, and the the full form *Jīvitamu* came to be reinstated in its original meaning 'life'.

(v) The word *nēyi* appears in a few places written as *nēyu*. This does not seem to be an orthographical error; cf. for instance *vēyu* in Old Telugu beside *vēyi* 'thousand'. The hesitation between vowels i and u must be taken as a sign of the characteristic of the early period.

(vi) The word for queen in OT. is *Mahādēvulu* (Sanskrit *dēvi* + plural 'lu' honorific). Earliest occurrence of this word is in the Ramesvaram inscription of Punyakumara (E. I. 27-234, first half of the 7th c. A.D.). This word continued to be used right through in EMT. In the 12th c. inscriptions *dēvi* is also used, but the old word *dēvulu* is more common than *dēvi*.

మహాదేవులు (IV_1071, 1113, 1186, 1203, 1365, 5 1347, 6_135, 228, 607, 609).

మహాదేవి (IV_1195, 1196).

శ్రీ మన్మహా మల్లాదేస్వర ఎలువ లొడ్డయరాజుల మహాదేవి.

మయిమదేవులు (IV_1216); పల్లరాజుదేవులు నాగలదేవి (VI_135);

శ్రీమదస్తమకాదేశర మహాదేవి లీలాపతీదేవి.

11. The assimilation of the plural lu with final d of nouns had not yet taken place in the 12th c. language represented by the inscriptions. Thus we get *gullu* (IV-749,) *okkokaḍḍu* (IV-667) etc. In this context it is significant to note that Nannaya preferred ḷlu, to ḍlu, so that the ḷlu plural can be said to be a dialectal form adopted by Nannaya and later generalised in the literary dialect.

The ḍlu plural seems to have been so common in those times that even in those words where we should normally expect ḷlu we find ḍlu, e.g. *kāḍḍu* (Tel. Ins. 32) for *Kāḷlu*; *kāḍḍu* (IV-675). Cf. *kāḷlu* in *Kundī Kāḷula iccina pannasa* in Erragudipadu inscription c. 600 A.D. (E.I. 27-225).

We may note here that the plural in ḍlu continued right up to the modern period resisting the tendency towards assimilation. Observe the Southern (Nellore)

dialect pronunciation *Vaṁḍlu*, *paḍlu* etc. as against Godavary dialect *vāḍlu*, *paḍlu* etc. You can fix a man to a particular area on the evidence of this point.

12. Masc.-a stems from Sanskrit form their oblique bases in -ni, e.g. *Rāmani*, *Rāmuni*, *devani*-etc. Here ni is not really an *āgama* as the grammarian calls it; i alone is an *āgama*-it is the adjectival i added to the old nominative base with -an, the masculine suffix. Sanskrit *Rama*; Nominative, Ancient Telugu *Rāman*; obl. *Rāman+i* > *Rāmani*, thus *devani*; cf. *avan+i* > *avani* > *vāni*. In Old and Middle Telugu this Nom. Sg. termination in -an through a process of phonetic development became a-nru-u nru, a-ndu. u-ndu. This process was complete by the end of the Old Telugu period i.e. to say, by 10th century. After the Nom. Sg. du came into existence, people began to make a new regular oblique base from this by adding the adjectival i to it, giving rise to forms like *Ramuḍi*, *vāḍi* etc. In NT. these have superseded the old oblique bases in -ni like *Rāmuni*, *vāni*. In a 12th c. inscription we get the earliest, and for that reason the most precious, oblique base with *ḍi* in the Telugu language.

13. The pronoun of the I person plural exclusive *nāmu* (for *māmu*) seems to have survived dialectally in Telugu until about the New Telugu stage. In NT. we do not have it. The earliest occurrence of this form so far known is in an inscription of the 12th c. (IV-1186). Dr. C. N. Rao gives reference to its use twice in Bharata (Aranya Parva V-199,200). In the 16th c. it occurs in two Vijayanagara inscriptions dated 1509 and 1556 A.D. (IV- 802, 280).

14. The numeral noun *okaḍi* is used only once in the inscriptional language of the 12th c. A.D. మల్లప సముద్రము నెక్క విచ్చిన నీరి నేల మంత్రులకు ఒక్కటి (IV.685) and this is the earliest reference in Telugu inscriptions. Nannaya used *okaṁḍu*. The earliest reference in literature is to be found in Nannichoda's *Kumarasambhavam*.

బూనెదమూడు లోకముల - బుట్టని పూనికి వారిమేనులన్

మానుగ గూర్తు నొక్కటిగ - మౌళి కాశల భావమేర్పడన్. (iv-69)

Otherwise *okaṁḍu* is the numeral noun current in EMT. a pleonastic formation from *oka+onḍu*. *oka* < *okka* < *or+ka*; *onḍu* < *ondru* < *√or*. The emergence of *okaḍi* as a numeral noun in the 12th c. indicates that the confusion of *ṁḍu* in

okaṁḍu as a masculine singular termination was already quite marked.

15. The numeral five is *ēnu* in the 12th c.; the later form *aidu* did not still come into existence in the 12th c.

16. Ordinals are formed by adding *avu'agu* to the cardinal numerals. *ava*-with the adjectival *a* had not yet appeared in the 12th c.

17. Telugu, besides the finite tenses it had inherited from South Dravidian, developed a new series of finite verbs—past, present, future, by the corruption of the participial adjectives and their development belongs properly to the LM. period. We can observe however in the 12th c. the rudimentary beginnings of this corruption in its formal aspect.

ఈశ్వర్యుఁడు నెవరేని విశ్వము నేసిరేని గంగకలుగె
వెయిగ విలుల వధియించ్చినారు (IV-1133).

The sense, however, is definitely that of *vadhiyincina-vāru*.

The intermediary stage of *Kalāḍu* and *Kalāru* in the development of *Kalavāḍu* and *Kalāvāru* to *Kalaḍu* and *Kalaru* is attested by the following inscriptions in the 12th c.

ఆచంద్రాస్థానము నడపంగలందు గాం బుచ్చికోన్న మాడలు (V-1123); ఆచంద్రా
స్థానము నడపంగలారు (V-1094).

The above particulars go to prove that the language of the 12th c. agrees in many respects with the language of the previous century and justify us in clubbing these two centuries as marking one stage in the development of the Telugu language. We shall call it the Early Middle Telugu.

I shall recapitulate these points: (1) The dissolution of *ḷ*; the popularity of Sanskrit neuter stems with the *-vu* termination; the retention of the final *a* in some words without being subject to vowel harmony, as *dēvaṇḍu* etc.; the hesitation between final *i* and *u* in some words; the popularity of the word (*Mahā*)*dēvulu* with the plural *lu*; the *ḍlu* plural; the use of *okaṁḍu* and *ēnu* (in place of the later *okaṭi* and *aidu*); *avu* suffix for the formation of

the ordinal – all these features of the language are common to the 11th and the 12th centuries.

12th c. inscriptional Telugu also gives us an inkling into the very beginnings of some of the more vital changes in the language that were to take place in the succeeding centuries. These are the change of the Sanskrit *ṛ* vowel to *ru*; the loss of a medial syllable with compensatory lengthening of the preceeding vowel; the on-glide *v*; a new regularly formed oblique base from the nominatives with *n̄du*; the new numeral noun *okaṭi* replacing *okan̄du*; the phonetic corruption of the participial nouns. All these changes have been emphasised in New Telugu.

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR THE LIBYAN ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIANS

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Dravidians are a people without a cultural history. There have been race movements bringing people of various origins into India. The movement which brought Dravidians into India is lost in obscurity, although there are theories of their origin which are not convincing.

On Linguistic grounds, an attempt is made to establish on a firm basis the origin of Dravidians and their migration from Libya in North Africa, as studies in Anthropology and Archaeology also point in this direction.

The Isle of Fer in the Great Canary Islands is found to be the "Sacred Isle of the Ancients" from which originated, the worship of the Dravidian deities 'Indera, Murugan and Kali' which are identified with the local gods on linguistic grounds. Scientific reasons are given why the generally-held theory of the Indigenous origin of the Dravidians should be rejected. This Theory is termed the 'Iron Curtain' which is obstructive of fruitful research in dravidology and is held responsible of our ignorance of our glorious past in the History of Human Civilization.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

A NOTE ON VIRASAIVISM—ITS HISTORY AND DOCTRINE

by

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I. The reign of Bijjala, the first and greatest of the Kalachuris who ruled in Kalyani in the second half of the 12th century, was remarkable for a notable revival of Saivism in Karnataka. The new movement came to be known as Virasaivism or Lingayatism. Our knowledge of this movement comes mainly from literary sources of a Puranic character, much mixed with legendary and miraculous occurrences. The Puranas are both Saiva and Jaina in origin, the Jaina versions being, generally later and perhaps relatively less trustworthy. The two main Saiva Puranas on the subject are in Kannada, *Basava Purana* and *Channa Basava Purana*. Both have been summarised in English in Vol. VIII of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

In his *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, Fleet gave a classic description of this movement, which is still sound in many parts. He wrote, "The fresh impetus to the Saiva faith with elaborated and improved rites and practices culminated in the establishment of a new sect of Siva Bhaktas, or worshippers of Siva, called technically Virasaivas, i.e., "brave, fierce or strict Saivas", or, "Saiva champions", and popularly *lingayats* or *lingawants*, i.e. "Those who have the *linga* or the phallic emblem". The Lingayats—using the appellation by which all average members of the sect would describe themselves—are outwardly distinguished from the ordinary Saivas by the practice of carrying about them a miniature *linga*, usually in a silver box suspended from the neck and hanging about the waist. And the chief characteristics of their faith and practices are, adoration of the *linga* and of Siva's bull, Nandi, hostility to Brahmans, disbelief in the transmigration of the soul, contempt for child marriage, and approval and habitual practice of the marriage of widows"¹.

It will be noticed that Fleet calls the Virasaivas, "a new sect of Siva Bhaktas"; and among their practices he counts hostility to Brahmanas and disbelief in the transmigration of the soul. Each one of these three points calls for some scrutiny.

II. Contrary to Fleet's statement that the Virasaivas were a new sect that came up in the 12th century, some attempts are made by modern scholars to establish a higher antiquity for that faith. Dr. S. C. Nandimath in *A Handbook of Virasaivism* (Dharwar, 1942) draws attention to some elements in Virasaiva doctrine,

which according to him are of relatively ancient origin. In Chapter X on "The Universe and the Soul", he draws attention, for instance, to the fact that in Virasaivism, Kalas are entirely different from the five Saktis and, "besides, the method in which they evolve these is peculiar to Virasaivism and seems to be absent in the Saiva Siddhanta". He adds, "in Virasaivism, *nada*, *bindu* and *kala* are important facts in the evolution of the Universe, while in the Saiva Siddhanta there is only *bindu*, the source of all matter, etc. These three factors appear to be very ancient in the Saiva Philosophy. The very loose connection of *nada* and *kala* in the Saiva Siddhanta suggests that it is borrowed from a system or systems of old Saivism". (Pages 139-40). He invites attention to the idea of eight forms of Siva which is very prominent in Virasaivism and refers to Manikkavachagar and Kalidasa as among earlier writers who refer to it, (page 140). Again, the doctrine that Non-Being or Void existed in the beginning, and that from it, Being and taken from it the Universe developed, is said to have been expounded by Channa Basava and is traced by our author to Rgveda X. 129.

From these casual similarities, Dr. Nandimath draws the conclusion, "from the close and striking similarity between these views, it seems reasonable to conclude that Virasaivism has preserved the ancient belief in the existence of Non-Being in the beginning", (Page 144). In the rest of the chapter under reference, he traces other parallels with earlier systems in the doctrine of the evolution of *gunas* or *tattvas*.

Virasaivism was not a creed which stood by itself, uninfluenced by surrounding conditions. It is therefore natural that many traits, old and new, got mixed up in it, and possibly, Dr. Nandimath has not exhausted all such parallels that could be discovered. But if, by laying emphasis on them, his intention is to suggest a greater antiquity for Virasaivism as a sect, or system of thought, than the age of Basava, it must perhaps be said that much more evidence would be needed to establish such a view. Fleet was substantially right when he called it a new sect. But Dr. Nandimath seems to differ when he says, "at what period Virasaivism established its ground firmly cannot now be conclusively ascertained, but it certainly reached this conclusion before the advent of the 12th century, i.e., before Basava and other Sivasaranas undertook the work of reconstruction", (page 54).

III. The question of Lingayats' hostility to Brahmans is a matter of opinion, and it is not likely that the Lingayats would accept this estimate of their relations to Brahmans. In his work on Virasaivism, Dr. Nandimath tries to show that just as Jainism and Buddhism represented revolts against brahmanical ritualism from outside, so Lingayatism is a similar revolt from within the fold, (Pages 52-53). The discarding of the sacred thread, and of the *saptapadi* and fire offerings in marriage ceremonial, and other simplifications of ritual characteristic of Virasaivism constitute a doctrinal and not a social matter. So also is the attack on caste leading to a rigorous insistence on perfect equality of all initiates into Lingayatism (87-88).

All this is perhaps true. But the fact remains that the career of Basava was a definite and conscious break from Brahmanism and even according to the Puranas, the Brahmans were as much the opponents of Basava as the Jainas. And Abbe Dubois, who knew South India very well at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, records this about Lingayats: "The direct opposition of their religious tenets and rules of life to those of all other Hindus, and especially to those of Brahmans, renders the Lingayats peculiarly obnoxious in the eyes of the latter, who cannot endure the sight of the Jangamas and other headmen of the sect".²

Disbelief in the transmigration of the soul is regarded as a characteristic of Virasaivism not only by Fleet but by the Abbe. The latter writes, "The point in the creed of the Sivites which appears to me to be most remarkable is their entire rejection of that fundamental principle of the Hindu religion, *marujanma* or metempsychosis. In consequence of their peculiar views, on this point, they have no *titis* (*tilthis*) or anniversary festivals to commemorate the dead and to afford them the benefit of the prayers, sacrifices, and intercessions of the living.....A Lingayat is no sooner buried than he is forgotten".³

But one may doubt if the Abbe has not made a mistake here. As he himself says, *marujanma* is a fundamental principle of Hindu religion, and the Lingayats have never claimed to be anything but Hindus. The Abbe's own explanation that follows his statement in the paragraph cited above shows not that the principle of *marujanma* was denied by the Lingayats, but they claimed that it ceased to act in the case of Lingayats; once a man gets the *diksa* and joins the fold of Lingayats, he ceases to be born again after death. And this is supported by the exposition of Dr. Nandimath, who says, that after initiation, a Virasaiva "is supposed to adhere scrupulously to his promise given to his *guru* at the time of initiation to lead a virtuous and pious life; therefore he is expected not to suffer a rebirth, but to obtain *mukti* in that very life". (Page 72). Here are some Sanskrit texts to which my attention has been drawn by a Lingayat Pandit which support the same views:

- (a) Ekena janmana muktih viranam tu Mahesvari (*Saiva Agama*).
- (b) Yah pujayati linganga dhyanasakta dhiyam dvijam
Punarbhavo na tasyasti satyam satyam mayoditam
(*Skanda Purana* ch. 83).
- (c) Yada Sivaya svatmanam dattavan desikatmane Tada
Saivo bhaveddevi natatosti punarbhavah (*Siddhanta
sikhamani*, *Yogajagama*).

² *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* by Abbe J. A. Dubois. Ed. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1897, Vol. I. p. 118.

³ op. cit. I. 117.

Mukti, salvation, which results from escaping the cycle of metempsychosis is the aim of all Hindu sects, and it was a dogma of Lingayatism that once a man turned Lingayat, he attains mukti and there is no more rebirth for him.

IV. Next we may turn to some questions of interest in the history of Basava's time. They relate to the religion of Bijjala and to the actual role of Basava in the establishment of Virasaivism.

What was Bijjala's attitude to the new movement? What was his own religion? Both the Virasaiva and the Jaina literary sources say that Bijjala was a Jain⁴. But the Telugu *Basavapurānam* calls him a worshipper of Panduranga.⁵ There is no clear proof, however, that Bijjala was a Jain. The Kalachuri family was of Saiva origin and their insignia which were strongly Saiva are not known to have been changed in any manner in his reign. His inscriptions and those of his successors generally begin with an invocation of Siva, Harihara and so on; and many Siva and Visnu temples all over the country are known to have been repaired or richly endowed during his reign, by himself, his feudatories and officials. The truth seems to be that Bijjala was a Saiva of the orthodox traditional type who has been represented as a Jaina by Virasaiva sources because of the fact that the Jainas were their chief antagonists. The strictly impartial attitude attributed, as we shall see, to Bijjala in the final stages of the controversy between Ekantada Ramayya and the Jainas also seems to support this view. As for the Jainas, they usually described all important persons from Chandragupta Maurya downwards and even such Puranic figures as Rama as Jainas, and not much value can attach to such testimony. Our conclusion must be, therefore, that until much stronger evidence is forthcoming than is now available, Bijjala must be regarded as an orthodox Saiva Hindu perhaps of the *aradhya* class, who like many of his contemporaries, was shocked by the social radicalism of the new movement started by Basava.

V. The Virasaiva and Jaina Puranas on Basava and Channa Basava are very contradictory and this led Fleet to reject everything in them except the names of Basava and Channa Basava.⁶ He held that the real restorer of Saivism was Ekantada Ramayya whose no less miraculous story is narrated in the Ablur inscriptions of a somewhat later date, to which we shall refer presently in some detail. Fleet carried his distrust of the Puranas so far as to say that the real parents of Basava were not Madiraja and Madalambika as stated in the Puranas, but Chandiraja of the Kasyapa *gotra* and Chandrambika, and that Madiraja of the Haritagtora had really nothing to do with Basava.⁷ But obviously this is a misinterpretation of the Managoli inscription of A.D. 1161 which

4 JBBRAS Vol. viii, p. 78 and DKD.

5 An unpublished thesis on the *Kalachuris of Kalyani* by Sri Kuppaswamy Iyengar, C.R. 1944.

6 DKD. 481, 484; EI. v. 244.5.

7 EI. v. 242.

gives the names of both Madiraja and Basava. That inscription calls Madiraja, *Manikyavallipura Prabhu* and counts him among the 500 *mahajanas* of the place; it also ascribes to Basava the construction of a temple of Kalidevesvara in the township.⁸ That this Basava was not the great reformer as Fleet thought has now become clear from the genealogy contained in the Arjunawada inscription of Yadava-Kannara (A.D. 1260) which clearly mentions Basava or Sangana Basava, as the younger son of Madiraja, described as *Hardavadi-Madhya grama-Bagavadi-Pura varadhisvara*⁹. And this is in conformity with the *Basavapurana* which says that Madiraja and his wife Madalambika were pious Saiva Brahmins of the village of Bagavadi.¹⁰ It is probable that Madiraja, the Manikyavallipura Prabhu of the Managoli record is the same as the Bagavadi-puravaradhisvara of the Yadava record, and it is certain that the Basavas of the two records are two different persons. Fleet, therefore, was clearly mistaken in identifying the Basava of the Mangoli record with the celebrated reformer. The name of the reformer Basava's father is thus epigraphically confirmed, but not yet that of his mother, Madalambika of the Puranas.

Fleet held that the real person to whom the movement was due and the way in which he started it are revealed by inscriptions at Ablur,¹¹ and it has accordingly been often stated that Ekantada Ramayya was the real originator of the Lingayat movement and that Basava gave it political aid at a relatively later stage. Once the undue distrust of the Puranas is shed and their story is accepted as true in the main, it becomes clear that Ramayya was no more than an energetic and earnest follower of Basava's new creed, which he was prepared to defend with his life, as often as necessary. This is also what the *Basava Purana* in its Telugu version seems to imply by saying that Ramayya heard of Basava's fame and went to Kalyani to meet him.¹²

The Ablur inscription E on Ramayya is dated about 1200 A.D. and is full of supernatural occurrences. There is no reason to prefer its account as more trustworthy than that of the Puranas on Basava and Channa Basava. Briefly, the story of Ramayya is this. He was born of a Saiva Brahmin family at Alande in the Kuntala country, and by the intensity and exclusiveness of his worship of Siva acquired the name Ekantada (single-minded) Ramayya. At Ablur, he was involved in a controversy with the Jainas led by the village headman Sanka-Gaunda: he cut off his own head and laid it at the feet of his image of Siva which had been brought out of the temple for the purpose of the Ordeal. After seven days, it was restored to him by his gods safe and sound without a scar. But the Jainas refused to fulfill their part of the agreement, viz., to destroy their Jina and install Siva in his place, if Ramayya won the wager. Ramayya laid waste the Jaina shrine

8 Ibid. 10

9 EI. 21, 12 (11.8 and 16).

10 JBBRAS, viii. 67.

11 EI. V. 243.

12 Thesis, page 45.

against much opposition and erected a temple 'as large as a mountain' dedicated to Virasomanatha. The Jainas complained to Bijjala in whose presence Ramayya repeated his challenge and offered to cut off his own head again if the Jainas would wager their 800 temples including the Anesejjeya Basadi in Lakshmesvara. Bijjala considered this a fair offer, but Jainas were not willing. So Bijjala, laughing at them, dismissed them with the advice that thenceforth they should live peacefully with their neighbours and gave Ekantada Ramayya in public Assembly a *Jayapatra* or Certificate of success." He also granted a village to the new temple of Virasomanatha, and other gifts followed from the Calukya Virasomesvara IV and Mahamandalesvara Kamadeva of Hangal.¹³

VI. To sum up our conclusions regarding the Lingayat movement: this was originated by Basava himself and its attack on caste involved a revolution which shocked society. Ekantada Ramayya was one of the earliest and most ardent followers of Basava and got into violent controversies with the Jainas. This together with the fact that Basava apparently used his political position as Chief Minister in the State to give a push to his new ideology made it obligatory for king Bijjala to hold the scales even between the contending parties. According to the Puranas this cost him his life, owing to a murderous conspiracy. The stories regarding his persecution of the followers of the new faith must be received with caution. It is probable that Jainism in Karnataka suffered most by the impact of the new Saiva revival.

UPAMANA—AS DISCUSSED IN EARLY NYAYA- VAISESIKA TEXTS

by

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Of all the *Pramanas* recognised by the *Nyaya* system, this stands on the least secure ground. Whatever may be said about *Sabda*, *arthapatti*, etc., *Upamana* is not quite different from *Anumana*. In the *Purva Mimamsa*, however, *Sadrsya* is recognised as a separate category and then there is sufficient justification in recognising *Upamana* as a distinct source of valid knowledge. Very likely, the recognition of this in the *Nyaya* system is a positive proof of the influence which *Purva Mimamsa* has exercised on it. But the *Nyaya*, in a characteristic manner, has modified it in a way to suit their own taste and changed it, it may be beyond all recognition. The fully developed *Upamana* is used to mean a *Sakti grahaka pramana*, which produces a knowledge through an idea of similarity. Through the well-known characteristics of a cow, a man is taught the truth that a particular animal similar to the cow is named *gavaya*. This *Upamana* proceeds from the known to the unknown. We shall again trace the development of the theory from the *sutras* of the *Vaisesika* system to the *Nyaya manjari* of *Jayanta*.

Nowhere in his *sutras* does *Kanada* refer to the *pramana Upamana*. Even the word *Upamana* does not form part of any of the *sutras*. Thus there is no definite authority to hold that he ever believed in the existence of a thing known as *Upamana* or that he ever recognised it as a source of valid knowledge. *Sankara Misra*, the most unhistorical commentator reads all these ideas into the V.S. 9—2—5. अत्येदमिति बुद्धपेक्षितत्वात् and explains it as referring to *Upamana*, *arthapatti*, *sambhava*, and *abhava*. The *Prasastapada Bhasya* represents an advance in this field also, as in all others. He refers to *Upamana* and explains it as (अप्रासिदस्य गवयस्य गवाः सदृशत्वेन) but as the knowledge is the result of advice by some one, he considers it a variety of verbal cognition and not inference directly. Thus we see that *Sankara Misra's* interpretation is not supported by even the *Bhasya* of *Prasastapada*.

Sridhara does not content himself with a mere explanation of the tenets of his school in this connection. He refers to the two different schools of the *Mimamsakas*, whom he is pleased to style पूर्वमीनसकाः and शबरस्वामिशिष्याः. The former hold that the advice of the man in the forest by itself constitutes *Upamana* and this *Sridhara* brings under Inference. The latter mean by *Upamana* the similarity arising in the form 'my cow is similar to this' when one is reminded of a cow on seeing a *gavaya* in the forest. This is certainly mere remembrance and not a separate *pramana*. The *Nyaya* view of *Upamana* as referring only to the

relation between the word and its meaning is not far different from Agama.

The view of the Nyaya sutras may be briefly stated thus:—Upamana consists in proving something by analogy, but a superficial look at the sutra will lead to the conclusion that Gautama simply means by that some kind of analogical reasoning. Kanada treated the same as a variety of Anumana based on Analogy. But really the aim of Gautama is to make it a शक्तिग्राहकप्रमाण and give it a distinct place in the scheme of Pramanas. Sadrasya jnana in the remembrance of the knowledge is the vyapara and the knowledge that this word means that is the result. The Mimamsaka view of pramana is contained in the sentence अयं मदीयगोसदृशः which results in the production of a second knowledge ममगोः तत्सदृशः. The Nyaya justly criticised this view and treats it as not a case of immediate inference but as a case of sakti-grahaka pramana. The chief defect in the view of the Mimamsakas is that according to them, both the karana and the fruit are the same: Sadrasya Jnana. One is Pratyaksa and the other is perhaps Smṛti. The real authority for recognising Upamana as a distinct pramana is a Śruti text. Ramayana has sentence running as follows: राम षड्भुक्त्यो लोके and the above passage is quoted by Parthasarati Misra in this connection as the authority.

Vatsyayana's explanation of the sutra is easily intelligible. By the knowledge of some feature common with something already known to us Upamana leads to the knowledge of something new. The gavaya is similar to the cow. What exactly is done by Upamana? When he sees something as having similar attributes as a cow, he perceives the object itself as something previously defined to him. On seeing the new object he realises that the name of the object is such and such. Udyotakara is not satisfied with this explanation. He interprets the word प्रसिद्धसाधर्म्ये as either a Bahuvrihi or Tatpuruṣa. He means by Upamana knowledge of similarity which depends for its production on the remembrance of what has been already known to him through Agama आगमाहितसंस्कारस्मृत्यपेक्षं सारूप्यज्ञानम् उपमानम्। Only when he actually perceives the same with his own eyes does he realise the exact significance of the word gavaya. Upamana is not different from Pratyaksa and Agama together. When he sees the cow as well as gavaya, he knows by direct perception that one is similar to the other. When he hears a statement like this यथा गोः एवं गवयः he understands that some characteristics of the cow are present and some absent in the gavaya. Otherwise the statement by itself would be meaningless.

Here Udyotakara refers to an objection by Dignaga. The latter means by Upamana mere knowledge of similarity or knowledge of some object as qualified by that attribute सादृश्यज्ञानं सादृश्यवि

शिष्टनानं वा उपमानफलमिति भ्रान्तः भदन्तः दिङ्नागः आक्षिपति। N.V.T. Tika P. 135

1. 2. Consistently with what he means by it, it is possible for him to bring it under Pratyaksa. And he explains it as such in his Pramana samuccaya. In the Nyaya Vartika, Bhadanta's objections are given in these words: गवा गवयसादृश्यं प्रतिपद्यते गवयसत्त्वं वा इति. N. V. Page 60. line 22. Udyotakara easily disposes of this objection by calling Bhadanta ignorant of even the elementary principles of the Pramanas. What we mean by that is that one realises the relation between the word and its meaning through the observation of similarity.

Before beginning the explanation of the Bhasya or the Vartika text, Vacaspati Misra makes an important statement as to the interpretation of Sadharmya as Samanya by Vatsyayana and its significance. By such an interpretation, he means to make it clear that Sadrsya is only Sadharmya and no separate category need be recognised for this. साधर्म्यं च सामान्यमभिदधता न सामान्यातिरिक्तं सादृश्यं नाम अर्थान्तरमस्तीत्युक्तं भवतीति। N. V. T. T. Page 132. He further classifies Prasiddhi into Pratyaksamayi and Srutimayi depending on Perception and Agama. But the former also eventually has to fall back upon the latter kind. Neither Pratyaksa nor Agama by itself can account for the kind of knowledge produced by Upamana; hence, it is to be accepted as a separate Pramana. The relation between the word and its meaning cannot be found out in any other way. न चासौ वाक्यमात्रसहायोऽप्रत्यक्षीकृत गोसदृशगवयपिण्डमसौ गवयाख्य इति प्रतिपत्तुमर्हति। न च वाक्यं विना प्रत्यक्षमात्रात् तस्मादागमप्रत्यक्षाज्यामन्यदेवेदमागमस्मृतिरहितं सादृश्यज्ञानं उपमानाख्यं प्रमाणम्. N. V. T. T. P. 133.

तस्य.....कुतो वाक्याद्वानुमानाद्वा वाच्यवाचकभावसंबन्धानागमः . N. V. T. T. P. 134.

We may now refer to the difference of opinion among the three commentators on this question. The difference is not in the subject-matter of Upamana or the nature of knowledge resulting therefrom. There is agreement even in this that the similarity between the two is accepted as the karana by all the three. But they differ in attributing the Sadrsya realised at a particular moment. The Bhasya styles the अतिदेशवाक्य as Upamana and hence Vatsyayana seems to be of opinion that the similarity referred to in the sentence गोसदृशो गवयः is the immediate cause of Upamiti. According to the Vartikakara and the Tikakara, the similarity to a cow observed in gavaya aided by the remembrance of the atidesa vakya is Upamana. Udayana, in his Tika Parisuddhi, maintains that the Sadrsya which is last known is the Upamana. We cannot say that it is caused only by the remembrance of the atideasavakya, for then Upamana cannot be distinguished from smṛti.

Jayanta in his Nyayamanjari refers to the view of the वृद्धनैयायिकाः as characterising the atidesa vakya as Upamana. From what has been already said it would be easy to identify this view as that of Vatsyayana. This sentence of the forester teaches one that the particular animal described as similar to the cow is named gavaya. Then follows a discussion as to whether this may or may not be treated as a variety of Sabda merely through a petty difference in the nature of the result of a distinct pramana. But, where one learns something only through the words of some great man, with full belief in their trustworthy character, the Pramana is certainly Agama. But where the Apta points out to some other method of realising the thing, the Pramana cannot be merely verbal knowledge. He refers to the view of the Tikakara and the Vartikakara also, namely that the knowledge of similarity gained by one as a result of सन्निकर्ष showing the similarity of the unknown to the thing already known.

अद्यतनास्तु व्याचक्षते, श्रुतातिदेशवाक्यस्य प्रमातुरसिद्ध पिण्डे प्रसिद्धपिण्डसारूपज्ञानं इन्द्रियजं संज्ञासंज्ञिसंज्ञप्रतिपत्तिकलं उपमानम् । N. M. P. 142.

As the object सन्निकर्ष is absent at the time of Upadesa, it cannot by itself lead to the understanding of the relation between the two—the word and the meaning.

What is the purpose of the description of Pramana here, as it does not help one in the attainment of Moksa? The Vedas, Upanisads, etc., lead one to a good knowledge of the nature and characteristics of the Atman and the way to realise that with all that is accessory to it. Anumana confirms one in the belief in the validity of the Vedas; Pratyaksa is useful in ascertaining the relation of invariable concomitance that is at the bottom of the Anumana. The answer to this is really very unsatisfactory. The sage, in the fullness of mercy to all, defines this also though it is not directly useful to Moksa. Or, in many instances, pupils are ordered to fetch something necessary for the sacrifice, not known to the students before. The students are given a description of something similar to them and are asked to be guided by that knowledge. In such instances, Upamana indirectly helps in the attainment of the highest goal.

Then Jayanta discusses at some length the Mimamsaka view of Upamana and exposes its defects. They define Upamana thus:—When a man, who had been taught the similarity between a cow and gavaya, perceives a gavaya in the forest he is reminded of the cow at home. He comes to possess the knowledge that “my cow is similar to the gavaya”. This is met in two ways. To a man in similar circumstances, such a knowledge would not arise at all. It will take the form:—“This is similar to the cow” and not, “My cow is similar to this.”

श्रुतातिदेशको नागरिकः कानने परिभ्रमन् अदृष्टपूर्वं गोसदृशं प्राणिनमुपलभमानः
 एवं बुद्ध्यते ब्रवीति च—अहो नु खलु गवा सदृश एव कश्चन प्राणी इति । नत्वेनेन
 सहशो गौरिति ज्ञानमभिधानं वा तदानीं कस्यचिदस्तीति अतः प्रमितेरेव अभावात् किं
 प्रमाणचिन्तया

Secondly, even conceding this, this could be called remembrance and there is no need to recognise a separate Pramana. The definition of Pramana in general given by the Mimamsakas and their definition of Upamana are shown to be contradictory. As defined by them, Upamana is nowhere useful even in the Mimamasa system, but Upamana is necessary to produce knowledge of things like gavaya. Hence, Jayanta finally asks the Mimamsakas to accept the definition suggested in his system.

YAMUNACARYA.

by

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Yamunacarya, the grandson of Nathamuni the reputed thinker who set Visistadvaita system on a fresh phase of its career¹, was born in 916 A.D. at Viranarayanapuram, the modern Mannargudi in South Arcot district. A precocious child, he mastered in a short time all the branches of sacred and secular learning. Tradition records that he defeated a court poet named Akkialvan who was a terror to all learned men, far and near. In recognition of his victory he was hailed Alavandar (the man come to save) and was granted by the Cola king the gift of a territory. To this day a locality in Gangaikondapuram goes by the name of Alavandarmedu vouching for the substantial correctness of the episode. He ruled over this principality and led a life of pleasure and luxury, forgetting the high spiritual traditions of his grandfather. But after some years he was won over to the higher life thanks to the efforts of Ramamisra the chosen disciple of Pundarikaksa who was himself the foremost among the numerous disciples of Nathamuni charged with the duty of instructing his grandson in the sacred lore. When the awakening came, Yamunacarya realised the futility of the life he had been leading and became a sannyasin, settled at the holy spot of Srirangam and devoted the rest of his life disseminating the truths handed to him by his master and composing books and in unremitting devotion to the Lord. Except for a trip to Trivandrum to worship at the famous shrine of Sri Padmanabha and a visit to Conjeevaram to see the young Ramanuja who was to be his spiritual successor, Yamunacarya stayed at Srirangam which was in those days a great centre of Vaisnava thought and faith. He is said to have died in 1040 A.D. at a ripe old age.

That the period assigned to him is fairly accurate and reliable is shown by internal evidence. While refuting the doctrine of absolute identity based on the upanisadic text "ekamevadvitiyam Brahma", Yamunacarya says in *Samvitsiddhi*, "The statement 'the paramount ruler of the Cola country now reigning is without a second in this world', is intended to deny the existence of a ruler equal to him. It does not deny the existence of his servants, sons, consort and so on."² This passage reveals Yamunacarya's penetrating intellect and throws light incidentally on his age. The paramount ruler is Rajaraja, the Great (985-1012 A.D.), the most powerful of the Cola monarchs who was undoubtedly the Lord Paramount at the time and who rightly earned for himself the title of

1. *Nathopajnam pravrttam bahubhirupacitam Yamuneya prabhendaih.*

2. *Siddhitraya* Ed. with translation by R. Ramanujachari and K. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Philosophical Series 4. p. 178.

Emperor (*samrat*) having conquered the Vengi kingdom, Orissa and Ceylon, and vanquished the Rastrakutas.

It is also interesting to note that Yamunacarya refers by name to Suresvara (800 A.D.), the pupil of Sankara and also the commentator of Sankara Bhasya, and says 'Sauresam vacah'³ and in another place speaks of him as Vartikakara⁴ and quotes two verses from his Brhadaranyakopanisad Bhasya Vartika. From the references he makes to Suresvara, Srivatsankamistra,⁵ and Bhaskara it is clear that Yamunacarya must have flourished long after these thinkers.

In his exposition of the Visistadvaita, Yamunacarya acknowledges the debt he owes to the illustrious purvacaryas such as Bodhayana, Tanka and Dramida and to his grandfather, Nathamuni whose master-piece, *Nyayatattva*, has furnished the inspiration for his own writings. He refers to *Nyayatattva* and to some of the *adhikaranas* (sections) therein. In *Atmasiddhi*, he says—Yatharthakhyati Samarthanena ca *Sastra* iti na varnyate⁶ (as the Yatharthakhyati has been established in the *Sastra*, it has not been dealt with here). The *Sastra* referred to is *Nyayatattva*, for in the opening stanza of that work Nathamuni speaks of it as *Sastra*.

Yo vetti yugapat sarvam pratyaksena sada svatah.

tam pranamya harim Sastram Nyayatattvam pracaksmah||

Some of the *adhikaranas* of this great work such as, Prathanadhikarana⁷, Bhrantiyadhikarana⁸ Sukhaduhkhadhikarana⁹ have been specifically mentioned. In one place, an *adhikarana* has been referred to but it has not been named. "And this fact has been proved in the *adhikarana*" (sa cadhikaranasiddheh)¹⁰. Yamunacarya has followed the footsteps of Nathamuni so closely that Vedanta Desika says in *Nyayasiddhanjana*, *Buddhipariccheda* that *Atmasiddhi* is verily a brief exposition of *Nyayatattva* ("Nyayatattva-prakaranamhi *Atmasiddhih*").

Though steeped in the tradition, he was no blind follower. A bold and original thinker, Yamunacarya takes his stand on reason and logic. He says.

Hanta! Brahmopadesoyam Sradda dhanesu sobhate.

Vayam asradda dhanassmo ye yuktim prarthayamahe||".

(Well all this dogmatic teaching may carry conviction with (blind) believers; we are lacking in such faith and search for logical reasons to convince us.)

3. Ibid p. 52.

4. Ibid p. 38 (verses 159 & 160 of the Vartika)

5. Ibid p. 8.

6. Ibid p. 34.

7. Ibid p. 140.

8. Ibid p. 127.

9. Ibid p. 90.

10. Ibid pp. 122-3.

11. Ibid p. 190.

Yamunacarya composed eight works; and they are.—*Atma-siddhi*, *Isvara-siddhi*, *Samvit-siddhi*, *Agamapramanya*, *Gitartha samgraha*, *Mahapurusa-niraya*, *Stotra-ratna* and *Catussloki*. The first three are usually treated as sections of one work under the generic title, *Siddhitraya*; and it is believed that *Samvit-siddhi* is the last section and that it is incomplete. Strictly speaking they are independent treatises; further *Samvit-siddhi* is neither the last of the three *Siddhis* in point of time nor is it the only *Siddhi* which has suffered from the ravages of time or indifference or even hostility. A good part of each of the three treatises is irretrievably lost. Though the chronological position of the works of Yamunacarya is not certain, it is clear from internal evidence that *Samvit-siddhi* was written before *Atma-siddhi*. For in two places in the latter work he refers to *Samvitsiddhi*. In one place, he says “*Samvitsiddhaveva Sadhitam*”¹² (already established in *Samvitsiddhi*); and in another, he says “*Anirupananca Bhrantiyadhikarana siddharambhe samvitsiddau canusandhatavyam*”¹³.

The *Atmasiddhi* and *Isavara Siddhis* are written in elegant prose interspersed with verse in the manner of early philosophical works like *Tantra-vartika*; and *Samvit Siddhi* is wholly in verse.

The following verse from *Atmasiddhi* setting forth his *pratijna*, the thesis to be established, is remarkable for its clarity.

Dehendria manah pranadhibhyonyo nanya sadhanah.
Nityovyapi pratiksetramatma bhinnah svatah sukhi¹⁴||

The individual soul is different from the body, the senses, *manas*, *prana*, and intellect; it does not depend on anything for its knowledge; and it is eternal, subtle, distinct in each body and is in its essential nature blissful.” Ramanuja quotes profusely from these splendid manuals in his able exposition of *Visistadvaitic* thought and in refutation of rival views.

Agamapramanya is devoted to vindicating the orthodoxy of the *Pancaratra* or *Bhagavata* or *Satvata* school. With a wealth of convincing arguments, Yamunacarya shows that the *Pancaratra* or *Bhagavata* system whose follower professes an austere life devoted to the worship of the Lord in five different ways known as *abhigamana*, *upadana*, *ijya*, *svadhyaya* and *yoga* stands on a footing altogether different from the *Pasupata* which has been condemned in the *Brahma-Sutra*. To the question, why then does the *Sutrakara* refer to the *Pancaratra Agama* at all in a section intended to refute rival views? the answer is given that the *Sutrakara* had to raise the question of the *Pancaratra* and establish its authoritativeness lest the reader should get away with the impression that with the refutation of *Pasupata Agama* this also stands condemned. As Dr. Thibaut

12. Ibid p. 46.

13. Ibid p. 127.

14. Ibid p. 8.

says "... it would not be unnatural to close a polemical pada with a defence of that doctrine which in spite of objections has to be viewed as the true one"¹⁵.

Gitarthasamgraha is a wonderful epitome of the teaching of the Bhagavat Gita which is one of the cardinal texts for the Vedantin. In the course of thirty stanzas, Yamunacarya has summed up the argument of the Bhagavat Gita as understood by the school which he represented. It is shown to be a consistent exposition of the doctrine that it is only through bhakti (loving devotion) brought on by karma and (Svadharmajnana vairagya sadhya bhaktyeka gocarah) that the Lord could be reached. This served as a ground plan, as it were, for Ramanuja's exposition of the Bhagavat Gita. On this view, the first six out of the eighteen chapters of this scripture deal with the practice of jnana yoga and karma yoga for the attainment of the yoga state so essential for the enjoyment of the atma; the second group of six chapters elaborate the nature of Bhaktiyoga which is to be brought about and perfected by jnana and karma in order that the supreme Lord be attained; and the last batch of six chapters are devoted to matters helpful to a proper understanding of the rest and end up with stanzas 65 and 66 of the concluding chapter which are said to constitute the essence of the whole treatise. On the whole, the continuity of thought in the whole work is exhibited in a natural manner.

Mahapurusanirnaya is designed to show the supremacy of Visnu. This book is not extant now.

Of the two hymns that Yamunacarya composed, *Stotra-ratna* is in praise of Lord Visnu and *Catussloki* is in praise of Goddess Lakshmi. The *Stotra-ratna* is, as the name implies, a gem of its class. In seventy-five stanzas of exquisite beauty it sings the glories of the Lord and expresses the author's inmost longing for the Divine. The four verses of *Catussloki* are said to attribute to Goddess Lakshmi the qualities attributed to the Lord in the four chapters of the Brahmasutras, namely that He is the efficient and material cause of the entire cosmos, that His greatness is unsullied by anything, that He is the means by which one has to attain the highest goal of life and that the goal is the Lord Himself. The first sloka refers to the *vibhūtis* of Goddess Lakshmi and shows how they are beyond praise; the second states that Her greatness is incomprehensible even to Her omniscient Consort even as He cannot comprehend His own greatness; the third speaks of the saving power of Her grace; and the last describes how Her resplendent forms are inseparable from, and co-existent with, those of the Lord.

DHARMA AS AN ETHICAL IDEAL

by

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[The term 'Dharma', like certain others in Sanskrit] such as *Rta* and *niṭi* [is very difficult to interpret for there is no parallel for it in any other language.] Even an explanation of the term is rendered difficult on account of the complexity, or rather the pregnancy of its meaning. Different schools of Indian thought have used the word to signify varying ideas. We are not concerned with these meanings of the term here. [Dharma comes from 'dhr' which means 'to support'. In the *Karna Parva* (69 : 53) of the *Mahabharata*, Lord Krishna himself says:

*dharanad dharmam ity ahur dharmo dharayate prajah
yat syad dharana Samyuktam ᳚ dharma ity niscayah.—*

i.e., Dharma comes from *dhr* which means 'to sustain': and all human beings are kept together by dharma. [That by which the keeping together takes place is verily dharma. Dharma therefore is morality sustaining both individual and society.] [It is the sacred law] and whether or not it leads to bliss in a beyond, it is essential for the welfare and progress here below, both of the individual and of society. It is dharma in this sense of the term viz., as the moral imperative that we propose to discuss here.

[This conception of Dharma presupposes a moral order which is to be maintained and has therefore prior claims over motives of mere self-interest.] [Dharma therefore is to be obeyed,] first and last, for its own sake, [heedless of any benefits accruing to the moral agent.] Such a conception of duty is found only in the ethical schools which emphasize objective right in contrast to individual interest. The Hedonist and the Carvaka have no place for such a notion of Duty and they could dispense with it as an ascetic ideal. [The Kantian theory of Duty for Duty's sake very much resembles this view of Dharma, though certain major distinctions may be drawn between the two'.]

The wise Aryans of the past recognized fully well the double-aspect of human nature—self-love which urges one to seek one's own interest, and reason which impels one to take into account the interest of others. Contrary to Hobbes and others they held that man was, by nature and even in his un-moralized condition, a social being. [The raw material of the moral life is therefore not merely the primary feeling for the self but includes the primary regard for others.] The law of the process of moralization is the same in both cases—the dutiful attitude towards fellow-beings is

¹ Kant, for example, in conformity with his stress on the wisdom rather than the will of God, points out how duty is obedience to the dictates of practical Reason,

fundamentally the same as dutiful attitude towards ourselves. How? In ourselves as in others we are called upon to recognize the attribute of personality. This personality or atman as it is called is the same in me, you and the third man. We are not mere sparks of the divine, many and distinct, but we are all divine, one and the same. Even as the sun reflected in vessels of water presents various suns, so too the same personality appears separate and multifold. In reality therefore, what is good for the other man is good for me also, what is his happiness is also my happiness. [The law of the individual life is also the law of the social life.] Moral development or atmic culture is therefore doing away with the limitations of the merely selfish and the realization of the atman is achieved by properly discharging the duties owed to other living creatures. Here I am not serving my fellows in order to serve myself better; for that would mean I use the others as instruments. As Kant has expressed in his dictum "So act as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person or in that of another, always as an end and never as means." This is what the Aryans right from the Vedic age have borne in mind in the formulation of all their laws.

Now, when we say that the welfare of the society has prior claims over self-interest, the critic asks: Does not this render the moral life an impersonal one? If the individual strives to maintain a presupposed 'social order', what happens to the 'person' in me? By negating the 'self' in me how can there be realization? Well, such doubt is due to a confusion of the term "social". The term "society" is used even by many social psychologists as if it has a life of its own¹. Society, they say is an organism and the individuals are but its members. We agree. But the analogy should not be carried too far; for it is "they" who live and not "it". We agree that the individual apart from society is an abstraction but we assert that society apart from its members is a myth. That is why we prefer to call society an organization rather than an organism. A common self is to be realized in each individual and in infinite ways the life of each is bound up with that of all. In seeking the good therefore of society, I am not actually 'negating' my self but identifying my self with the selves of others. The progress of society is only the progress of the individuals. Hence the life of virtue can in no way be said to be impersonal.

It is an understanding of this great truth, the truth that the ethical unit is always the person and the progress of society is only the progress of its individual members, that made the early Aryans allot unto individuals particular stations and prescribe for each station its specific duties. *Sreyam Svadharma* was the moral imperative, whatever be the individual's station in life. This morality of one's station and its duties is what came to be called varna-dharma or merely dharma. Here the individuals act with the welfare of all in view and society has always the welfare of each in mind. This we consider is the highly commendable ethi-

¹ The existence or otherwise of a "group-mind" is a bone of contention still among the social psychologists.

cal ideal. Perfecting himself, the individual contributes simultaneously to the progress of society. Even the highly perfect man, the jivan-mukta, has his duty towards society. For action is the very nature of the self and no man can remain inactive for a moment:—

Nahī Kascit Ksnamapi jathu thistatyakarma krt

Karyathe hyavasati karma sarvah Prakrtyair-guneh.

The self in theories like Hedonism and Carvaka is realized only partly, for it is only the individual nature of the self that is realized. In the ideal under discussion the self realized is a whole—both the individual and the social aspects of the self are realized at once. To the individual obeying this dharma bliss is guaranteed here and in the hereafter. This in essence is the doctrine of dharma that the moral philosophers of yore propounded and practised.

Discussion of the various aspects of this dharmic life, the dharma pertaining to each station, the dharma relating to time and place, general and particular dharmas are made in the Vedas, smrtis and the epics. The Mahabharata in itself is a treatise on dharma. We do not propose to examine all these here but would briefly refer to the Bhagavad-Gita. The reasons for our choice are that the book deals with a problem of confusion as to one's duties and the effort of a wise man of the period to rid the doubter of his confusion proved fruitful. *Tasmat gita nama Brahavidya-mulam niti-sastra*—yes, the Gita is verily the philosophy of duty i.e., the philosophy of ethics based on the science of the Brahman.

The master, in the typical way wins at first the confidence of the student by assuring him that even the wisest of men are tormented by doubt as to what is and what is not rightful action. He tells him the duties of the individuals are fixed according to their respective stations in society. These stations are allotted, not arbitrarily, but taking into account the inborn nature of men and their propensities. The intellectual equipment is the criterion. (It is interesting to note that the necessity of vocational guidance in the West is felt only very recently while the ancient Aryans had already put into practice the principle of fixing duties according to the intelligence, aptitudes and constitutional make-up of the individual). These duties, says Lord Krishna, are inescapable. Even if one wishes to dodge them the inborn tendencies will urge him to act (VIII-60). Hence, it is necessary that Arjuna should obey his Ksatriyadharma, unmindful of the consequences. By not discharging his duties, he would not merely have abandoned fame but also incurred sin. On the other hand, if he fights "Slain, thou wilt obtain heaven: victorious thou wilt enjoy the earth". In either case therefore benefits accrue. In the eighteenth chapter Lord Krishna points out how "devoted each to his own duty, man attains perfection." Prescribed duty is the sole support, and the highest service one can render to the Supreme is to carry it out whole-heartedly dedicating the fruits thereon to the Lord. Only this leads to the dawn of knowledge. "From whom is the evolution

of all beings, by whom all this is pervaded, worshipping Him with his own duty, man attains perfection". Doing one's own Dharma is thus carrying out the will of the Supreme. There is the further assurance: "He who performs duty ordained by his own nature incurs no sin". Yes, here then, there is an ideal that is at once inspiring and possible. The man with an impulsive and energetic nature has his own duty; the serene disposition has a different duty to perform. Thus there is no contradiction arising as in the Kantian theory. In this morality again there is the guarantee that the others will do their part and nothing is more encouraging than such an assurance. This is absent in Kant's doctrine of Duty for Duty's sake. This dharma is also free from limitations. For in the Hindu doctrine all creation is taken into account and duties are due not only to one's kith and kin but to the animal and even the plant kingdoms. Thus embracing all, the individual becomes perfect; there is no room for conceit, for he is unattached. And the process of perfection of the individual results in the progress of society. This is the *summum bonum* aspired to by the ancient Aryans.

Apart from these duties of the station, how is the individual to conduct himself in particular situations? How is one to decide which one of two conflicting acts is to be performed? Brhaspathi says, that in case of doubts the mere letter of the ethical treatises should not be followed. Logic and reasoning should be resorted to in such cases. The Western moral philosophers say: Obey your inner voice. But is this inner voice infallible? Could logic and reasoning determine what is the right course of conduct in a particular situation? No; for the ordinary individual has his weaknesses, his own dislikes and likes. That is why we are directed by Manu to *Sistas*—the wise men of the period (Ch. XII-108, Manu). Sankara in his commentary on Brahadaranyaka Upanisad (IV-3-2) points out that for settling subtle points on Dharma it is desirable that a *parishad* should be working. F. H. Bradley gives the same answer to the problem:

"To the question, How am I to know what is right? the answer must be, By the *Aes-thesis* of the *phronemos*; and the *phronemos* is the man who has identified his will with the moral spirit of the community, and judges accordingly."

The *phronemos* has imbibed by precept and by example the spirit of the society and it is not by discursive reasoning but by intuitive subsumption that he decides the issue.

We have thus seen how the Hindu ideal of Dharma is theoretically sound and practically realizable. The testimonies of Hiuen Tsang and other foreigners bear ample proof to the fact that such a life was actually lived by the people of Bharat. It is this Dharma that has kept us up in the face of frequent attacks and prolonged subjugation by aliens. It is incumbent on us therefore, not only to reveal to others but to realize ourselves this ethical ideal. Now, more than ever, when Bharat strives to march ahead with her plans for building up a powerful nation, powerful not in

arms but in spiritual force; when Bharat seeks to establish social, economic and political justice within her boundaries as well as peace among the Powers elsewhere, it is indispensable that the youth of the nation understand the ancient ethical values to which our society has been indifferent for sometime but the spirit of which nevertheless is still alive.

So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near to God is man.
When Duty whispers low *Thou must*,
The Youth replies *I can*. (Emerson.)

CONCEPT OF RADHA KRISHNA IN THE PANCASAKHA LITERATURE

by

DEBI PRASANNA PATNAIK, SANTINIKETAN

The five fellow religionists, Jagannath Das, Balaram Das, Acyutananda Das, Ananta, Das and Yasovanta Das of the 16th century were contemporaries of Sri Caitanya and vanguards of the mighty religious movement in Orissa.

This period has not been properly dealt with and the scanty light shed on the materials has confused scholars trying to evaluate their works from the surface. S. N. N. Vasu has termed them as 'Crypto-Buddhists', (1) while S. A. B. Mohanty holds them to be 'the followers of Sricaitanya in his Lila Anga' (2) S. B. Dasagupta demonstrates all the more confusion when he places them among the 'Tantrik Kaya Sadhakas' (3) Sri Chittaranjan Das, in his efforts to make an analysis of these sages, has tried to avoid these epithets and terms them as 'mystics'. His contention is based mainly upon the fact that when religion ossified into a system of formulas and observances, these saints tried to protest and restore the heart-religion (4).

Whatever be the true identity of these people, they have been accepted as Vaisnavas not only by the popular estimation but also by scholars. Thus N. N. Vasu admits that they were Buddhist Vaisnavas (5) and S. B. B. Majumdar also terms them as Vaisnavas (6) All these scholars have drawn their conclusion from stray references and we do not get a proper picture of the cult of Pancasakha. I am trying to present the aspect of Radha Krsna conception based on the original texts of Pancasakha so far available.—

Vaisnavism is not a new thing for Orissa. A line in the Hati-gumpha inscription, wherein there is what might be called as indirect allusion to Krsna (7) and the sculpture of Ananta Gumpha (8) bears testimony to the presence of Vaisnavism in Orissa in some form. S. P. Mukerjee concludes that Vaisnavism existed in some form in Orissa 'in the century immediately preceding the christian era.' (9).

1 N. N. Vasu—Archaeological survey of Mayurbhanj, Vol. I, P—CXXXVIII; Modern Buddhism & its followers in Orissa P—39.

2 Preface to Brahma Sankuli & Anakara Samhita (Prachi Edn.) P—2.

3 S. B. Dasagupta—Obscure Religious cults P—262.
P—197-204.

4 Chittaranjan Das—Acyutananda O Pancasakha Dharma (Viswabharati)

5 N. N. Vasu—Modern Buddhism etc. P—39; P—123-125.

6 B. B. Majumdar—Caitanya Chariter Upadana (Bengali) P—527-528.

7 Jayaswal's Trans. —J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III. Pt. IV.

8 Cambridge History of India Vol. I, P—640.

9 P. Mukerjee—Medieval Vaisnavism of Orissa, P—6.

Consort worship was known long before in Orissa although the concept of Radha is a later import. Radha is actually non-existent in Orissan iconography. But the figures of Siva and Parvati can be dated back to the 8th to the 10th century A.D. Besides, Laxmi-Nrsimha, Laxmi-Narayana and Rama-Sita are also to be seen and such figures of the 11th and 12th century are found in large numbers in the recent survey of the Praci Valley of Orissa. (The life size Laxmi-Narayana figure of Caurasi and Laxmi-Nrsimha figure of Birabara Patna in the Praci Valley deserve special mention). Radhaism triumphed in Orissa only after 1624. At that time Ahmed-beg was the Subadar of Orissa. He being unable to decide to take sides in the revolt of Khurum against Jahangir, (10) convened an assembly of the army chiefs and of some Garjat chieftains, which took place at Banpur. The legend goes that Rasikananda, who was present there and was preaching the amorous cult of Radha and Krsna, through his deeds impressed the Chiefs of having some sort of miraculous power. (11) It is from then that Radha came directly into Orissa.

Radha, however, was not unknown in Orissa prior to this date. Radhaism tried to penetrate into Orissa long before and even in Pre-caitanya period it was felt in the religious sphere of Orissa (12). Although Jayadeva was well-versed with the sports of Radha Krsna it had not much effect in Orissa. Radha Krsna with the cult of love expressed themselves fully in the Gaudiya Vaisnavism, of which the erotico-mystic love forms the staple. This love has its supreme manifestation in the ecstatic sports of Krsna, the Saktimat and Radha, the highest attribute of His infinite bliss. In Vraja. Krsna is supposed to have shunned his divine omnipotence and presented himself in the most graceful human form. Bengal school of Vaisnavism lays considerable stress on the extra-marital relationship and glorifies the willing self-immolation of the Gopis and of Radha for the pleasure of Krsna. Hence, according to them, the man who relinquishes the pride of masculinity and loves the personal God Krsna with the ardour and intensity of lady (i.e. Radha) is considered to be His best devotee. By trying to find a human analogy for the love of God, the authors of Bengal Vaisnavism were treading dangerous ground. Once the symbol of Radha Krsna disappeared leaving behind the mysterious love which they symbolised, it had great bearing on the social life and perversion was the inevitable consequence to it.

The monistic or the yogic Vaisnavism, which found its chief exponents in the Pancasakha of Orissa is distinctly different from the dualistic or the theistic Vaisnavism of Caitanya and his followers. This movement steered clear of dry intellectualism and the fetish of ceremonial formalism on the one hand and erotic free sense-enjoyment on the other.

10 Sir J. N. Sircar-Studies in Aurangzab's Reign P. 221.

11 Rasikamangala—By Gopijana Vallabha Das; Ed. by Gopalagovindananda Goswami, Uttara Bibhaga, 14th Lahari.

12 B. B. Majumdar—Caitanya Cariter Upadan, P—521; Krushna Das Kaviraj—Caitanya Caritamrta II, 8.

The names of Radha Krsna appear in quite a number of places in the writings of Pancasakha. Often they have tendered obeissance to them. In fact Acyutananda writes that they were born because of the wish of Krsna and took their identities as Pancasakha (13). Jagannath Das in his famous Bhagavata has not given importance to the cult of Radha and the principal Gopi with whom Krsna fled is named 'Brandavati, (14). Still there are places which are liable to be interpreted in the customary way of the sportive Krsna idea. That is why Balaram Das wrote Brahmanda Bhugola to give Yogic interpretation to those ideas expressed in Oriya Bhagavata. It is in the form of a dialogue between Krsna and Arjuna. To the query of Arjuna, Krsna replies, 'At the time when there was no world, no sun and moon, no day and night, no wind, no stars in the sky, no God, demon or human being, no water, land or air, neither Varuna, Kuvera, Vaiswanara nor Brahma, Visnu and Siva, when no influence of the Vedas was felt, only He was in the form of Sunya(15). Again writes Acyutananda, 'The undifferentiated absolute is shapeless and in that shapeless condition performs sport with Radha in the Nitya Vaikuntha in the midst of the eight lady attendants'. To identify the place of sport he writes 'The place of eternal sport is above Thula Sunya, where Radha and the son of Yasoda are engaged in Rasa'(16). An apparently contradictory idea is presented in the lines 'Radha Krsna are brother and sister. They are Jiva and Parama'(17). This has been explained at the time of dealing with the cosmogony by different writers among the Pancasakha. To the queries of Radha, Krsna replies, 'At that time my existence was as void as sky. Light (Jyoti) lies above void (Sunya) and above that is the great-void (Maha sunya). Above that is consciousness (Cetana), which is my residence. In Anaksara (unmanifested region) I was shapeless like the light illumined in the void. I was alone in that region. There I willed creation. From my body emanated Prakrti. The five elements Urma, Dhurma, Jyoti, Jwala, and Bindu, overflowing fell into the water and Yogamaya was born. She is the primordial energy (Adi-sakti), Ardhamatra who resides in the void. She was born of the primordial deep. The water could not hold her and she was tossed in waves. The place was lonely and she considered, when in a moment of violent passion she uprooted a hair from under the navel and gave forth a cry, wild and terrible and planted it in the shape of Om. It penetrated the seven worlds and was like the spine in the water. Giving it the name Om, the Devi sat upon it. Still it could not remain stationary and became unbalanced. The Devi conferred a boon upon it to be as strong as a thunder bolt. It then asked her to be the Sakti, and make it the organ of generation, which would penetrate her body and from whom would flow everything all Mantra, Yantra and Tantra. It then asked to be famous in the Vedas as the primary recital and to be known as

13 Acyutananda Das—Gopalanka Ugala—Last book.

14 Jagannath Das—Bhagavata 10. 30; P—170.

15 Balaram Das—Brahmanda Bhugola; P—1 & 2. For similar ideas Ref. Prema-

16 Acyutananda Das—Chayalisa Patala—25th and 27th Patalas.

17 Ganesa Vibhuti—P—60.

Virata, Ananta, Balabhadra and Sesa. It was conferred the wished boon and became the hard and the mighty one known as Vajra-kila. He penetrated the yoni of the Devi and remained like the phallus(18). After giving details of the birth of the mother, Krsna gives an account of the secret of his birth. 'The Devi, who was on the Om thought in herself of the place from which she was born. Finding the ten regions full of void, she meditated upon the region of void and saw a spot (Mandala) in the light (Jyoti). There was fire above the light and coldness (Hima) still above it. The Bindu rested over that and she could see the Sunya Brahma. Then she with folded hands thought of my concrete manifestation (Rupa) and started meditation. My seat was lengthened in the Sunya. Maharasa fell from the void into her folded palms. The four elements Urma, Dhurma, Jyoti and Jwala mixed up with this Rasa fell from the void and She swallowed it in both hands. This entered the belly in two parts and took shape in her womb. The part in the left hand was woman and that in the right became man. In the shape of a boy and a girl they were first manifested. The Yogamaya did not know that the two remained in the womb. With the passing of time She felt heavy. She thought herself as to the contents of the womb and one day pressed it. She felt something hard and pressed with as much force. The boy and the gentle body of the girl fell down and became one single body. Taking the shape of one body, the life parted from it. Yogamaya has no organ of generation. It gives birth from the pore of the skin(19). Later with the administering of the vivifying elixir of ten letters (Gopala Mantra) the child was restored to life.

In the above description 'Prakrti' is not a separate entity as in Samkhya. It is the manifested energy (Prakrtasakti) of God. But God has no direct relationship with this manifested energy and hence He is said to have transcended Prakrti (Prakrtira Para)(20). According to Acyutananda Krsna or the Purusa is installed above Radha, Prakrti or the primordial kinetic energy. The place where the Ida, Pingala and Susumna are united is where Krsna conceals himself and pours nectar on the nipples of Radha. Sahasrara lotus is the Brndavana upside down and is the place of Nityarasa, the place of cosmic consciousness. The Nitya-Radha is engaged in eternal sports with the Nitya-Krsna in this region of impenetrable dazzling light where they remain unmanifested and hence beyond image representation. After the realisation of Prakrti (eternal Radha) one has to climb up to higher plane of consciousness to realise Krsna, the self-existing Supreme Being, who is none but Sunya Brahma, and who rests devoid of sex(21). This concept is further elaborated when Acyutananda writes, 'only one among the million knows Him and surrenders before Him after sublimation of all his desires. In your spiritual practice you have to die unto the Supreme. Then only the Rasa will be genuine, only

18 Yasovanta Das—Prema Bhakti Brahma Gita; P—5-7.

19 Ibid—P—8-9; For similar ideas Ganesa Vibhuti, P—59-60.

20 Visnu Purana—1.12. 54; Bhagavata Purana (Bangabasi) 3.26. 3-4; 10.88.5.

21 Acyutananda Das—Nitya Rasa.

when it goes along with the Sunya Rasa'(22). The story narrating the journey of Gopa-Krsna with his eight queens to see the sports of the eternal Radha-Krsna, though with much reluctance, is narrated in the Sunya Samhita. On their approach to that region of dazzling light, the mundane Krsna along with the eight queens fell unconscious (23). The sports of Radha Krsna is narrated as follows:—"In the left bosom of Yogamaya the right foot of Krsna is placed. The left foot of Radha is on the right bosom of the mother. Moreover the two feet are twined. Krsna puts both the feet on the waist of Radha. The left foot of Radha is on the waist of Krsna. The arms embrace each other and the limbs from the forehead to the waist are joined closely. The blue and the golden lustre of the bodies look beautiful(24)". In other words "Krsna joins his lips on that of Radha and Radha rests in the feet of Krsna in the shape of Bija. That is how both Radha Krsna enjoy the nectar from each other's lips, but the devotee drinks the nectar which flows from the feet"(25). Here the concept is something entirely different from the usual narration of Rasa and is a synthesis of the metaphysics of Tantra, Yoga and the common dualistic conception of sportive Radha Krsna.

If this be Rasa, then how to reconcile the idea of Krsna being a voluptuary and Radha the wife of another man? In reply to this query of Radha Krsna gives a whole story. "In the Satya era Radha Krsna were in the eternal sports. Out of fatigue Radha perspired and the sweat from her body fell in the milk-sea. Of it took birth a lady, Nilakanya by name. She took the name 'Kamala' and became the daughter of Varuna, who recognised her to be the wife of Visnu. The girl used to worship Balunka (Siva) in the banks of the Ganges with a view to get Visnu as her husband. There a Brahmajati, enamoured by the beauty of the girl, asked her to choose him as the suitor. The girl in anger cursed him to be a neuter. That hermit underwent religious austerities and meditated upon Visnu. When I was pleased and asked him the reason of meditation, he asked for the Nilakanya. I granted him the boon as he was my devotee and told him that in Dwapara that lady, who would be named Radhika, would be born as 'Vrsabhanu Jema'. You will be Candrasena and marry her. But you cannot enjoy her as you will be impotent. I will take birth to kill the King Kamsa and enjoy that girl. She is my wife, hear O Rsi'²⁶. Krsna says, 'You Radha, who is Jiva (individual soul) is my body and I am your Parama. This is the relation with all the Jivas and thus I narrate Premabhakti'²⁷. There has been some sort of differentiation between the Laya Anga and the Lila Anga of Radha Krsna. That which is corporeal in Lila Anga is shapeless in Laya

22 Acyutananda Das—Guru Bhakti Gita (Trans. Chittaranjan Das).

23 Acyutananda Das—Sunya Samhita—Ch. IX, P—60-72.

24 Yasovanta Das—Prema Bhakti Brahma Gita, P—10-11.

25 Acyutananda Das—Sunya Samhita, P—21.

26 Yasovanta Das—Premabhakti Brahma Gita, P—13; Ganesa Bibhuti P—61-62.

27 Yasovanta Das—Premabhakti Brahma Gita, P—12; Acyutananda Das—Jnana Pradipa Gita.

Anga. But fundamentally all shape is idea and shape is only the means to realise the shapeless. Acyutananda directs to realise Kṛṣṇa in the Laya Anga²⁸.

'Radha Kṛṣṇa, who are in the region of light (Jyoti)'²⁹, are identified to Jagannatha, Balabhadra, Subhadra, and Sudarsana who are the Mahamantra (Harerama Kṛṣṇa Mantra) and also the Darubrahma. They sit on the throne in these four forms and have both Aisvarya and Madhurya. At the foot of the Kalpavata, on the blue mountain in beautiful shape sit with the conch and the disc in hand, whom Sri Caitanya recognised as the Lord of the Universe³⁰.

The Supreme being, which is Jagannatha of Puri in the mundane plane and is the light (Jyoti) or the Sunya Brahma in the Supra-mundane philosophic plane is to be realised in the body. Thus a whole theory of Pinda-Brahmanda has developed by the Pancasakha³¹ which though not irrelevant for this topic is inconsistent. Sunya (void) though never corporeal, assumes attributes for the aspirant and hence although the gross methods of Japa, Mantra and other rituals have to be shunned, yet steps have to be taken for the soul-realisation. Thus, as Brindavana and the place of Rasa have been identified in the body (see above), so also the other nomenclatures have been equally explained. To a question of Arjuna, 'How is it that when Kṛṣṇa returned to his own Dhaman, his wives being widows came for ablution?'. Kṛṣṇa replies that 'when the body becomes devoid of life, the ladies merge in it.' This is the ablution of the ladies, who are merged in the Jyoti Brahma³². The real significance here is that there existed neither Kṛṣṇa nor Gopis, nor did they ever take bath in Yamuna, but the Panca Prana (Five lives), Panca Indriya (Five sense organs) attend to the Jiva Kṛṣṇa and when the Jiva leaves the body they merge into the Jyoti Brahma (light). In the Brahmanda Bhugola, attempts have been made to explain the portions of Bhagavata where there is the slightest chance of being interpreted in favour of indulgence, in the peculiar yogic way of the Pancasakha. Considerable stress is laid on celibacy and the realisation of the Universal soul through the Individual soul. The glorification of the body for the Pancasakha is not an end in itself but a means for the positive realisation of the Supreme. Radha Kṛṣṇa are nothing but void personified and the dualistic conception of love is the manifestation of the eternal relationship between the individual soul (Radha) with the Universal soul (Kṛṣṇa).

28. Acyutananda Das—Agata Bhavisa Malika—Prathama Vani.

29. Acyutananda Das—Sunya Samhita, P—22.

30. Abid—P—21; P—14; I—23.

31. For Pinda Brahmanda theory Ref, Vedantasara Gupta Gita Ch. I; Chatissa Gupta Gita Ch. 24; Birasta Gita. For Sataakra Nirupana—Gupta Gita Ch. III; Amarakosa Gita Ch. IV & Chatissa Gupta Gita Ch. II.

32. Balaram Das—Brahmanda Bhugola Ch. 86, P—56.

THE CONCEPT OF POWER IN THE LIGHT OF INDIAN THOUGHT

by

M. YAMUNACHARYA, M.A.,

There is a story in the Brahadaranyaka Upanishad which strikes the keynote of the Philosophy of Power in India. The Lord of creation had three kinds of progeny. They were gods, men and demons. They went to their progenitor and sought from him instruction relating to the principle of life by which they could be guided. The Lord merely pronounced the word 'da, da, da' thrice as his teaching, respectively to each of the three groups. To the gods it implied 'dama or self-restraint. The gods were inclined to give themselves over entirely to the pleasures of paradise and thus lose all zest for life which necessitated an element of restraint. To the men 'da' meant 'give', danam. The implication was that men were apt to grow avaricious and the only way by which they could fulfil the best that was found in them was by giving and not by possessing. To share what one has with others was the only way by which man could fulfil himself. Sankara comments on this passage thus: 'you are naturally avaricious. So try to share whatever you can with others'. (*Seabhucato lubdha yuyam ato yathasaktya samvibhajata*). Then the Lord turned to the demons. They prayed for instruction. The Lord said to them 'be compassionate.' The demons were characterized by cruelty and the only way by which this menace to the world may be avoided is to instil in them compassion, Daya. Sankara paraphrases the passage thus 'Krura yuyam himsadiparah, ato dayadhvam prani-sudayam kuruteti'. 'You are cruel and inclined towards violence; so grow compassionate and be compassionate to all living things.'

The corroding vice of the gods is self-indulgence, that of men is avarice and that of the demons is violence. These could be combated only by cultivating the opposite corresponding virtues of *dama, dana, daya* respectively. (*tad etat trayam sikset, damam, danam, dayam iti*).

Sankara suggests that the godly, human and demoniac qualities indicated above do not refer to independently existing groups of entities but refers to the world of men where you have among them those who possess the good qualities of the gods (*uttamair gunnaih sampannah*) but vitiated by self-indulgence, those who are human but whose humanity is warped by avarice (*lobha pradhanah manusyah*) and those who are intoxicated with power and pride, consequently grow cruel and callous (*himsa parah Krurah asurah*). They possess plenty of drive and energy demoniac in proportion but which is likely to a menace and a curse if they are not mitigated by pity or compassion.

The Demoniac individual is invested with tremendous energy or power ('Sakti'). Power of energy is needed for accomplishing any great thing in life. So there is nothing that is inherently undesirable in power or energy. Man is a human dynamo charged with the life-force. The Life-force is in its very nature insurgent and resurgent. It should not be repressed or extinguished. The fires of life must continue to burn. But the problem is that of directing this force or energy. Unless this force or energy is directed towards the good, unless Siva and Sakti are joined in wedlock, energy destroys and does not create. The creativeness and the auspiciousness and the good direction of energy is rendered possible only by the principle of compassion or *daya* entering into the Danava or the Demoniacal being. Such a Sakti or power generated by Dama or restraint and *daya* or compassion is a boon to the world. It is in this sense that the Mundaka Upanishad (3.2.4.) says that the self cannot be attained by the weak. (*Naya-matma bala hinena labhyo*). Strength or energy is then at the root of all great achievements.

From the point of view of Indian thought power is inherently divine and not necessarily an evil. To Sankara Sakti is the power to live in all living beings. (*'Ya devi sarva bhuteshu sakti rupena samsthita*). Powerlessness, cowardice or timidity or feebleness are as much a lie in the soul as lust, wrath or greed. No wonder then that India developed a philosophy of power par excellence known as the Sakta system, the key concept of which was Sakti or power. It aims finally at attaining Siva Sakti or the power of the good or the holy. Sakti is the materialization of the vital power of Siva. The power of the spoken word 'mantra sakti' is a familiar idea to the Indian mind. 'Atma sakti' or soul-power is a long accepted term and concept. Man is exhorted to defy fate and accomplish things by his own power. (*Daivam nihatya kuru paurusam atmā saktya*). Paurusha or valour and the valiant are common concepts of India's power philosophy. The impulse to power which is inherent in all beings has a tendency to impose itself on the recalcitrant and the intractable elements of life and this has led to the coercive aspect associated with power. Sakti in Indian thought is such a comprehensive concept that it includes within it very much more than physical strength. It includes any ability, capacity or energy. It includes regal power, poetic power, or genius, the power or signification of a word, the power inherent in cause to produce its necessary effect. Sakti is the active power of a deity and mythologically is regarded as his goddess—consort. Brahma thus has his sakti in Saraswati, Vishnu in Sri or Lakshmi and Siva in Parvati. The concept of Sakti or Maya has played an important role in the development of philosophical thought. Ramanuja defines Maya as 'vicitra karya kari saktih'—the power to accomplish marvellous things. In Sankara it is the nescience, 'the enticement and reduction of the living world.'

Vital energy of body and soul has been looked upon as conditions precedent to spiritual realisation. Krshna in the Gita exhorted Arjuna to abandon faint-heartedness and take up arms to fight.

'I am the strength in the strong' (balam balavatam camho) says Krishna in the Gita. This power or strength is the power or strength in the service of the good to be carefully distinguished from the power that is used to harass (Saktih paresamapi pida-darpannaya) and that is associated with egotism, pride and aggression (ahamkaram valams). Those who are intoxicated with lust and power are condemned (Kamaraga balanvitah). It is the Rajasic individual gone astray that says to himself. 'I have power, who dares defy me'. Ravana said that he shall not bend his head whatever shall happen (na nameyam katharcana). This is the pride mingled with haughtiness about which one can say 'pride goeth before the fall'. There is however strength or power that bends all its energies to preserve peace or righteousness, a strength associated with righteousness. This is the power of Rama, the power of Krishna. This is the Kshatra element in close association with the Brahma element. This is might in the service of right. This is said to be the purpose of all the Avatars. To preserve the right and to uproot evil energetically enough, is the purpose of Avatara according to the Gita (Paritranaaya sadhunam vinasaya cadus-krtam).

Without strength or power the world cannot be sustained, says the Chhandogya Upanishad (7.8) (balena lokasthithathi balam upasveti). It speaks of the strength that comes out of the soul (atamato balam), out of truth (tasmadahurbalam satyat). The Mahanarayan Upanishad says that from vitality comes strength and from strength comes austerity. (Pranairbalam balena tapah). Terms like 'tejas' and 'ojas' frequently used in the Upanishads all refer to the vitality and splendour, energy and enlightenment that comes out of a conservation of mental and bodily energy and canalising it in a properly directed channel towards a perfectly well-conceived goal. 'Ojas' is the vitality diffused throughout the body, bodily strength and vigour and 'tejas' is the illumination that shines through one's eyes and face proceeding from an inner strength. 'Vahni' is synonymous with 'tejas'. It is fire of life which fills one with warmth and vitality. This illumination is atma chaitanya rupa—is of the outward form of an inner vitality. A form of blessing in the Upanishads addressed to young aspirants is that they must be filled with 'ojas' and 'tejas' and 'bala' (ojosi sahosi balamasi; balamastu tejah). The Upanishadic seers were no less anxious to foster strength and health than righteousness.

Such is the philosophy of power in Indian thought. This philosophic power came to life in Mahatma Gandhi who developed the philosophy and technique of Satyagraha, a unique method of active resistance against evil by means of the weapon of Satya and Ahimsa. It is significant that Gandhi spoke so much of soul force. In the words of Zimmer "The sage is not to be a library of philosophy walking about on two legs, an encyclopaedia with a human voice. Thought itself is to be converted in him into life, into flesh, into being, into a skill in act. And then the higher his realization, the greater will be his power. The magic of Mahatma Gandhi is to be understood, for example, in this way. The force of his moral

presence on the Hindu masses derives from the fact that in him is expressed an identity by ascetic wisdom (as a style of existence) with politics (as an effective attitude toward worldly issues, whether of daily life or of national policy). His spiritual stature is expressed and honoured in the title bestowed upon him: Mahatma: 'whose essence of being is great', he in whom the supra-personal supra-individual, divine essence, which pervades the whole universe and dwells within the microcosm of the human heart as the animating grace of god (atman), has grown to such magnitude as to have become utterly predominant (mahat)".

PHILOSOPHY OF RASA-ENJOYMENT IN INDIAN AESTHETICS

by

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I

Rasa enjoyment must always begin with certain sense-impressions. In Ch. 7 (G.O.S. V. 1, p. 347), Bharata writes, अथ विभाव इति कस्मात् । उच्यते—विभावो नाम विज्ञानार्थः ।.....विभाच्यतेऽनेन वागंग सत्त्वाभिनय इति विभावः । यथा विभावितं विज्ञातमित्यनर्थोत्तरम् । In Ch. 7. st. 2a, we find विभावैराहतो योऽर्थो ह्यनुभावैस्तु गम्यते । Bharata uses the word आहत, whose full significance has not been properly understood. In Ch. 24 S1. 75-85 (Banaras Ed.), Bharata discusses in detail the impression arising out of all five senses.

शब्दं स्पर्शं च रूपं च रसं गन्धं तथैव च ।

इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियार्थाश्च भावैरभिनयेद् बुधः ॥

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पञ्चानाभिन्द्रियाणां च भावा ह्येतेऽनुभावजाः ।

त्वक्चक्षुध्र्वाजिह्वानां श्रोत्रस्य च तथैव च ॥

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इन्द्रियार्थाश्च मनसा भाव्यते ह्यनुभावितः ।

न वेत्ति ह्यमनाः किञ्चिद्विषयं पञ्चहेतुकम् ॥

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These objects of sense-impressions are the Vibhava. They are being taken in (आहत, and as such, are आहार । The word Vibhava includes within it the whole world of sense-impressions, and not merely, what is only heard (श्राव्य) or seen (दृश्य). Properly speaking, the word Vibhava is coextensive with आहात् । Bharata is content to analyse the taking-in by only two senses, the ear and the eye. But he is all along conscious that sabda and rupa are nothing but ahara. His famous definition of Rasa runs as follows:

यथा हि नानाव्यंजनसंस्कृतभन्नं भुञ्जाना रसानास्वादयन्ति सुभनसः पुरुषाः
हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति, तथा नानाभावाभिनयव्यतान् वागंगसत्त्वोमेतान् स्वायिभावानास्वा-
दयन्ति सुभनसः प्रेक्षकाः हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति, तस्मान्नादैवसा इत्याभिवास्यास्यामः ।

(G.O.S. V. 1. p. 289-90). The definition has been looked at as no more than an analogy. But Bharata's awareness that everything taken in by the senses, is ahara, makes it difficult for us to by-pass the definition, just quoted, as only an analogy.

Bharata on the other hand, was following here a fundamental tenet of Samkhya philosophy, as developed in Ayurveda. Caraka (Sutra-sthana 28.3) writes: आहार-मूलाम्यां रसः। This आहार with Caraka is not confined to what is taken in by the mouth. Caraka says हिताहार contributes to health, just as अहिताहार is the source of all diseases. What are these अहिताहार ? Caraka writes (Sutra 28.5) सन्ति ह्येतेऽपि आहारोपयोगादन्या रोगप्रकृतयः, तद्यथा कालविपर्ययः परिणामप्रज्ञापराधः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धाश्चासातन्याः । This असातयेन्द्रियार्थसंयोग which is the cause of disease, is not confined only to what is taken in by the mouth, but applies to all five senses. This is आहार proper. It is this आहार which Caraka has in mind, when he writes: आहारमूलाम्यां रसः ।

This concept of आहार also runs throughout the speculations of Samkhya philosophy. In Yoga-Sutra, II. 32, the Vyasa-Bhasya writes: तत्र शौचं मृज्जलादिजनितं मेध्याभ्यवहरणादि च बाह्यम् । अभ्यन्तरं चित्तमलानामाक्षालनम् । The literature on the Yoga-system has always taken particular notice of what food the Yogins should take, and what others should be avoided. Food which does not cause any disease, is पथ्याहार ; that which pleases body and mind, is known as मिताहार ; that food which increases mental faculties and nourishes the senses, is मेध्याहार । The Ghranda-Samhita and Siva Samhita discuss the importance of the selection of proper food for Yogic practice.

We have already said that Bharata looks at all sense-impression as आहार । This is in conformity with Caraka's analysis of आहार । This Yukti-dipika, the little known Commentary on Īswar-Krishna's Samkhya-karika, discusses among other Siddhis, the drsti-siddhi and the vag-siddhi. Fertilisation among the tortoise is made possible, says the author, by sight alone, even though there might have been no physical contact between the male and the female. यत्तु (क) च्छु-पिका निरीक्षितेनाशुधारणं कदोति ; प्रियं स्खवापि चक्षुषा निरीक्ष्य कृतार्थमात्मानं मन्यते । तस्यामपि क्षीणयां वाक्सिद्धिर्बभूव । अभिभाष्या प्राणिनो यदिच्छन्ति तदापादयन्ति । तद्याप्यनुवर्त्तते, यच्छस्त्रीविरुतेनापत्यं विभर्ति ।²

² Yukti-dipika (Metropolitan Publishing House). p.144-45.

Bharata's ahara is similarly through the eye and the ear. If it is possible to conceive physically, through the eye, it is much easier to be affected emotionally by food, gathered through the eye and the ear. This is Bharata's ahara; it is the root of his Rasa-speculations.

This analysis from the standpoint of ahara, goes to the basis of Rasa-speculations. Everything in the world of senses is a composite whole; it has something to satisfy each of our senses. It is only a question of degrees; the comparative predominance of one of the constituents which makes us say that a thing is visible or audible. In other words, in things visible there are elements which feed the other senses. Or again, the same thing may now become visible, at another moment audible, at a third, may become the subject matter of taste or touch. It all depends on through what particular sense we are taking in the sense-impression.

The citta is nourished by ahara, which first satisfies the senses. The pattern is the same in the case of every sense. The madhura and amla Rasas of Ayurveda first nourish the body, and through it, there is the nourishment of citta. So Sringara and Hasa, and other Rasas in Indian Alamkara, nourish the citta, though at the same time, there is a little nourishment of the body. In actual life, it is usually found that those who prefer Sringara and Hasa, also prefer madhura and amla. It shows that Sringara and madhura, or Hasa and amla are essentially the same. We call them by different names, only because of their being taken in by different senses.

These three gunas contend with each other for supremacy; and the varying degrees in which they are mixed, determine the great diversification of the world. The difference between Sringara and Hasa, and indeed among all the Rasas, is to be explained if we remember that these Rasas also are differently constituted. No one guna can exist alone to the exclusion of the two others. There is always a change. This explains why a man is not perpetually happy; or again, why his sorrow must also be short-lived. The Yoga-sutra writes: चलंच श्रुणवृत्तम् (4.15). In every activity, there is not merely the expression of the principal constituent (उपादान कारण); there is at the same time, the expression to a lesser degree of the subsidiary constituents (निमित्तकारण). The predominance of the principal constituent over the subsidiaries makes it possible for us to say that a particular activity is Sattvic, Rajasic or Tamasic. This explains why no one single thing can satisfy all, some of whom are Sattvic, some Rajasic, and others Tamasic in nature. Vacaspati Misra in Tattva-Kaumudi writes that a beautiful young bride evokes different reactions in three types of men. The Sattva in her finds response in the purified Sattvic element of her husband. Her husband is delighted with her, because of the evocation of the Sattvic element. The same bride on the other hand, evokes Rajasic elements in other mistresses of her husband. Her Rajasic element helps stimulate the Rajasic elements

in the mistresses, resulting in their sorrow and grief. The Tamasic element in her similarly finds response in the evocation of Tamasic elements in a Sensualist. Whatever the thing might be, it is always coloured by these three qualities.

Bhavas and Rasas are not exempted from the play of these three gunas. Rasa is always accompanied with the emergence of Sattva. In Abhinava-Bharati (G.O.S.) V.1. p.279, Abhinavagupta writes: रसानुभवस्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोनुबोधवैचित्र्यवलाद्भेदि विस्तारविकासलक्षणेन सत्त्वोदेकप्रकाशानन्दमयनिजसंविद्विश्रान्तिविलक्षणेन रत्नभाखादविधेन भोगेन परं भुंजत इति ।

Mammata in Kavyaprakasa Ullasa. 4, also speaks of this सत्त्वोदेक The question rises how this सत्त्वोदेक is made possible in all art-experience. Everyone has accepted that there must be some sort of सत्त्वोदेक in art-experience. But none has attempted to analyse how this emergence is made possible.

In p.278 of Abhinava-Bharati, v. 1, Abhinavagupta writes: स्थायिभवान् रसत्वमुपलेप्यामः । Sthayi-bhavas reach the Rasa-stage, only when there is the emergence of Sattva. Sthayi-bhavas like everything else, are constituted of the three qualities, Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. The Sthayi-bhava of Sringara is Rati, and of Hasya is Hasa. So the Sthayi-bhava of Raudra, is krodha, and of Karuna is Soka. Bharata himself says (G.O.S. 6.44).

शृंगाराद्धि भवेत् हास्यो-रौद्रात् करुणो रसः ।

वीराच्चैवाद्भुतोत्पत्तिर्वीभत्साश्च भयानकः ॥

In other words, Bharata categorically says that Sringara always goes with Hasa, just as Raudra goes with Karuna. They are essentially compatible, due to their being supplementary to each other.

This is in agreement with the traditional teaching of Indian Ayurveda and Indian philosophy. All systems of Indian philosophy are agreed that there is always an increase, when likes are brought together. सर्वदा सर्वभावानां सामान्यं वृद्धिकारणम् । (Caraka-Samhita. Sutra-Sthanam 1.18). If we want to bring down a high-pitched emotion, we must look after its opposite. If it is a case of fear, we must moderate it with its opposite, pity. Pity and fear are essentially compatible in the sense that the two together reach a perfect balance between themselves. So it is with Love and Laughter.

Madhusudan Saraswati in Bakti-rasayana (II. 77-78) discusses the four kinds of Bhakti, राजसी, तामसी, शुद्धसात्त्विकी (and) मिश्रिता । This bhakti is "bhagavad-rati"—and it is coloured by all three gunas. Rati, the Sthayibhava of Sringara, of which Bharata speaks, is much more restricted. Here there is the predominance for the

time being, of the Tamasic element. Bharata's enumeration of the anubhavas of Sringara will abundantly prove our contention. These are according to Bharata (G.O.S. V.1. p.307), निर्वेदग्लानिशकासूया-श्रमचिन्तितसुखचिन्निद्रासुप्तस्वप्नविबाधव्याधुत्माद पसारजात्यमरणादि ।

In Hasa, on the other hand, the anubhavas are predominantly Rajasic in character. Bharata writes (G.O.S. v. 1. p. 314), तस्योष्ठनासाकपोलस्पन्दनदृष्टि व्याकोशाकुचनस्वेदास्यरागपाश्वर्ग्रहणादिभिस्तुभावैराभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । The restlessness which characterises the anubhavas of Hasa, is the work of Rajas. There are present all three elements, but Rajas evidently predominates over the other two.

Bharata maintains, as we have said, that Sringara always goes with Hasa, just as Raudra always goes with Karuna. What happens when Sringara and its opposite, Hasa are brought together, or Raudra and its opposite, Karuna? The tamasic element in Rati with rajasic element in Hasa, tend to disappear in the avyakta, along with the requisite amount of Sattva, which is common to both Rati and Hasa. A perfect balance is reached between the Tamas of Rati, the Rajas of Hasa, and Sattva, which belongs to both. The Samkhya-karika of Iswar Krishna, I.61, writes: सत्त्वरजस्तमसां

साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः । The Caraka-Samhita, Sutra-Sthana, 9.3 says: विकारो धातुवैषम्यसाम्यं प्रकृतिरुच्यते । When the gunas mutually balance each other, they become avyakta. Bharata maintains, as our analysis has shown, that while the disturbing elements, Rajas and Tamas disappear in the avyakta, a surplus is always left of the Sattvic element. This alone contributes to aesthetic delight.

It is interesting to note that this analysis of Rati and Hasa from the standpoint of Bharata has been noticed by Saradatanaya. In Bhava-Prakasa (G.O.S.), p.44, describing Sringara, Saradatanaya writes:

तदा मनः प्रेक्षकाणां रजस्पृष्टं तमोऽन्वयि ।

चैतन्याश्रयि तत्रत्यो विकारो यः प्रवर्तते ॥

Describing Hasya, Saradatanaya says:

भावैः स्थायिनि वर्तन्ते स्त्रीयाभिनयसंश्रयाः ।

तदा मनः प्रेक्षकाणां सत्त्ववृत्ति रजोऽन्वयि ॥

In Raudra, similarly there is along with Sattva an admixture of Rajas, just as in Karuna, there is an admixture of Tamas.

तदा मनस्तभोरूढं चिन्तावस्थं जडात्मकम् ।

सदन्वयी च तत्रत्यो विकारो यः प्रवर्तते ॥

Saradatanaya goes on and finds in Vira (p.44) an admixture of Rajas, and in its opposite, Bhayanaka (p.45) an admixture of Tamas.

In all three pairs or groups of Rasas, there is the same pattern, leading to the emergence of Sattva. The Rajas in one with the Tamas in the other in every pair, along with the requisite amount of Sattva, disappear in the avyakta.

Our analysis of the basis of Rasa-enjoyment is in essential conformity with the fundamental teachings of Samkhya philosophy. The bliss of Rasa enjoyment has been anticipated in the concept of जीवन्मुक्त in Patanjala Yoga-Sutra. Prajnopaya and Mahasukhavada of the Vajrajana, the concept of Yoganaddha of the Hinayana, the concept of Sad-vidya of the Pratyabhijna-darsana, and Abhinavagupta's Rasa-speculations are clearly indebted to it. It is difficult to discuss Indian Rasa-speculations in isolation from these streams of Indian philosophy.

We said that Bharata looks at all sense-impressions as ahara. The realisation of Rasa must always begin with the functioning of the Senses; after the Senses, comes the work of citta, which is inanimate (-= jada). It finds its culmination in the Caitanya. Enjoyment on the wordly plane is always directed, bringing in its train, a world of sorrows and miseries. This makes the प्राणगति uneven or विषम so that the mind is always looking after pastures new. But in aesthetic enjoyment, the प्राणगति becomes even or सम which means गति itself disappears. Ordinary sensuous pleasures always stimulate the senses; but aesthetic enjoyment without stimulating the senses, strive to find balance, so that man may become once more calm and composed. What is gross enjoyment to the outward view, becomes liberation in an inward analysis. Freedom in aesthetic enjoyment is not very much different from being completely enmeshed in it. This is the भोग-अपवर्ग standpoint in Patanjali. The Vyasa-Bhasya (Sadhanapada. 18) writes: तत्रेष्टानिष्टगुणस्वरूपावधारणं अविभागापन्नं भोगः, भोक्तुः स्वरूपावधारणं अपवर्गं इति द्वयोरतिरिक्तमन्यद्दर्शनं नास्ति। This भोग in aesthetic terminology, becomes तादात्म्य; अपवर्ग is what is known as ताटस्थ्य। It is universally accepted that in Rasa-enjoyment we are becoming at once तादात्म्य and ताटस्थ्य (Abhinava-Bharati. v.1. p.283). Mammata is emphatic on this dual requirement in all aesthetic enjoyment. In Ullasa 4, he writes: न ताटस्थ्येन नात्मगतत्वेन रसः प्रतीयते नोत्पाद्यते नाभिव्यज्यते.....ममैवेते शत्रोरेवैते तदस्यस्यैवेते न शत्रोरेवैते न तदस्थस्यैवेते इति। It should be noted that simultaneous appearance of both तदस्थ्यand तादात्म्य in the relishing soul is only possible when there is the predominance of Sattva. (Yoga-Sutra. Samadhipada. 3-4). Our analysis of opposite Rasas in one particular group, has shown how the emergence of Sattva becomes possible, leading to aesthetic enjoyment.

The Mahasukhavada of the Vajrajana also discusses how perfect bliss is attainable only through the union of opposites. The reflection of reality should be abandoned, because it is like magic; so also that of unreality, because it is non-existent. When the conception of unreality is abandoned, it gives rise to a state, which is neither the Samsara nor the Nirvana. The commingling of the two—Prajana and Upaya,—is like the commingling of two opposites, and their disappearance in the Prajnopaya. This Prajnopaya is called Mahasukha, because it gives rise to eternal happiness, and it is known as Samantabhadra, as it is wholly auspicious. This is the doctrine of bhukti-mukti, developed in the Saiva, Sakta and Vaisnava Tantras.

The Yuganaddha reiterates this dual character of aesthetic enjoyment. The Anguttara-Nikaya (II.211) says, "There is this state of disequilibrium and drive (tanha), ensnaring, moving (man) about, diffused fettering, by which this world is stimulated, attacked, disarranged like a weft and entangled like a ball of string, a chaos like that of Munja and Babbaja grass". Again, in Anguttara-Nikaya (II. 20), we find, "Caught in a state of disequilibrium and fallen into the meshes of drives (tanhadutiya) man goes his long way, and does not pass beyond the circle of births, existence here and existence there". Only when the individual has overcome his inertia, when he does not fall a prey to either habits or beliefs, to either adherence or avoidance, he may safely walk the way towards enlightenment, which transcends all contraries. Perfect bliss is not clinging to one of the contraries. Candrakirti in the Madhyamakavritti, P. 530, writes: "Those who try to solve the problems of life (भावस्यनिःसरणम्) either by perseverance or by avoidance (Vibhava), have no true knowledge. Both these aspects have to be given up, the adherent drive (bhava trsna) as well as the avoidant drive (Vibhava trsna)". This is not very much different from the भोग-अपवर्ग standpoint of Yoga-sutra.

The Lankavatara-sutra sees in this dualistic character of all experience the emergence of the concept of Yathabhutam. To mention some such terms of antithesis used frequently in the Lankavatara-sutra, they are (1) asti and nasti, or sat and asat, (2) Sasvata and Ucheda, (3) Svalaksana and Samanyalaksana, (4) Samsara and Nirvana, (5) Ubaya and Nobhaya, and many more. Each member in a particular group is one of the contraries, and as such, is unfulfilled. The fulfilment lies in their synthesis, and in the consequent emergence of the concept of Yathabhutam. Any thought that permits of opposition or antithesis, such as Sat and asat, dharma and adharma is considered to be the outcome of discrimination (Vikalpa), and as long as this is cherished, without resolving them into a higher synthesis, one can never realise the standpoint of pure idealism (cittamatra), and the Yathabhutam understanding of absolute oneness will never take place. We have said in our analysis of the evolution of Rasa, that this absolute oneness is the emergence of Sattva, in which all oppositions on affective, perceptive and cognitive levels are resolved. Pleasure in art arises out of this resolu-

tion of opposition—and the greater is the degree of resolution, the more adequate and intense is this aesthetic pleasure.

The Patanjala, the Mahayana and the Hinayana standpoints in Rasa-analysis are not substantially different from the standpoints of Saiva, Sakta and Vaisnava Tantras. Everywhere there is this resolution and an attainment of a higher synthesis. We emphatically say that Rasa-realisation and the pleasure arising out of it, is born out of this resolution of conflicting and opposite sentiments into a higher synthesis. The Sakta Tantra claims to give both enjoyment (bhukti) in this and the next world, and liberation (mukti) from all worlds. This claim is based on a profoundly true principle. Bhoga is the perception of objects upon which enjoyment—or it may be suffering,—ensues. Here any form of sense or intellectual enjoyment is intended. All life in the world of form is enjoyment—much as Caraka and Bharata both look at all sense impressions as forms of ahara. Reality as such, is a complete union of pure spirit and spirit in matter. It must be known both “here” (Iha) and “there” (Anatra). Ordinarily it is said that where there is yoga, there is no boga, but in Tantra teaching, Yoga is boga and boga is yoga, and there is little to choose between the two: योगो भोग्यायते, मोक्षायते संसारः।

This teaching of how to attain liberation even in this life runs throughout the Tantra literature. This is in essential conformity with the Samkhya and Patanjala standpoints. It is interesting to not that the षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय with the commentary of Gunaratna seeks to harmonise the Saiva and the Vaisnava standpoints with that of the Samkhya. The Pratyabhijna branch of Saiva philosophy is also emphatic on this concept of bhukti-mukti. In the Spanda-pradipika, Utpalacharyya writes: आस्यमस्य जगत् सद्विहारयोः कारणभावः प्रोक्तो भुक्ति-मुक्ती च । तच्चोन्मेषाद्योगो नानाविधः निमेषान्मोक्षो निस्तरंगरूपता । Speaking on bhoga or becoming one (तादात्म्य) with the subject-matter, Utpala says:

अहं सुखी च दुःखी च रक्तश्चेत्यादिसंविदः ।

सुखाद्भवस्थानुस्यूते वर्तन्तेऽन्यत्र ताः स्फुटम् ॥ 1. 4

But for the man with perfect knowledge, the world appears to be of no consequence.

न दुःखं न सुखं यत्र न ग्राह्यं ग्राहकं न च ।

न चास्ति मूढभावोऽपि तदस्ति परमार्थतः ॥ 1. 5

The man who knows both this world and the other, knows the secret of Rasa-realisation. This is also the standpoint of Abhinavagupta. Utpala goes on:

परमार्थेन न ग्राह्यं ग्राहकं वा न किंचन ।

यस्माद्वृत्ते तत् स्वमासमस्वभासमिवेक्ष्यते ॥

The Siva-Vimarsini in Unmesa 3, Sutra 9, writes:

The soul goes out and identifies itself with everything it sees or hears. नृत्यति अन्तर्विगूहितस्वरूपावष्टम्भमूलं तज्जागरादिनानभूमिकाप्रपंचं स्वपरिस्पन्द-
लीलयं स्वमितौ प्रकटयति इति नर्तक आत्मा । This same soul at the next moment retires and shines in solitary splendour, after the work is done.

ससार नात्र्यप्रवर्त्तयिता मुक्ते जगति जागरुक

एक एव परमेश्वर : ॥

The Spanda-karika of Bhatta Kallata analyses the standpoint in detail. At the beginning of Ch. III, speaking of जीवन्मुक्त, Bhatta Kallata writes:

तेन शब्दार्थचिन्तामु

न सावस्था न चा शिवाः ।

भोक्तैव भोग्यमावेन

सदा सर्वत्र संस्थितः ॥

इति वा यस्य संवित्तिः

क्रीडात्वेनाखिलं जगत् ।

स पश्यान् सततो युक्तो

जीवन्मुक्तो न संशयः ॥

Explaining how this is made possible, how it is that we are at once held in bondage and are free, Bhatta Kallata writes:

“अखिलम्” अशेषमनन्तवस्तुव्यक्तिविचित्रं “जगत्” विश्वं क्रीडात्वेन स्वनिर्मित-
चराचरभावक्रीडनकोपचरितलीलामात्रतया “पश्यम्” विभावयन् ।.....स यथा कश्चिद्
क्रीडापरः स्वपरिकल्पितैः भयक्रोधादिकारणभूतमावप्रतिच्छन्दकैः क्रीडन् तद्व्याथात्म्यवे-
दित्वात् मयादिविकारकानुत्पन्नमनागपि नापद्यते, तथैव भावानां स्वस्वभावशक्तिविजृम्भित
मात्रतया व्याथात्म्यवेदी सन् मनागपि विकृतिं नापद्यते । यं सर्वं क्रीडात्वेनैव पश्यन्
जीवन्नेव मुक्तः ।

The ideal spectator in Rasa enjoyment similarly goes out of his ordinary self. He sees and enjoys action on the stage; but he can at the same time, stand out of it. The outlook of Abhinavagupta, the greatest and most philosophic of Indian Alamkarikas, is deeply coloured by this dualistic character of art-experience. His Alamkara and Rasa speculations are not divorced from his general phi-

losophic attitude. As the underlying reality in everything, He (the Parama Siva) is all-pervading; and at the same time, He is all-transcending. His nature has primarily a two-fold aspect—an immanent aspect in which He pervades the Universe, and a transcendental aspect in which He is beyond all Universal Manifestations. It is so with Rasa-realisation. In Pratyabhijna-Hrdaya, we find:

श्रीमत्परमशिवस्य पुनः विश्वोत्ती-शंविश्वात्मक परमानन्दमय प्रकाशैकमनस्य.....

अखिलम् अभेदेनैव स्फुटति। There arises now for the first time an equalisation in prominence of the two aspects of the Experience, which takes the form, "I am this" in which both the "I" and the "This" are realised with equal clearness, so much so that, while they are felt as entirely identified with each other, they can yet be clearly separated in thought.¹ This experience of equalising the realisation of the two sides of the relation of identity namely "I am This", and also of what may be called possession—of the one of the two sides as belonging to the other (or where we are at once तादात्म्य and तादस्थ्य) —is called the Sad Vidya or Shuddha Vidya—the state of Experience (or knowledge) in which the true relation of things of opposite character is realised.

From the balancing in realisation of the two factors, the "I" and the "This" of the experience in this state, and from simultaneously realising the one as belonging to the other, there follows an important result; namely, there arises, for the first time, what may be called the Experience of diversity-in-unity-and-identity (beda and abheda), or as it is called पराचरदशी (Iswar-Pratyabhijna III. 1.5). This new Experience may really be said to correspond at a lower stage, as just stated, to the one which enables an individual human being to regard his body and thoughts and feelings as at once diverse and different from and yet one and identical with himself. The experiencer has his attention drawn equally to himself and the "I" of the Experience, and to the "This" as what we have called the object of the Experience. The experiencer has never been more intensely aware of himself; he has again, never so completely stood out of himself.

This dual character of art-experience, in which we are at once held in bondage and are free, can only be explained if we remember that in every case of Rasa-enjoyment, there is an emergence of Sattava. We discussed in Sec. II, how this emergence of Sattva is made possible only through the bringing together of two opposite Rasas. The Yoga-Sutra discusses how it is possible to be at once in it and out of it, when there is the predominance of Sattva. In the व्युत्स्थान stage, the spectator retires to his own pristine self—तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेखस्थानम् (Yoga-sutra, I.3). In the निरोध stage, the spectator identifies himself with things seen or heard. He then attains वृत्तिसारूप्य (Yoga-sutra. I.4). In the व्युत्स्थान

stage, says Vacaspati Misra, the Spirit rests on its own self, and all the disturbing elements disappear— शान्तधोरमृदस्वरूपं निवर्त्त तिय
But in the निरोध stage, there is identification of buddhi and purusa, and simultaneously, the feeling,

भूदोऽस्मीति । These are the two extremes, where Sattva when shed of its impurities, can reside. We have seen how the व्युत्थान stage corresponds to the तादृश्य, and the निरोध stage corresponds to तादात्म्य standpoint.

V

The man who enjoys Rasa, though he is stationed in his own essential nature (आत्मस्वरूप) looks out at things corporeal (अनात्मवस्तु). There is nothing incompatible in this position, no conflict between the light and the thing lighted, between things spiritual and corporeal.. Manifestation (स्फुरद्रूपता) is characteristic only of the Spirit. Material things without the participation of this spirit, would have been unknown. Things corporeal lose all significance if there is no participation. “तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वम् . तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति” । The manifestation of the spirit, if there is no participation by material things, becomes uniform and steady, and as such, is difficult to know. The non-soul exists only to make visible the steady manifestation of the soul. The Rk-Samhita also says रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपे बभूव । तदस्य रूपम् प्रतिचक्षणाय । The supreme soul takes the help of the non-soul only to make itself available to the knowledge of man. The great difference between complete liberation (विदेहमुक्ति), and liberation in life (जीवन्मुक्ति) is that while in the first the manifestation of spirit is steady and unvaried, in the second, the manifestation is coloured and diversified. Participation in this manifestation is the jivan-mukti; here for once, bondage and freedom have been reconciled. The man who enjoys Rasa is not debarred from complete enjoyment, simply because he enjoys a great many things, in the shape of vibhavas and anubhavas at the moment of Rasa-realisation. The true aesthete enjoys the sights but can at sounds, and the same time, take a detached and dispassionate view of things. In this respect, there is complete identity in the positions of the true aesthete and the jivanmukta.

Aesthetic speculations proceed from man's inmost essential nature. An analysis of this essential nature of man is peculiarly the subject of philosophy and aesthetic speculations in so far as they partake of this essential nature, have to be read in the wider background of philosophy.

DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS CULTS OF ASSAM BEFORE THE ADVENT OF NEO-VAISNAVISM.

by

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No definite date can be fixed as to when the plains of the Brahmaputra valley came to be first Aryanized. But the process seems to have been one of slow infiltration rather than of a huge clutural invasion. In different periods of our history we find mention of the bringing of Brahmins and other 'high-class' Hindus from mid-India by some of the rulers. The *Kalika-purana* (ch. 39) ascribes to Naraka, a prince of Mithila and latterly king of Kamarupa, the credit of Aryanizing this country and settling a number of Brahmins, expert in the Vedic lore, after having driven the aboriginal Kiratas to the mountainous region near the eastern seas. B. Kakati seeks to conclude that Naraka established himself in power somewhere between 200 and 500 A.D. (*The Mother Goddess Kamakhya*, p. 32). In the middle of the fourth century the Hindu dynasty of Pusyavarman was established in Assam; and this synchronised with the imperial Guptas' coming into the throne in North India in 320 A.D. and the revival of Hinduism under their aegis. Now, Hinduism in its revived form put on new colour and became "a parliament of religions." "Nothing is to be abolished: the ancient rites and texts preserve their mysterious power, and kings perform the horse sacrifice. But side by side with this, deities unknown to the Veda rise to the first rank, and it is frankly admitted that no revelations more suited to the age have been given to mankind (Eliot. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, intro., p. xxxiv). This was, moreover, a period marked by the growth of sectarianism, the principal sectaries being the votaries of Siva and Visnu (Farquhar, *A Primer of Hinduism*, pp. 100-f.). Farquhar gives 550-900 as the time when the Sakta systems appeared and developed in the soil of India. (*Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, ch. V). As the result of influences of this Hindu Saktism, the esoteric Buddhist cults, known as Vajrayana, Mantrayana and Tantrayana, also originated during the period, probably from the seventh century if not earlier. (*Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 209-ff). The principal Hindu cults found a fertilizing soil in the valley of the Brahmaputra; and scholars have found reasons to believe that Buddhist esoterism had also its day in this country.

Saivism.

The *Kalika-purana* relates how prior to the conquest of Kamarupa by Naraka, the prince of Mithila, who was enjoined by Visnu to worship goddess Kamakhya alone, the land was reserved by Sambhu for his own domain (39. 103-105). This may simply mean that Saivism was older in this country than the Sakti cult. In a subsequent chapter (ch. 84.) the Purana suggests that Saivism also became popular among the aboriginal population (Mlecchas).

In the copper-plate inscriptions of the Hindu kings of the families of Pusyavarman, Salastambha and Brahmapala (4th—12th century) Siva emerges as the chief god to be worshipped by these monarchs, and other deities like Visnu and the Devi are only cursorily noticed (*Kamarupa-sasanavali*, p. 62; *J.A.R.S.*, II, p. 4; for a detailed account, B. K. Barua, op. cit., pp. 143-ff.).

There are the ruins of several ancient Siva temples in different parts of Assam—dating from c. 600 to 1250 A.D. (*A.R.A.S.I.*, Bengal Circle, 1920-21, p. 36; 1924-25, pp. 95-101; K. L. Barua; 'Notes on some ancient ruins', *J.A.R.S.*, VIII, pp. 9-13; *Assam Buranji* S. M., arts. 81, 121; R. M. Nath; 'Ruins of the Siva temple of Numaligarh', *J.A.R.S.* II, pp. 7-9).

Hariya Mandal, father of the Koc king Visvasimha, and twelve other Mec chiefs who constantly associated with the Mandal are described in the *raja-vamsavalis* as devotees of Siva (*Darrang Raj Vamsabali*, 50-53). When Visvasimha rose to power, the story was soon set afoot ascribing his birth to god Siva, and the Koc kings came to be known as the 'descendants of Siva' (Ahmed, pp. 281-ff.; A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam*, ed. 2, Allahabad, 1930, pp. 527-ff. Bhusana, 850, refers to 'King's stone', possibly some Siva-linga worshipped by Naranarayana). From the *vamsavalis* we also get an account of the worship of Siva both according to Hindu scriptures as well as with tribal rites. When starting on a military expedition against the Ahoms, Naranarayana performed such propitiatory rites to the deity as are prescribed in the Hindu books. But Siva appeared before him in a dream and rebuked him severely for giving up his own tribal mode of worship. The king thereupon made arrangements for the performance of such rites by his Kachari soliders on the banks of the river Sonkos. Offerings (*upahara*) of ducks and pigeons, liquor and cooked rice, buffaloes and swine, cocks and he-goats were made. There was also Kachari dancing with beating of drums (*madala*). It is added that the worship under the auspices of a Deodhai priest propitiated all the gods. (*Darrang Raj Vamsabali*, 324-28; Ratikanta, *Raja-vamsavali*, *Typical Selection from Assamese Literature*, III, pt. i, p. 43). Naranarayana later issued an edict regarding administration of worship in the temples of his kingdom. In the temples lying on the northern side of the Gohai Kamala road (running along the north bank of the Brahmaputra from the Koc capital to Narayanpur in the east) Koc, Mec and Kachari people alone could carry on worship, while those lying south of the road were left to the Brahmin priests (*Darrang Raj Vamsabali*, 334-37). Among different Bodo tribes Siva is revered as Batho, Bathau, Bathau-brai or Bathau Siva-rai. Sir Edward Gait notices the particular mode of Siva worship among Mec people: "The religion of the Mech, like that of the Dhimai, is still in an early stage of transition from Animism to Hinduism. They describe themselves as Hindus of the Saiva sect, and worship Siva under the name of Batho, and his consort Kali as Bali Khungri. To the former the Agnia-Mech sacrifices buffaloes, goats and pigeons; while his wife has to put up with the less respectable offerings of pigs, fowls, and goats, which the Jati-Mech

offer indifferently to either ('Animistic tribes of Bengal', *Census of India*, 1901, I, i, p. 414)."

The 1857 martyr, Maniram Dewan (*Bhuranji-vivekaratna*, f. 1b) writes that the worship of god Mahadeva (Siva), set up by the sage Aurva at Dergaon, was administered under the care of the Kachari kings with the offer of wine and flesh. Later a magnificent temple was built at the place by the Ahom king Pratapasimha, who describes himself as 'devoted to the feet of Hari and Hara' (*hari-hara-carana-parayana*) in a coin dated 1570 Saka 1648 A.D. (*Orunodoi*, As. monthly, 1854 vol. XIX, 4, April, 1854, p. 57). The attitude of the early Ahom kings towards Saivism is not known.

Saivism was a living religion when the neo-Vaisnava leader Sankaradeva was born. Ramananda, (v. 28.) in describing the religious atmosphere of the land before the advent of neo-Vaisnavism, writes: "People did not worship Krsna or perform the deeds sacred to Hari. They, on the other hand, would fain worship Bhairava, and consider it to be the greatest of religions. They made offerings of blood of tortoises and goats to that deity and drank of it as a sacred drink (*prasada*)". As a matter of fact, Siva appears in the *Yogini-tantra* (16th cent.) as in the earlier *Kalika-purana*, (12th century), oftener as a Bhairava than as a normal deity; and he could, therefore, be adored with extreme left-handed (*vamacara*) practices (*The Mother Goddess Kamakhya*, p. 22). In course of the narration of events of about 1479, an old chronicle (*Assam Buranji S.M.*, art. 33) refers to a stone image of Bhairava, worshipped by people on the day previous to their marriage with the offer of twenty rupees, two black he-goats, eight pairs of ducks, eight pairs of pigeons and other things, or simply of five rupees in the case of poor people. Sankara's father Kusumavara, who had no issue till an advanced age, is said to have worshipped Siva. The god was pleased, and a son was born to Kusuma; and the child was called Sankara or Sankaravara on that account (*Daityari*, 27-34). Vyasakalai, a Brahmin follower of Sankara, violated the latter's interdiction of the worship of gods other than Visnu and allowed his kinsmen to worship the image of Mahesvara at Capada (Kamrup district) with a view to save his ailing son from the clutches of death (*Daityari*, 673-76). Sankaradeva's chief disciple, Madhadeva, once went to his original home at Banduka on the Dharla when he was asked by his elder brother on the Siva-catordasi day to worship Siva in his company (*Ramananda*, 820-f.). *Daityari* (vv. 1205-1209.) records that the scholar, Asurari Bhattacarya, was once sent by king Raghudeva from Vijayapur to arrange the worship of the Budha (lit., old god, that is Siva) on the Nilacala hill.

Saktism.

Saktism is considered to have been born in the north-eastern region of India (Assam and Bengal), where it still holds some ground (Eliot, II, p. 278; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, Cal., 1937, p. 592; Gait. 'Religion', *Census of India*, 1901, I, i, 360). This sect was the most powerful one in Kamarupa

by the twelfth century, when its chief scripture in that land, *Kalika-purana*, was written. But when the *Yogini-tantra* came to be written in Kamarupa probably in last part of the sixteenth century, if not in the seventeenth, much of the 'left-hand' excesses was toned down. There is no section in this Tantra corresponding to the lurid Blood Chapter of the Purana; (*Kalika-p.*, ch. 71) there is no Sabarotsava (*Kalika-p.*, ch. 63) reeking of frank sensuality; and several of the chief forms of the Devi (like Sivaduti, Dikkravasini) and the corresponding modes of worship are dropped in the Tantra. But the worship of Kamakhya, in the main, and of Kali, Durga, Ugratara, Chinnamasta, and Bhuvanesvari still finds place in the *Yogini-tantra*. The temple of Kamakhya near Gauhati, which is now the chief centre of Sakti worship, was built in 1563 after an older shrine in the place had been destroyed by the Musalmans.

The *Yogini-tantra* gives accounts of *mantras*, *sadhana* (evocation of the deity), *pujana* (worship), *puraskriya* (preparatory rite), *mudra*, *bali*, *homa*, *dhyana* (visualization of deity), *stotra* (hymn), and (*charm*) It is to be noted that in all the temples of different forms of the Devi on the Nilacala the object of worship is no image, but in each a flat and slightly fissured stone, with water coming from below as in the case of the principal shrine of Kamakhya. This represents the *yoni* of the deity and symbolizes her creative power. Both the chief scriptures of Assam Saktism, the *Kalika-purana* and the *Yogini-tantra*, belong to the left-hand school of Saktism and enjoin blood sacrifices and various esoteric rites. The ritual consisted in partaking of the five elements (*tattva*), better known as the five M-s (*pancamakara*), namely, *madya* (wine), *mamsa* (meat), *matsya* (fish), *mudra* (parched grain) and *maithuna* (sexual union) (*Yogini-t.*, I 6.14: *Tantra of Great Liberation*, tr. by Arthur Avalon, 6.2-14). The first three of these have to be offered as oblation in fire in certain rites (*Yogini-t.*, I. 4. 21).

The Tantra describes the purposeful 'six cruel rites' (*satkarma*) in some detail (I.4). Another noteworthy form of ritual is virgin worship, in which a virgin is considered as representing the deity. In selection of the girl to be worshipped no caste consideration is to be entertained (*Yogini-t.*, I.13. I.17 *Kalika-p.*, 66.99, 68.60).

The one thing that calls for special notice is blood sacrifice sacred to the Devi. This particularly engaged the serious attention of the reformer Sankaradeva. The *Kalikapurana* (71.3-5) makes a comprehensive list of objects of sacrifice to Candika and Bhairava: birds, tortoises, alligators, fish, deer, buffaloes, iguanas, bulls, he-goats, inchneumons, boars, rhinoceros, antelopes, *sarabhas* (fabulous beasts with eight feet), lions, panthers, men and blood drawn from one's own body. The *Yogini-tantra* II. 7.156-170; *Darrang Raj Vamsabali*, 547-f., gives a similar list of sacrificial animals. Below the principal shrine of Kamakhya and to its west is the smaller temple of Bhairavi, Bala Bhairavi or Tripura Bhairavi. This is pointed out as the spot where human sacrifices were once held (Eliot, II. p. 288). The sacrificial sword said to be used here for decapitation of human offerings is still preserved in the chief store-house of Kamakhya. Some prince, Narasimha, is, moreover,

said to have immolated himself before Bhairavi, and a casket with a conical cover in one corner of the shrine is held as containing the head or an image of the prince. Beside the shrine of Bhairavi is an image of Bhairava cut upon the rock. It is not known if any human sacrifices were held at Kamakhya during the period of advent of Sankarite Vaisnavism. As late as 1615 Karmacanda (son of Sattrajita, a commander of an invading Musalman army) was sacrificed to the goddess Kamakhya (Gait, p. 108; *Assam Buranji* S. M., art. 109). Another place where human sacrifices seem to have been held from ancient to modern times (end of the 18th century) is the Tamresvari temple near Sadiya in the north-eastern frontier. The *Kalika-purana* (83. 32-ff.) recognizes two sub-forms of a form of the Devi (called Dikkaravasini after the river on which she remains enshrined. The modern name of the river, covered under thick forest, is Dikrang, Dikrangpani, or Deo-pani): Ugratara or Tiksnakanta (Tara, Ekajata) and Sri-mangala-candika or Lalita-kanta. In the Ugratara sub-form the Devi used to accept human sacrifices. The Puranic affiliations of this deity and her shrine were, however, soon lost, and it is probably this deity who came to be known as Tamresvari or Kecai-khati (the Eater of Raw Flesh) and this shrine as Tamresvari-mandira or *tamar-deo-ghar* (copper temple). It is here that the ruling tribe of Chutiyas administered worship under the *deoris* or tribal priests, with animal and human sacrifices, the care of which seems to have been taken over by the Ahoms after the subjugation of the Chutiyas in about 1523 (Kasinath Tamuli Phukan, *Assam Buranji*, p. 20; Gunabhiram Barua, *Assam Buranji*, p. 95; Gait, p. 42; Gait, 'Human sacrifices in ancient Assam', *J.A.S.B.*, XVIII, New Series, June, 1848, pp. 465-f.)

The Blood Chapter of the *Kalika-purana* makes provisions for the offering of the votary's own blood and flesh in small quantities. The blood is to be cut out from any part of the body above the navel and offered to Mahamaya Durga 71. 155-162. See also *Yogini-t.*, I. 6.53. M. Neog: The offering of one's blood and flesh to a deity, (*Journ. of the University of Gauhati*, vol. V). The *Katha-guru-carita*, (u. 93.) describes how Narayana Thakura met a petty Koc official (Gadmali), named Govinda, who worshipped the Devi at the cost of all his belongings, and then used to cut out his blood with a nail-clipper, and offer it to the deity in shells of snails, as a result of which his body turned as white as cotton.

Saktism, it is to be noted, did not honour caste or sex distinction within its own sect (*Yogini-t.*, I. 2, 10, I. 17. 30 A. S. Geden: 'Tantras', E.R.E. XII, 1921, p. 193); held women in general in esteem as so many miniature goddesses (*Yogini-t* II. 6.152); even tried to put a limitation upon the custom of satee (*Yogini-t.*, II. 5. 308); and exhibited a catholicism by admitting foreigners' respective customs in its local centres (*Kalika-p.*, 68.33) and allowing votaries to take both meat and fish (*Yogini-t.*, II. 9. 14-16).

Most of the Bara Bhuyas including the ancestors of both Sankara and Madhava were staunch Saktas. The name of Sankara's great-grandfather, Candivara, is a Sakta one, and for his adherence to the Devi the epithet 'Devidasa' was conferred on him by the king

Durlabhanarayana (Sankara, *Rukmini-marana* (-kavya) v. 527; Daityari, 12, Bhusana, 9). He is said to have been born as a boon from Candi (KGC., 8). Madhavadeva in his first encounter with Sankara offered many arguments in defence of Saktism. He said that Durga was a part or an incarnation of Prakrit, the original source of the universe and that those who, living in Kamarupa, worshipped Ambika, were entitled to endless happiness in heavenly worlds (Ramananda, 437-ff.). Both the ten-armed and the eight-armed forms of the Devi are mentioned in the *caritas* (Bhusana, 200, 748).

A stone image of Candi was the object of worship in the house of Sankara's father Kusuma (KGS., 20). Mahendra Kandali sought to teach his student Sankara some *mantras* of Candi or Durga (KGC., 27). There are references to Candi (ana-candi) and Durga in the writings of Sankara and his predecessors (*Sankaradeva and his Predecessors*, p. 14; Sankara, *Bhagavata*, VIII (*Amrtamathana*), 139; *Bhagavata*, X, 97; *Rukmini-harana* (-kavya) 463). Goats are very often mentioned as sacrificial animals, and this blood sacrifice provides poets like Madhava Kandali and Sankara with a handy simile. Madhavadeva asked his brother-in-law Ramadasa to bring two white goats for sacrifice during the autumnal festival of the Saktas (Daityari, 246; Ramananda, 442; KGC., 65). Sankara's step-brother Bangaya decapitated a he-goat in the very presence of Sankara (Ramananda, 268-f.). Madhava's elder brother once offered about ten goats as sacrifice to the Devi in the month of Asvina (Ramananda, 398-f.). Madhava argued with Ramadasa, on the latter's refusal to bring sacrificial goats, that a house holder's religion could not go without sacrifices (Ramananda, 419). Innumerable innocent lives were thus destroyed in the form of sacrifices to the deities (Daityari, 9.). Visvasimha, as the adventurous cow-herd youth that he was at the beginning, worshipped a clay-made image of Durga with sacrifice of grass-hoppers (KGC., 47; *Darrang Raj Vamsabali*, 79-ff.)

In his *Thakura-carita* (v. 170.) Vidyananda describes the religious beliefs of the Barnagar locality in Kamarupa in these words: "These people were not conscious of the great way (Vaisnavism); and Sakti (Saktism) then reigned supreme. They sang songs of Hari, but when the autumn came instituted *ghatas* (pitchers representing the goddess) in every one's house".

Tantric Vaisnavism.

Generally speaking, the Hindu kings of Kamarupa (4th-12th cent.) are Saivites, but they claim their descent from the Boar incarnation of Visnu and the Earth. Bhaskaravarman, the illustrious contemporary of Harsavardhana, is described in Bana's *Harsacarita* as a descendant of the family of Vaisnavas or of a family born of Visnu (*vaisnava-vamsah*) (B. K. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, I, pp. 149-ff.). Bhaskaravarman's great-great grandfather Mahabhutivarman calls himself a Bhagavata in a rock inscription of his (*J.A.R.S.*, VIII, 4, pp. 138-ff.). In most of the copperplate grants of these Hindu kings, however, obeisance has been offered to Siva.

Only one inscription namely the Puspabhadra grant of Balavarman begins with the adoration of the Boar. And the particular doner of this grant is a Brahmin Sriman Madhusudana 'long engaged in the worship of Madhava's lotus-feet from his childhood' (op. cit. p. 176). Numerous are Visnuite epithets in the lists of personal names of Brahmins in all the several grants, which also bear reference to various incarnations of this deity (B. K. Barua, op. cit. pp. 150-f.). The *Kalika-purana* notices several places connected with different forms of Visnu. Of these different manifestations of the deity, those of Hayagriva on the Manikuta (Hajo, 15 miles from Gauhati, (81. 75-81, 91-109) and Vasudeva in the north-eastern region (83.88-194) call for special notice.

The form of Hayagriva worship is dismissed in the *Kalika-purana* with a reference to the Tantra of Hayagriva already described (81.93) (possibly some earlier section of the Purana somehow expunged at some later date, or perhaps some independent work) and some 'Uttara-tantra' (81.96). The *Yogini-tantra* (II. 9.219-213) gives an account of the origin of the stone image of Hayagriva-Madhava of Hajo, which deity is but cursorily noticed in the *Kalika-purana* (81.75-81, 91-109) in the light of the story of the wooden icons of Krsna, Balabhadra and Subhadra at the great Jagannatha temple of Puri as recounted in the *Brahma-purana*. The system of worship and the various *mantras* of Hayagriva given in the final chapter of the Tantra are all based on, or are mere copies of, the code of Jagannatha worship as given in *Brahma-purana*. The present temple of Madhava was built in 1583 by Raghudevanarayana (1581-1593) over the ruins of an earlier shrine, of which the basement still remains with a row of sculptured elephants likened by Waddell to the decorative style of the Kailas cave temple of Ellora (*J.A.R.S.*, II, p. 42). Madhavadeva visited the Madhava temple and recited *slokas* in salutation to the deity enshrined there (Daityari, 1096-98). Hayagriva is to be worshipped with various *mantras* and the Purusa-sukta (II. 9. 168-ff.). In *nyasa* three (Vasudeva, Samkarsana and Pradyumna) of the four forms of the deity (*caturvyuha*) of the Pancaratra code, along with Trivikrama (possibly a wrong substitute for Aniruddha of the *vyuha* group who appears in the corresponding *sloka* of the *Brahma-purana* (61.39), Garuda, goddess Earth, Laksmi, Pusti, some weapons and ornaments of Visnu, Isana of the *pitha* and his *saktis*, and other deities are to be meditated upon (II. 9. 185-91). Cow's milk, fish, and the meat of deer, goats, *salanas* (porcupine?) and hare among different offerings are delectable to Visnu (II. 9. 255-f.). The Pancaratras, it may be noted, do not stick to strict vegetarian offerings. (Schrader, op. cit., p. 97).

The *Kalika-purana* (83.89-187) describes the code of Vasudeva worship in some clear detail. Three types of *mantras* are prescribed: *vija-mantra* (*om namo narayanaya*) twelve syllable *ariga-mantra* (*om namo bhagavate vasudevaya*); and eighteen-syllable *pratyangamantra* (*om namo visnave surapataye mahabalaya svaha*). The weapons and ornaments of the deity are also to be saluted in *mantras*. The *mantra* beginning with *tad-visnoh* and the Purusa-sukta are of special application in the adoration of Visnu (83. 182-ff.). In uttering the *germ-mantra* the deity is to be visualized

as being of white complexion and attended by the Saktis, Laksmi and Sarasvati (83.96-ff.). In *nyasa* on the charmed circle (*mandala*) a pentad of deities, Sambhu, Gauri, Brahma, Rama and Krsna are always to be worshipped; the omission of the first two of these deities would render the worship null and void. Vimala is the leading goddess (*nayika*) attached to Vasudeva, beside other male and female attendants. Cooked food without meat is to be offered to the god (83.110-ff). We can today scarcely locate the place of this worship. The *Yogini-tantra* takes no notice of Vasudevism so elaborately dealt with in the *Kalika-purana*, (83. 89-ff.; M. Neog: 'A place of Vasudeva worship in Assam', *Journ. of the University of Gauhati*, vol. IV), although it refers to a Visnu-pitha among nine sacred regions (*yoni*) of Kamarupa (I.11.24-f). Two copper-plate grants (Sarveswar Barua: 'Some ancient relics found in North Lakhimpur', *J.A.R.S.*, III, pp.40-46), dating 1392 and 1401, having been discovered in the sub-division of North Lakshimpur, we get the impression of the continuation of Vasudeva worship after the date of the Purana. These two grants were issued by the king Satyanarayana, son of Nandisvara, of Sadhayapuri, and by the king Laksminarayana, son of Satyanarayana, respectively. In the first inscription Satyanarayana makes a gift of land to one Narayana Dvija of the family of Samarsana Dvija. The inscription pays obeisance to Vasudeva, Isana and Amba in the initial portion. It also recalls an earlier land-grant made at Vyaghramari by king Pratyaksanarayana. The second copperplate records Laksmi narayana's land gift to Brahmin Ravideva, the son of Hari, a devout worshipper of vasudeva, in the Suvansini valley.

Visnu of various dates have been discovered in different places of Assam (*Epigraphica Indica*, XVIII, pp. 329-f.; *A.R.S.I.*, 1925-24, p. 80; 1927-28. pp. 112-f.; 1936-37, p. 60 R. M. Nath: 'Antiquities of the Kapila and the Jamuna valleys', *J.A.R.S.*, v.p. 35). In the *caritas* Sankara is said to have discovered a four-armed Vasudeva image of shining black stone at his native place of Bardowa (Ramacarana, 1515-ff. *KGG.*, 34).

Ramananda (vv. 92-ff) holds that Kusumavara worshipped Gopesvara Visnu at Singari with a view to having a son, as the result of which Sankara was born. The other *caritas*, however, consider the Gopesvara temple and image as those of Siva.

The Bhagavata literature also seems to have penetrated into this land prior to Sankaradeva's neo-Vaisnavite movement. He is said to have found a tiny manuscript with the text of the *Bhagavad-gita* floating down the Brahmaputra at the time of his deserting, Bardowa (Daityari, 104-f.; Ramananda, 155-159). Daityari (v.26) says that the childless Kusuma listened to the reading of the *Hari-vamsa* in the expectation of having an issue.

In the two North Lakhimpur copper-plate grants of 1392 and 1401 there are several Visnuite names (Samkarsana Dvija, Madhava, Narayana, Gadahara, Balabhadra, Hari, Kamadeva, etc.). The names of kings of this period are also noteworthy: Pratyaksanarayana, Satyanarayana and Laksminarayana of Sadhayapuri;

Durlabhanarayana and Indranarayana of Kamata; Visvasimhanarayana and Narayana of Koc Behar.

Crypto-Buddhism

Vajrayana or Tantric Buddhism, "a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas" (Winternitz, II, Cal., 1933, p. 388), admitted the five *M's* as indispensable for the votary and held that seekers of salvation should enjoy Prajnaparamita or perfect truth that resides in every woman, high or low, young or old, healthy or diseased (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Intro. to Buddhist Esoterism*, pp. 32:). In the Vajrayana scripture *Sadhanamala* (pp. 453, 455 ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya), moreover, the four *pithas* of the cult are enumerated as Kamakhya or Kamarupa, Sirihatta, Purnagiri and Odoyana (Uddiyana, Oddiyana or Odryan).

In a biography of Sankara (*KGG.*, 45) is described how he had encounters with Buddhist magicians (*baudhamaiya tatakiya*). In his *Kirtana-ghosa* (v.13) he writes that the God Supreme incarnated as the Buddha only to destroy the way of the Vedas and confound people with *vamanaya sastra* (left-handed scriptures). He further adds (op. cit., v.14) that the Kalki incarnation will descend on earth towards the end of the Kali age and will massacre the Mlecchas, exterminate all the 'Baudhas' that there be, and establish the Truth. Here is probably a reference to the excesses committed by the Tantric or Vajrayana Buddhists, mixed up with other Tantric creeds, as Sankara himself saw them.

Rama Sarasvati in his *Vyasasrama* (MS. vv. 294-97) describes how the Brahmins of the Kali age would take to the left-handed rites and scriptures (*vamanaya vidhi sastra*) and turn 'Baudha'. They would profess the *Baudha sastras* and give up the duties of Brahmins. They would earn their living by performing magical feats with funny idols, made of copper, bell-metal, wood and earth.

Vamsigopaladeva met with great opposition and bitter enmity of the 'Baudhas' when he tried to propagate the tenets of Vaisnavism in Asama-rajya (*Sri-sri-vamsi-gopaladevar Carita*, ed. by M. Neog, intro., pp. 27-29)

JANMASTAMI AND THE BHAKTI CULT

by

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The Janmastami Day is the birth day of Lord Krishna a day of immense significance; for while an ideal man and diplomat, He brought into existence a better Hindu polity and help up the highest and most variegated human efficiency, resourcefulness and excellence. He also at the same time represents the highest Hindu philosophical solidity. The Gita has it that whenever virtue subsides and vice prevails, the Lord comes down to help mankind. (Gita, IV.7) Krishna brought about not only a political unification in India, He also brought about a philosophical and religious synthesis. This synthesis represents the cream of all the religious lores—the Vedas, the Vedantas and the Puranas. The Vedic religion was a ritual—ridden religion, while the Vedantas laid emphasis on enlightenment and puranas on devotion to God's incarnations. These three systems were frankly contradictory to one another and it was natural that agnostics would appear and they actually did. Hindu society was mightily convulsed and of this, there are elaborate descriptions in the Epics and the Puranas. The Gita itself has slokas bearing on this social convulsions, such as:—

यामिमां पुष्पितां वाच प्रवदन्त्य विपश्चितः । वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदंस्तीति वादिनः ॥

(Gita II—42)

न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नैष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते । न च संन्यसनादेव सिद्धिं समधिगच्छति ॥

(Gita III—4)

दिव्यमाल्याम्बरधरं दिव्यगन्धानुलेपनम् । सर्वार्थमयं देवमनन्तं विश्वतोमुखम् ॥

(Gita XI—11)

and again—अविद्यया बहुधा वर्तमाना वयं कृतार्या इति अभिमन्यतेवालाः ।

also ते अपि कौन्तेयमामेव यजन्ति अविधि पूर्वकम् ।

Krishna, however did not introduce a bizarre faith. The faith promulgated by Him was a synthesis of the best things of all—the Vedas, the Vedantas, the Puranas and Sankhya. It was the Bhakti cult. He did not reject ritualism of the Vedas but wanted them to be done as "Yajnas" i.e., in the name of and for, the Lord. In Gita it is said—

यज्ञार्च्ययात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मदन्धनः । तवर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसंगः समाचर ॥

(Gita III—9)

Again in Isa Upanishada Sloka I:—

ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्वं यत् किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

He wanted men to feel and see God in everything. This made the Vedic religion a little more introspective. Krishna replaced the worships of the several presiding deities of Vedic rituals by worship of the one Supreme God. Thus an adjustment was brought about between the Vedas and the Vedantas.

The Gods of the Vedas are not independent. They are subject to the "Gunas". The worshipper of the Supreme Brahman, therefore, cannot rest satisfied with them. They stick to the Param Brahman in all. In the Gita the Lord says in chapter III Sloka 17

यस्त्वात्मरतिरेव स्यादात्मतृप्तश्च मानवः । आत्मन्येव च संतुष्टस्तस्य कार्यं न विद्यते ॥
नैव तस्य कृतेनार्थो नाकृतेनेह कश्चन । न चास्य सर्वभूतेषु कश्चिदर्थव्यपाश्रयः ॥

(Gita III—17 and 18)

(He who adheres to the self, is satisfied with self, has nothing else to do). This does not mean inaction. It is a highly active principle. Only the attitude should be one of non-attachment.

तस्मादसक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर । असक्ता ह्याचरन् कर्म परमाप्नोति पुरुषः ॥

(Gita III—19)

And such a man is immune from all Bikaras.

आपूर्यमाणचलप्रतिष्ठं समुद्रमापः प्रविशन्ति यद्वात् ।

तद्वत् कामा यं प्रविशन्ति सर्वे स शान्तिमाप्नोति न कामकामी ॥

(Gita II—70)

Krishna accepted the quintessence of the Vedantas viz. "I am He". This is also known as "True knowledge". The true Vedantin remains absorbed in "Brahmajnana" and has no external feeling. Krishna adumbrated this in the Gita.

सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि ।

ईक्षते योगयुक्तात्मा सर्वत्र समदर्शनः ।

यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मनि पश्यति ।

तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ।

(Gita VI—29, 30)

This One in the many and many in the One is the meeting place of the Vedas and the Vedantas and Lord Krishna effected this. The contemplation of the "Nirguna Brahman is, however, a difficult thing to do. Hence the need to start with the contemplation of "Bibhuti Yukta God" and this God exists even in the meanest of things.

मया ततमिदं सर्वं जगदव्यक्तभूर्निना । मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः ॥

न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि पश्यमे योगमैश्वरम् । भूतभृन्न च भूतस्थो ममात्मा भूतभावनः ॥

(Gita IX—4, 5)

यन्नापि सर्वभूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुन । न तदस्ति विना यत् स्यान्मया भूतं चराचरम् ॥
(Gita X—39)

So everything is to be regarded as Vasudeva, and this is the highest wisdom, attainable after many births.

बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान्मां प्रपद्यते । वायुदेवः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥
(Gita VII—19)

When this all—pervasive nature of the Deity is realised then begins real devotion and enlightenment. The rudiments of Bhakti are to be traced back to the Vedas themselves. Only the advent of Krishna brought bhakti to the forefront and extolled it. He distinguished between four types of Bhaktis—the *Arta*, the *Jijnasa*, the *Arthaprapiti* and the *Jnani*—those born of fear, of quest, of covetous desire and of spiritual identification with the Deity. Of these, the first three types are lesser bhaktis, the last alone is the superior bhakti.

तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्त एकमक्तिर्वि शिष्यते । प्रियो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थमहं स च मम प्रियः
(Gita VII—17)

The first three types lead to the last one.

क्षिप्रं भवति धर्मात्मा शश्वच्छान्तिं निच्छ यनि । कौन्तेय प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति ।
(Gita IX—31)

The worship of the Absolute has got to be prepared for and preceded by conduct. The Bhagavata enjoins nine varieties of Bhaktis, such as Archana, Bandana, Dasya etc. But this should be done in detachment-free from all desire of gain, like the lotus leaf that is in water and yet not catching water.

ब्रह्मण्याधाय कमीणि संगं त्यक्त्वा करोति यः । लिप्यते न स पापेन त पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा ॥
(Gita V—10)

God alone is to be worshipped, God who is the Author of creation, preservation and destruction, who is omnipotent, omnipresent and Omniscient and who is above and beyond the three Gunas.

गतिर्भर्ता प्रभुः साक्षी निवासः शरणं सुहृत् । प्रभवः
(Gita IX—18)

Bhakti is the ambrosial tie that knits the devotee and the Brahman together and in that sweetness the devotee gets supreme bliss.

When this simple, pure and singular bhakti was discovered, the synthesis between the Vedic, Vedantic and the Puranic religions was effected.

This bhakti was not elaborated in the Vedas it is true, but it was not absent there altogether. The Vedic Bhakti appears to have been born of fear and covetous desire but there are similarities between the Vedic hymns and the bhakti of Krishna. Names of Vedic Gods only brought in an element of difference.

In all serious performances, the Vedic Rishis also liquidated all other Gods except three. When some allowance is made for this, we are very near to the Vedantas which extolled not the many but the One Absolute.

This "One Absolute Brahman" is also the God of Krishna's Gita. The Yoga of the Vedantas is thus fulfilled and enriched in the Bhakti cult which has again and again been called the best of Yogas in the Gita. When the devotee surrendered himself supremely to the Param Brahman he enjoys bliss. Bhakti deepens this and Krishna prescribed this Bhakti.

Krishna incarnated Himself and by discovering for man the Purusottama Tattva, He resolved scholastic differences into Bhakti and established equality of men. The Gita mentions three Purusas and two Prakritis (Vide Gita XV, 16 & 17).

द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
 क्षरः सर्वाणिभूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥
 उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।
 यो लोकत्रयभाविश्य बिभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥

(Gita XV—16, 17)

Kshara and Akshara are the two purusas, of which the former pervades all bhutas while the latter is in Kuta. The paramatma is the Uttama Purusa, who pervades the three lokas and preserves all therein. He is Abaya, He is God. These are the three Purusas.

And the two Prakritis are—

(Gita VII—4, 5)

भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।
 अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥ (4)
 अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।
 जीवभूतां महाबाहो ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ॥ (5)

(Gita VII—4, 5)

The fourth sloka enumerates the eight Prakritis which are known as Aparā Prakritis. The parā Prakriti is life-like and conscious Prakriti which bears this world.

The Sankhyabad (of Godlessness), the Brahmatattva and Bhagavat-tattva, all three coalesce in Purusa and Prakriti and the amalgam is a very happy blend containing as it does the unique Yogadharmatattva of Jnana, Karma and Bhakti. In the Gita the Lord says "I am both Nirguna and Saguna; both are my attributes. When Nirguna, I am gentle, even, silent and actionless. When

Saguna I am the creator and the regulator of all activities. When knowledge acquired in many fields confirms a man in one knowledge, he becomes gentle, balanced and pure and arrives in Brahmajnana.

सर्वभूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययमिष्यते । अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु तत् ज्ञानं विद्धि सत्त्विकम् ॥
(Gita XVIII—20)

अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं परिग्रहम् । विमुक्त्य निर्ममः शान्तो ब्रह्माभूयाय कल्पते ॥
(Gita XVIII—53)

When such stage is reached a Bhakta has nothing to do. The Bhakta has no activities of his own, for any thing that he does is no longer his doing but mine.

मत्कर्मकृन्मत्परमो मद्भक्तः । निर्व्वरः सर्वभूतेषु यः स मामेति पांडव ॥
(Gita XI—55)

The true bhakta does every thing for and towards Me and thus develops Prabhakti in the Lord.

समं सर्वेषु भूतेषु मद्भक्तिं लभते पराम् ॥
(Gita XVIII—54)

When Parabhakti is developed, the bhakta attains the Lord.

भवत्या मामभिजानाति यावान् यश्चास्मि तत्त्वतः ।
ततो मां ज्ञात्वा विशते तदनन्तरम् ॥
(Gita XVIII—55)

Thus both My Nirguna and Saguna aspects, are comprehended. When such a stage is reached the bhakta pins on Me, does everything for Me, and even when he is busy in earthly deeds yet remains the best of Yogis—the Karma Yogi and thus attains Me.

सर्वकर्माण्यपि सदा कुर्वाणो मदव्यपाश्रयः ।
मत्प्रसादादवाप्नोति शान्धनं पदमव्ययम् ॥
(Gita XVIII—56)

सर्वभूतस्थितं यो मां भजत्येकत्वमास्थितः ।
सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि स योगो मयि वर्तते ॥
(Gita VI—31)

It would thus appear that there is no serious conflict between the Karmabad and Jnanabad of the Gita.

The Prakriti-Purusabad of Sankhya is nothing but the Para and Apra Prakriti mentioned above. This is what the Gita exactly says. The Jara Prakriti (inanimate) is Gods' Apra Prakriti while the Chaitanya Prakrit (conscious) is His Para Prakriti. Para Prakriti is active. God is the Regulator of Prakriti.

प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।

अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ॥

(Gita III—27)

Everything is done by the virtue of Prakriti. The Egotistic man wrongly believes that he is the doer. Again, the Gita says:

प्रकृत्यैव च कर्माणि क्रियमाणानि सर्वशः ।

यः पश्यति तथात्मानमकर्तारं स पश्यति ॥

(Gita XIII—28)

Prakriti does things, the Atma is non-doer. He who knows this is the real 'tattvadarshin'.

When man rises above egotism, he is independent of Prakriti that is, he rises above the 'trigunas'; yet activities do not cease; for as long as the body remains, activities remain too. But vanities, no longer persist. Therefore, detached work is possible, and this is the best way of doing things. The *Gita* says:—

प्रकाशं च प्रवृत्तिं च मोहमेव च पाण्डव ।

न द्वेष्टि संप्रवृत्तानि न निवृत्तानि कांक्षति ॥

उदासीनवदासीनो गुणैर्यो न विचाल्यते ।

गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येवं योऽवतिष्ठति नैगते ॥

(Gita XIV—22, 23)

That the characteristic of Sattvaguna is expression or 'Jnana', that of Rajaguna is karmaprabrittee, and of Tamoguna is 'Moha'. Although they get tied up with activities or remain untouched by them yet he who does not envy the happiness of others or are not attracted by it—is above and is like a detached witness, never moved the one way or the other. He stands supremely serene. He is then free from the bondage of Karma.

यस्य नाहंकृतो भावो बुद्धिर्यस्य न लिप्यते ।

हत्वापि स इमांलोकान्न हन्ति न निबध्यते ॥

(Gita XVIII—17)

In the light of the above, 'Karma' becomes a highly enlightened affair and as such 'Karma' does not collide with 'Jnana', Krishna has thus brought about a synthesis of the several systems and discovered, for all, the Purusottama tattva.

The Patanjala Yoga is a Yoga of lifelessness. It destroys the 'Vritti' of the heart and the mind. The Brahmajnanin may attain salvation in that manner. Says the Gita.

सुखामात्यन्तिकं यत्तदबुद्धिग्राह्यमतीन्द्रियम् ।

वेत्ति यत् न चैवायं स्थितश्चलति तत्त्वतः ॥

यं लब्ध्वा चापरं लाभं मन्यते नाधिकं ततः ।

यस्मिन् स्थितो न दुःखेन गुरुणापि विचाल्यते ॥

(Gita VI—21, 22)

This is Brahmatattva. But over this tattva has the Gita placed the Bhagabad tattva. Says the Gita:—

ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठह्ममृतस्याव्ययस्य च । शाश्वतस्य च धर्मस्य सुखस्यैकान्तिकस्य च ॥

(Gita XIV—27)

I am the Sanatana Dharma of eternal Nectar and of supreme bliss. I am past Kshara and above Akahara. Therefore am I called both popularly and in the Vedas—the Purusottama.

The Samkhya has no God, the Patanjala has Him alternatively, and the Vedantas speak of the Nirguna Brahma; but the Gita conceives of the Purusottama both with and without 'Gunas'. So the 'Yogin' of the Gita conceives of God as the beneficent Lord of all and gets peace and serenity. The Yoga of the Gita is supremely a Yoga of bhakti towards God. The 'Yogin' of the Gita himself, has mastery over self and sees God in everything, regards everything as God and serves all in a detached manner. Says the Gita:—

यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः । अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ।

(Gita XV—18)

The 'Yogin' who is equal to all, sees no difference anywhere and regards everything as being My handiwork, attains Me no matter howsoever he be placed.

The final conclusion of the Gita is that man should surrender himself completely to God, and in a sincere and devoted manner serve all.

मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु । मामेवैष्यसि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥

(Gita IX—34)

सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज । अहंपेवा सर्वपा वेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

(Gita XVIII—66)

This message of the Gita is the quintessence of all lore on bhakti. This is the Bhagavatadharma as enunciated by the Lord.

Strting from Svadharma and 'Svakarma' which are basic—ally natural to man, the *Gita* enumerated how three kinds of 'Srad-dhas' are born from the observance of 'Svadharma'—whence are born the three attributes—'Sattva', 'Raja' and 'Tama'. And from them are generated three 'Abhiyaktis'—with all which 'Karma' is genetically connected. So, the Gita says:

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् । स्वधर्मे निधनैः श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥

(Gita III—35)

Then it takes up the Buddhijoga or Jnana-joga whence one can become 'Sthitaprajna'. Next comes 'Jnanamisrita Bhaktijoga'—enlightened Bhakti. This Abyabhicharine Bhakti for the One—without frittering energies in any other direction—is the best of ways of attaining the Divinity. In other words, Svadharma is the beginning and Bhakti is the other end of the string. This is Parabhakti that gives salvation.

In Assam this Bhakti cult got its flowering in the 16th century and the great Vaisnavite reform of Srimanta Sankardeva is a glorification of the Bhakti cult, pure and simple. The great devotee is so much absorbed in Bhakti of the Lord that he does not even aspire after salvation, because salvation might deprive him of the Bhakti, of Acharna, Bandana, and Padasevana of the Lord.

Says Sankara—

In truth, Thou art the Paramatma, I now know.

Thou takest the Sattva form, and provideth, path to the devotee.

He has taken shelter at Thy feet,

And does 'Sravana' and 'Kirtana' of Thy virtues,

Does not crave for even salvation.

For before that bliss of bhakti, even Heavenly happiness is nothing.

The devotee of this Parabhakti is the best Bhakta. So the Lord says in the *Gita*.

ब्रह्मभूतः प्रसन्नात्मा न शोचति न काक्षति । समं सर्वेषु भूतेषु मद्भक्तिं लभते पराम् ॥

(Gita XVIII—54)

सर्वभूतस्यमात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि। ईक्षते योगयुक्तात्मा सर्वत्र समदर्शनः ॥

(Gita VI—29)

And, the Assam Bhakta, Sri Madhadeva says in his "*Namaghoṣa*".

"I bow low to the devotee who has no craving even for liberation. I pray for that devotion which is full of sweet joy. I worship that Lord Jadupati who is the crowning gem of all and who is submissive to His devotees."

Bhakti to the One in superession to the many—that stands out crystal-clear, and that is the central idea of our religious and philosophical endeavour.

ओर्ध्माय धर्मेश्चराय धर्मपतये धर्म सम्भवाय गोविन्दाय नमोनमः॥^{१२}

On the Janmastami day this truth emerges. It is no mere rhetoric. It is a scientific, and active philosophy and can be practical even in the matter-ridden like of today.

"Lead kindly Light amidst the encircling gloom.
Lead Thou me on."

श्री :

जीवन्मुक्तिविषये मण्डनमिश्रमतम्

(जोशी रा. ल., एम्. ए., वेदान्तविशारदः)

वस्तुतो ब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य, अज्ञानेन प्रच्यावितनिजरूपस्य जीवस्य ज्ञानेन स्वरूपप्राप्तिर्हि मोक्ष इत्यद्वैतवेदान्तेऽङ्गीक्रियते । अयं च स्वरूपप्राप्तिपर्यवसानो मोक्षः शरीरपातापेक्ष एवेति न, किन्तु शरीरपातात्प्रागपि जीवतो मुक्तिसम्भवः सर्वथा सुशक्य इति स्वीकुर्वन्त्यद्वैतवेदान्तिनः । तथा हि—मिथ्याज्ञाननिमित्तं सशरीरत्वमधिष्ठानरूपस्य ब्रह्मणो यथार्थज्ञानानन्तरं कारणाभावात् नावशिष्यते । तच्च ब्रह्मज्ञानं जीवतोऽपि शक्यमेति तन्मूलिकमुक्तिरपि जीवतो विदुषः शक्या । इयमेव च जीवन्मुक्तिरिति गीयते । एष पिण्डितोर्थः यन् ज्ञानानन्तरमपि शरीरावस्थितिः पूर्ववदेव शक्यसम्भवा; न तु शरीरपात एव नियमेनावश्यक इति ।

एवं सामान्यतो जीवन्मुक्तिस्वरूपे प्रतिपादिते इदमिदानीं विचार्यते यत् ब्रह्मसिद्धिकर्त्रा मण्डनमिश्रेण जीवन्मुक्तिविषये किं प्रत्यपादि कश्च तस्याभिप्राय इति।

प्रथमं तावत् मण्डनमिश्रेण जीवन्मुक्तिरङ्गीकृता न वेत्यस्मिन्नेव विषये विदुषां सम-स्वरो न दृश्यते । विद्वद्बराणां कुप्पुस्वामिशस्त्रिमहोदयानामिदं मतं यत्—मण्डनमिश्रः जीवन्मुक्तिमङ्गीचकार; परं शङ्कराचार्यैः प्रतिपादिताया जीवन्मुक्तेः सा भिद्यते; विरुद्धयते च कुत्रचित् । तथा च विदेहमुक्तेः श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरुद्धत्वमनुकूलतर्कवत्त्वं च प्रतिपाद्य जीवन्मुक्तिं परं स्वाभिमतत्वेन स प्रतिपादयामास । इति ।¹

सूर्यनारायणशास्त्रिणस्त्वेवं मन्वते-यत्परस्परविरुद्धाभिधानमेकत्र जीवन्मुक्तिं खण्डयतोऽन्यत्र च तामङ्गीकुर्वाणस्य मण्डनमिश्रस्य । यदि परं तस्याभिप्रायो ज्ञातव्य एव तर्हि विदेहमुक्तिरेव तदभिप्रेतेति शक्यसम्भवं वचनम् । इति ।²

1. Intro. to Brahmasiddhi P. 38.
2. Intro. to Bramati Catussutri.
3. Intro. to Kalpataru.

कल्पतरुव्याख्यारूपाभोगग्रन्थस्य नूतनसंस्करणकर्तारः सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिणः शङ्करा-
चार्यमण्डनमिश्रमतभेदप्रकाशनसमये एवं प्रत्यपादिषुः यत्— नानुभोद्यते जीवन्मुक्तिर्मण्डन-
मिश्रेण शङ्कराचार्यैस्तु सा स्वीक्रियते इति । ³

एवं मतभेदे दृश्यमाने वस्तुतः ब्रह्मसिद्धिकृतः कोऽभिप्राय इति तद्ग्रन्थेनैव
अवधारयितुमधुना प्रयत्यते ।

ब्रह्मसिद्धौ प्रथमतः एकस्मिन्परिच्छेदे, विद्यया सर्वकर्मक्षये तत्त्वदर्शनसमनन्तरमेव
मुक्तिः स्यात्, इति “तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ सम्पत्स्ये” इति छान्दोग्य-
श्रुत्या प्रतिपादिता देहपातप्रतीक्षा (नाम जीवन्मुक्तिः) बाध्येत, इति पूर्वपक्षीकृत्य उदाहृता
जीवन्मुक्ति साधकश्रुतिः क्षेप्यपरत्वेन नाम क्षिप्रैव मुक्तिरिति विदेहमुक्तिपरत्वेन
स्थापिता । एवं प्रथमपरिच्छेदे विदेहमुक्तिः साधितेति निश्चितम् । ⁴

अनन्तरं विदेहमुक्तिपरप्रथमपक्षे अस्वारस्यद्योतकेन “अथवा” शब्देन जीव-
न्मुक्तिसाधनपरः द्वितीयः पक्षः स्थापितः । अत्र “तस्य तावदेव चिरम्” इति श्रुतेः
जीवन्मुक्त्यनुकूलो निदुष्टोऽर्थः स्पष्टीकृतः ।

एवं मूलग्रन्थे प्रथमं विदेहमुक्तिरनन्तरं जीवन्मुक्तिरिति पक्षद्वयमपि साधितं
दृश्यते । तेन सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिणां “मण्डनमिश्रः जीवन्मुक्तिं नाङ्गीकरोति” इति मतं
सर्वथाऽसमीचीनम् । सूर्यनारायणशास्त्रिणामपि “विदेहमुक्तावेव परमतात्पर्यं मण्डनमिश्रस्य
स्यादिति” मतमयुक्तमेव । यतः किल जीवन्मुक्त्यपेक्षया विदेहमुक्तिरेव युक्ता, इति
द्योतकं न किञ्चिदपि गमकं विद्यते ब्रह्मसिद्धौ । प्रत्युत अनन्तरं पक्षद्वयेऽप्याशङ्कां समुद्भा-
व्य तत्समर्थनं कृतम् । तत्रापि विदेहमुक्तिविषये तत्स्वीकारे स्थितप्रज्ञलक्षणासङ्गतिरूपा-
मेकामेवाशङ्कां प्रदर्श्य “स्थितप्रज्ञः न सिद्धः किन्तु साधक एव स्यात्” इति समाधात्
मण्डनमिश्रः । जीवन्मुक्तिविषये परं नैकशङ्कासमुद्भावनपूर्वकं समाधाय विषयस्त्वेवमुप-
संहृतः—“अतो लब्धवृत्तिकर्मसंस्कारात्तद्विपाकसंस्काराद्वा विदुषोऽपि शरीर-
स्थितिः । तदुक्तं तन्त्रान्तरेऽपि “तिष्ठति संस्कारवशाच्चक्रभ्रमवद् धृतशरीरः । इति । ⁵
एवं विस्पष्टं प्रतिपादिते मण्डनमिश्रस्य विदेहमुक्तिरेवाभिप्रेतेति वचनममूलमेव ।
“यदि जीवन्मुक्तिः मण्डनमिश्रस्याभिमताऽभविष्यत् तर्हि कथं स्थितप्रज्ञः साधकः न
तु सिद्ध इति प्रत्यपादयिष्यत्” इत्याकारिका सूर्यनारायणशास्त्रिणामाशङ्का न घटते ।
यतः विदेहमुक्तिपक्षमनुसृत्यापि स्थितप्रज्ञलक्षणं न विरुध्यते, इत्यत्रैव तत्कथनस्य तात्पर्यम् ।

अन्यथा “ विदुषः शरीरस्थितिसमर्थनम् ” जीवन्मुक्त्यनङ्गीकारे असङ्गतं स्यात् । अतः एतावदेव वक्तुं शक्येत यत् पक्षद्वयमपि शक्यसम्भवत्वेन समर्थितं मण्डनमिश्रेण । यदि एक एव अभिप्रायो निष्कृष्ट्य एव (वस्तुतः तथाकरणमयुक्तमिति मे प्रतिभाति ।) तर्हि विदेहमुक्तिपक्षेऽरुचिं प्रदर्श्य जीवन्मुक्तिपक्ष एव स्थापित इत्येव निर्णयः आत्मतनस्तर्कसहायत्वं द्योतयेत् ।

तथा च “ मण्डनमिश्रमते विदेहमुक्तिरेव श्रुतिस्मृतिभिः समन्वेतुं शक्या युक्तियुता चेति ” कुप्पुस्वामिशाल्मिमतं न साधुत्वं भजते । “ तस्य तावदेव ” इति श्रुतिः केवलं विदेहमुक्त्यनुकूलत्वेन तेन व्यवस्थापितेत्येव । तथा जीवन्मुक्त्यनुकूलत्वेनापि तच्छ्रुत्यर्थः प्रदर्शित इति तु पूर्वमेवास्माभिः प्रतिपादितम् । प्रत्युत “ अनारब्धकार्ये एव तु पूर्वं तदवधे; ” “ भोगेन त्वितरे क्षपयित्वा सम्पद्यते ” इति पूर्वपक्षिणा जीवन्मुक्त्यनुकूलत्वेन विदेहमुक्तिप्रतिकूलत्वेन चोदाहृतयोः ब्रह्मसूत्रयोः विदेहमुक्तिपरत्वं विदेहमुक्तिसिद्धान्त-स्थापनावसरे मण्डनमिश्रेण नादर्शि । तथा च श्रुतिस्मृत्यनुकूलः एकः पक्षः स्वाभिमतश्चाय एव इत्यपि कुप्पुस्वामिशाल्मिमतं न संभवति ।

अधुना मण्डनमिश्रेणामिमता जीवन्मुक्तिः शङ्कराचार्यैरङ्गीकृतजीवन्मुक्तेर्भिद्यते विरुध्यते वा । विरुध्यते चेत् कियतांऽशौन, विरोधोऽपि युक्तिसहो न वेत्यादिकं प्रतिपि पादयिष्यते ।

तत्र ज्ञानेनाज्ञानं सर्वथा विनश्यति चेत् ज्ञानानन्तरमज्ञानमूलस्य शरीरस्यावस्थानं कथमित्याशङ्का समुपजायते । अस्मिन्विषये शङ्कराचार्यैरेवं समाधानमकारि—यत् ज्ञानेन न खलु सर्वाणि कर्माणि विनश्यन्ति । किन्तु यथा किल मुक्तः इषुः प्रतिबन्धाभावात् वेगक्षयादेव निवर्तते तथा प्रारब्धकर्मणामुपभोगेनैव क्षयः । तेन च प्रारब्धकर्मसद्भावात् शरीरस्थितिः । इति । प्रारब्धकर्मणां क्षयः भोगेनैवेत्यस्मिन्विषये “ भोगेन त्वितरे क्षपयित्वा सम्पद्यते ” इति सूत्रं विरचयन् सूत्रकारोऽपि अनुकूलो वर्तते ।

४. स्मृतस्योपेक्षाऽनर्हत्वात् इदमप्यवधेयम् यत् एतत्परिच्छेदान्ते कुप्पुस्वामिशाल्मिस्वीकृतपाठानुसारेण विद्यमानं “ अतः क्षिप्रैव मुक्तिः न प्रतीक्षणीयमस्ति, देहपातप्रतीक्षा तु नान्तरीयकत्वाद्भवत्येव ” इति वाक्यं देहपातप्रतीक्षायाः कथमपि वा भवतु स्वीकृतत्वात् जीवन्मुक्तिपरत्वं परिच्छेदस्य न द्योतयति । प्रत्युत जीवन्मुक्तिसाधकत्वमेव तस्य । परं सर्वथाऽसङ्गतमिदम् । असङ्गतेः परं कारणं शाल्मिहह्मज्ञैः स्वीकृतः पाठ एव । तत्स्थाने तैरेव टिन्यण्यापुलिखिते “ देहपातस्य नान्तरीयकत्वाद्भवत्येव ” इति पाठान्तरे स्वीकृते असङ्गतिर्निर्दिश्यते । इति ।

मण्डनमिश्रस्तु किञ्चिदिव भिन्नं कारणं प्रदर्शयति ज्ञानानन्तरमपि विदुषः शरीरावस्थानार्थम् । तन्मते प्रवृत्तकर्मणामुपभोगेनैव क्षय इति न । किन्तु मुक्तेषोरपि यथा कृच्छादिना च्छेदादिभिर्वा शक्यः प्रतिबन्धः तथा प्रवृत्तभोगानामपि कर्मणां क्षयः शक्यः । शरीरस्य तु अवस्थानं संस्कारादेव न तदर्थं प्रारब्धकर्मणां सद्भावोऽवश्यमभ्युपगमनीयः ।

एवं मण्डनमिश्रशङ्कराचार्ययोः जीवन्मुक्तौ शरीरावस्थितिकारणविषये मतभेदो दृश्यते इत्यत्र न कोऽपि विवेदेत् । परमवश्यमेतदवधार्यम् यदयं मतभेदो जीवन्मुक्तिस्वरूपविषये नास्ति । किन्तु तदुपपादनप्रकारविषये एव ।

अयमपि शङ्कराचार्यैः सह अंशेन विद्यमानो मतभेदो न युक्तिसहः । तथा हि --- कर्म मूलस्य शरीरस्यावस्थित्यर्थं केनापि प्रकारेण वा भवतु कर्मशेषः अकामेनाप्यभ्युपगन्तव्य एव । स च संस्काराद्भवति इति वाच्यम् । यदुक्तं मण्डनमिश्रेण — शोकानन्दजनकस्य कर्माविपाकस्य आत्मसंस्पर्शित्वात् अविदुष एव कर्मविपाकः, विदुषस्तु न विपाकः, “नामिनन्दति न द्वेष्टि” इत्यादिस्मृत्या तस्य सुखदुःखासंस्पर्शात् इति । तत्रेदमेव वक्तुमुचितम् — यत् प्रारब्धकर्मणामवबन्धकत्वात् वास्तविकशोकानन्दाजनकत्वाच्च तदङ्गीकारेऽपि न कोऽपि दोषः पदमादधाति । प्रत्युत शङ्कराचार्या अपि प्रारब्धकर्मावस्थानार्थं संस्कारास्य कारणत्वमवश्यमेवाङ्गीकुर्युः । “एवं च कम्पादेर्यथा संस्कारद्वाराऽनुवृत्तिरेव कर्मणामपि”^{१६} इति वाचस्पतिमिश्रामिप्रायं प्रकाशन्तः कल्पतरुकारा अपि इदमेव प्रतिपादयन्ति । इतरत्र मण्डनमिश्रमनुगच्छन्तोऽपि वाचस्पतिमिश्रा अग्निन्विषये प्रारब्धकर्मणामक्षयादेव विदुषः शरीरस्थितिरिति प्रतिपाद्य मण्डनमिश्रेण सम्भाव्यमानत्वेन प्रदर्शितं विदेहमुक्तिपक्षं श्रुतियुक्तिपूर्वकं खण्डयमासुः ।

अतः अयमेव संक्षेपतो निर्णयः यत् १) मण्डनमिश्रेण जीवन्मुक्तिरङ्गीकृता, २) सा च स्वरूपविषये शाङ्करवेदान्तजीवन्मुक्तेः न भिद्यते विरुध्यते वा । केवलमुपपादनप्रकारविषय एव विरोधः, ३) सोऽपि विरोधार्थमेव विरोधो, नात्र कोऽपि मौलिको विशेषो मण्डनमिश्रेण प्रादर्शितः, इत्येवास्मिन्विषये नः प्रतिभाति ।

THE SAIVA PHILOSOPHY OF KASHMIR

by

SAHITYALANKARA KAVIBHUSHANA K. S. NAGARAJAN, B.Sc.

Kashmir is the city of Kasyapa, the mythological progenitor of Devas and Asuras, and is one of the most ancient Cities of India. Some say it was the land given to Kusa by Rama, (Kusapuri) who gave Lahore (Lavapuri) to his other son Lava. But Kalhana in his Rajatarangini says definitely that it was Kasyapapuri, as in:—

श्री गोनन्दमुखैर्धसम्मुखैराकः किल ।

आशमीटकाश्यपी भूपैरपालि गुणशालि मिः ॥

At one time it was the seat of learning, the home of Saraswati, who, it appears lived there in flesh and blood and talked to Poets and devotees. The prayer to Saraswati, makes this clear as in:—

‘ नमस्ते शारदे देवि काष्मीरपुरवासिनि ’

Students and budding poets, aspiring for fame and name flocked to this ancient city in hundreds and thousands. The capital of this glorious city was rightly called Srinagar, meaning the land of wealth, spiritual as well as material. Or it may be said that the name had something to do with Srividya, so familiar to Tantric and other writers on Sivadvaita. Bilhana, one of the finest poets of Kashmir says.

ब्रूमस्तस्य प्रथमवसतेटद्भुतानां

किं श्रीकण्ठश्वशुरशिखरिकोडलीलाललासः ।

डाकौ भीगः प्रकृतिसुभगं कुङ्कुम यस्य स्तूते

द्राक्षामन्यः सरससरयूपुण्डक श्वेदपाडुम् ॥

He also says that Sanskrit was the language of the country and even women spoke that language as they would speak their mother tongue.

यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किजपरं जन्मभाषावदेव

प्रत्यावासं विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च ।

The people are called the brothers of Saffron सहोदराः कुङ्कुम केसराणम् and poetry flowed from their lips as naturally and as lavishly as saffron grew there.

काव्यं येथ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं कुङ्कुमं निर्णतं च

It is no wonder then that such a land, was indeed the home of various branches of learning, and “Pandit” has become a permanent title attached to every male member of Kashmir Brahmin

families. The philosophy of Kashmir, known as Kashmir Saivism has been, for the past several decades, the study of scholars in India and abroad, both for its novelty and popularity. There was a kind of Saivism, originally in Kashmir, which was a form of worship of Siva-Sakti. Later Buddhism did not fail to exert its influence on the religion or faith of the people in Kashmir. Thus, in course of time, was evolved a new faith, out of the harmonious mixture of Buddhism and Saivism—of the meditative and philosophical aspect of the one and the ritualistic aspect of the other.

Lord Siva himself is said to be the fountain-head from which flowed the fundamental principles of this system of philosophy—which exist even to-day as Siva-Sutras—which were revealed to Vasu Gupta by the Lord in a dream. A rock called Sankaropal is shown in Kashmir as the place where Siva Sutras were seen engraved by Vasu Gupta—who is supposed to have flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.D. These sutras were later explained to humanity through the tireless efforts of his disciples, of whom Bhatta Kallata was the chief. Kallata who was a great scholar, was a contemporary of Avantivarman, King of Kashmir who reigned from 855-883 A.D. and is referred to as a great Siddha in the Rajatarangini. The most valuable commentaries on the Siva-Sutras, are those of Kshemaraja and Bhatta Bhaskara. Somananda, is the author of a work known as Sivadrishti. The Siva-Sutras and the Spandakarika (attributed to Vasu Gupta) present the faith in a dogmatic form whereas the Sivadrishti, for the first time, attempts to present the doctrine in a reasoned philosophic form—containing seven hundred verses. His son and disciple, Utpaladeva, wrote the famous Iswara Pratyabhijna Karika and Vritti. From this time onwards the Saiva philosophy of Kashmir became known as Pratyabhijna Darshana, dealt with in brief in the Sarva Darshana sangraha of Sayana Madhavacharya. Lakshmanagupta, Utpala's son and disciple, was a great scholar in Tantric Lore and wrote a famous work, Sarada Tilaka, on Mantra Sastra. Then comes the celebrated Abhinava Gupta, the prolific writer of Kashmir, who was the disciple of Lakshmanagupta and who wrote a large number of works on this philosophy, including, Tantraloka (an original work) Brihat and Laghu Vimarsinis on Iswara Pratyabhijna and a number of stotras. His position in this Saiva system is akin to that of Sri Sankaracharya in the Advaita Vedanta. He seems to have had a galaxy of preceptors namely: (1) Narasimhagupta, his own father, who taught him grammar, (2) Vamanatha, who taught him dvaitadvaita tantra (3) Bhutirajatanaya, who taught him Sivadvaita, (4) Bhutiraja, who taught him Brahma-Vidya, (5) Lakshmanagupta who taught him the Krama and Trika Darshanas and (6) Induraja who taught him Dhvani. That is why he says in the Tantraloka 'पूर्वे जयन्ति गुः' (I. 1-8) and goes on to make particular mention of

गुरोर्लक्षणगुह्यस्य नायसंमोहिनीं नुमः (I. 1-11)

जयतिगुरुरेक इव श्री श्रीकण्ठो भुवि प्रथितः ।

तदपरमूर्तिर्भगवात् महेश्वरो भूतिराजइव ॥ (I. 1-9)

His great Guru Sambhunatha is also mentioned therein with great regard and praise, as through him he got self realisation.

जवताज्जगदुद्धृतिक्षमोऽसौ भगवत्या सह शाम्भुनाथ चक्रः (1. 1 13)

The necessity for such a long line of preceptors has been remarkably pointed out by him in the following verse:—

आमोदार्थो यथा भृङ्गः पुष्पात्पुष्पान्तरं ब्रजेत् ।

विज्ञानार्थी तथा शिष्यो गुरोर्गुर्वन्तरं व्रमेत् ॥

In the Tantraloka he deals with the sixty-four monistic agamas very extensively and exhaustively. He himself made two summaries of this, one called Tantrasara and the other Tantravata Dhanika. His other works are Malinivijaya Vartika, the Vimarśinis (big and small) on Utpala's Iswara Pratyabhijna, Sivadriśhtyalochana, Vivarana, Bhagavadgitārtha Sangraha and a commentary on yoga vasishta. His work was followed by Kshemaraja and others.

The main purpose with which the Siva Sutras were promulgated, was not merely to expound the theoretical principles of this doctrine but also to show mankind a practical way of realising by *experience* that man is the Deity himself in his real and innermost self. It also not only enables him to attain to absolute freedom from all that limits and subjects him as a helpless creature to the sorrows and sufferings of wordly or mundane existence (Samsara) but also to gain omniscience like the Deity and to wield all the Power of Creation and Destruction, which the Lord himself wields. Thus the Siva-Sutras are considered as a means to an end and hence practical and utilitarian.

The Saiva philosophy of Kashmir is called by several names as Trika, Spanda and Pratyabhijna. It is called Trika because it is based on Pati, Pasu and Pasa—the first is Paramasiva, the second is the imprisoned Jeeva and the third the shackles that bind him to the existence. When the Jeeva realises that he is not different from Siva, the shackles disappear and he becomes a Mukta. It is called Spanda because, Siva who is supreme, complete and infinite, manifests his powers in order to manifest the limited universe and in this act, the first manifestation is Spanda, or Kampana or Unmesha. Spanda is the act of manifesting the glory of Sakti without in any way disfiguring the origin. The universe is not in any way different from Siva and all the transactions of the Universe are through Spanda. All differences are due to the influence of the Spanda Sakti. Finally the word Pratyabijna reveals the real secret of Kashmir Saivism. The person, surrounded by Mala, ultimately recognises that he is Parama Siva himself. All living beings experience this recognition in one way or the other for

ग्रहणस्मरणयोरैक्यम् प्रत्यभिज्ञा

There are three types or Pratyabhijna namely, Pratyaksha (positive proof) Anumana (Inference) and Sabda (sound). The mani-

festation of the universe occurs by the five acts (पञ्चकृत्याश्च) namely, creation, preservation, destruction, disappearance and favour. Siva is full within himself by Sat, Chit, Ananda, Icha, Jnana and kriya Saktis. He is also the seven Pramatris namely, Sakala, Pralaya, Kala, etc., and the Para, Pashyante, Madhyama and Vaikhari Saktis. The person by philosophical discussions recognises gradually his real form and gains true knowledge. He then meditates upon the consciousness of differences and reaches a state of tranquility, finally recognising that he is Siva. Thus Pratyabhijna is a harmonious blending of the two important factors namely the consciousness resulting from a ripe knowledge of the Sciences and the practical experience of that realisation of his identity with Siva. The Vijnana Bhairava refers to this nicely as follows:—

ग्राह्यग्राहकसंवित्तिः सामान्या सर्वदेहिताम् ।

योगितां तु विशेषोऽयं सम्बन्धे सावधानता ॥

Parama Siva is Mahagrahaka who is endless and the person is Mitagrahaka who is limited.

The main notion of this system is not ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या as in Vedanta. Both Siva and the universe created by him are real, because the cause is चिधक्ति and the result is the universe. When there is Shaktivikasa the universe comes to exist and when there is Sakti Sankocha it disappears. चेतैन्यमात्मा is the first Siva Sutra by which is meant that the Atman, is a changeless reality of the nature of a purely experiencing principle. The Saiva philosophy of Kashmir is based on thirty-six Tattvas, commencing from Siva Tattva and including the Pancha Tanmatras, the five Indriyas and the pancha Bhutas.

Bliss cannot be obtained without the favour of the Lord. He who is tranquil in his mental outlook and still carries on the transactions externally is called a Jeevanmukta. In whatever transaction he is involved he is called Yukta if he has the capacity to incessantly meditate upon his real form which is none other than Chidrupa as is clear from the following:—

इति वा यस्य संवित्तिः क्रिडात्वेनाखिकं जगत् ।

स पश्यन् सततं युक्तो न संशयः ॥ प्र. ह—Page 37

To attain this state the following are the main causes: (1) Previous Sanskara, (2) Present state, (3) Study of the Sciences, (4) Teaching of the Preceptor, (5) Self-effort, (6) Practice and (7) Introspection. The upayas are the means to realise this end. They are four-fold, namely, Anupaya, Sambhavopaya, Saktopaya and Anavopaya, the first for those to whom the Preceptor's teaching is essential, second for those who are capable of realising the Chitswarupa, the third for those who are eligible to get Chidvikasa by developing Vikalpas and the last for those who get Chidvikasa by other means.

THE THEORY OF NADA

by

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The Indian thinkers were greatly exercised over the problem of the expressiveness of the word, viz., wherein lies the denotative capacity of the word,—in the sentence of which the word is an abstracted part, in the words themselves which constitute the sentence or in the isolated syllables of a word or in something entirely besides these things? The answer of the Saivites differs from those of the Nyaya, the Mimamsa and even of the Vyakaranikas, the great grammarian philosophers of India. The theory of Nada advocated by the Saivites rests on the basis of a metaphysics in which sound (Sabda) and sense (artha), the system of sound series articulated by word, etc., and the system of objective categories comprehending the order of sense denoted by the sounds, both represent two parallel but interdependent lines of evolution from one identical source¹. The realm of sabda subsists in dependence on the realm of sense in so far as sound has no significance of its own other than the symbolic. The common substratum whence proceed these two interdependent orders of evolution is therefore looked upon as a complex of causal potencies *essendi* (Karaka Sakti) as well as *cognoscendi* (Jnapaka Sakti).² It is in the latter aspect, viz., as a complex of informative causal potencies that it gives rise to nada, the ultimate denoter of meaning.

According to the doctrine of partial evolution (ekadesa parinama) maintained in the Saivagamas, inspite of causal succession there is always the common underlying substratum which is omnipresent through the entire causal series.³ It is on account of the continued existence of cause in all the levels of its evolution, that we are able to trace the evolutes to their supersensible source. Nada therefore represents that thing which is present in the physical phenomenon of speech as its underlying essence and on account of which the latter, viz., speech, comes to have the 'denoting' capacity (vacakata). Nada is in essence supersensuous but because of adjuncts (upadhi) becomes audible as the articulated sound.

Pure sound (Nada) becomes externalised into gross speech sound in the following order: Nada, Bindu and Varna.⁴ Nada (or Suksma Nada as it is also called as different from Para nada, which is the cause thereof) is the first expression of pure sound; it is the latter in its quickened state. It is present in every individual as

1. Pauskara Agama 2. 32,

2. Sivajnana Mapadham (Kazaka Edition) pp. 278-284.

3. Ratna Trayam. 38. Ag'lora Siva's commentary.

3a. "நாதம் செயற்கையத்தானே தூலமாய் நின்றவழி நம்மனோர்க்குப் பலனாதல் கூடும் etc. Mapadham Op. cit. p. 240.

4. Ratna Trayam 32.

the cause of his knowledge of objects denoted by speech. While being so, it is said to be in itself devoid of even a semblance of 'discursiveness'. Next in order of externality comes Bindu (or Aksara Bindu as it is also called as different from Anahata Bindu, which is synonymous with Para Nada).⁵ This is said to be subtle like Nada and indistinct even as the yolk of a peahen's egg contains within itself the colours of the peacock in their sequence but indistinctly. Unlike Nada however, it is said to be of the nature of thought form (antah sanjalpa). The third stage is varna which is the gross speech manifested by physical sabda produced from akasa, etc., and audible to the ear.⁶ The denotative capacity that we associate with speech sounds and that invests the latter with the role of symbolism as a means of communication, is really the property of nada their underlying essence which is being articulated by them.

The different stages in the evolution of sabda account for the initial differences in the knowledge of the individuals who are broadly classed in the light of these differences under various categories in Saivism.⁷ Nada, the pure unmanifest speech essence before it finds manifestation in gross speech giving rise to determinate knowledge passes through several intermediary stages each of which may be viewed as an 'effect' of the previous stage.⁸ The gross speech form overt in character⁹ represents the last stage. The different functions progressively culminating in determinate knowledge are denoted by the terms Para or Suksma, Pasyanti, Madhyama and Vaikhari. Briefly they represent, in order, Sabda unmanifest and undifferentiated, manifest but undifferentiated, differentiated but inarticulate and lastly differentiated as well as articulate.

The evolution of Sabda may be viewed either in terms of stages by which the most subtle and inward nada becomes externalised into gross speech sound or in terms of stages which mark the variations in the denotative function of nada eventuating in the fully differentiated discursive knowledge. This is indeed a distinction without difference,¹⁰ for both represent how what is in itself an inarticulated and undifferentiated unity becomes through association with adjuncts the gross speech phenomenon that is an integral part of our discursive understanding.

The word used as an articulated symbol represents the stage of vaikhari. The letter-sounds already differentiated become now manifestly pronounced as the letters of the alphabet in their various combinations and become audible to the hearer too. That which

5 Also termed Apra Bindu as different from Para Bindu and Anahata Bindu which are synonyms of Para Nada.

6 Ibid 22. commentary: Mapadham p.282.

7 Ibid. 71; Also Sivajana Siddhiar, Supakkam 1.26.

8 Pauskara Agama. 2.24.

9 Ibid. 2.25, 26 *et seq.*

10 Para and Nada are identical; Payanti and Aksara Bindu are identical (Aghora Siva's commentary, op. cit.75).

has the denoting capacity in the vaikhari evokes in the hearer too the same capacity and through that the sense of the object intended.¹¹ The madhyama represents the stage preceding that of articulate speech and succeeding the stage of homogenous non-diversified sound content. To put the same in terms of the resulting knowledge, it stands for the intermediary stage between the indeterminate knowledge typified by Pasyanti on the one hand and the fully determinate articulated thinking typified by vaikhari on the other. More positively, it stands for the implicit speech form¹² which causes indeterminate knowledge to the speaker in whom it is manifest sub-vocally. Though it remains inarticulate it represents in intellect the object intended assuming as it does the form of a subjectively contemplated combination of letters.¹³ The Pasyanti refers to the stage in the evolution of Sabda preceding the formation into letter-sounds. The stage of differentiated letter-sounds points as its cause to a stage where the letter sounds are present in their order but undifferentiated. The Pasyanti contains within itself, even as a ray of light contains within itself unmanifestly the entire colour spectrum, all the letter sounds *in the order* in which they are presently to be analysed and synthesised. Though undifferentiated, Pasyanti is said to be 'self luminous';¹⁴ its denoting capacity takes the form of an indeterminate thought-form (nirvikalpaka jnanam). From this definition of *Pasyanti* it follows that indeterminate knowledge, the awareness of the bare 'that' does not represent a stage where determination, the 'what', is as such absent. If it were absent, the evolution of the Madhyama from the Pasyanti cannot be explained. The name, class, quality, etc., of an object are revealed implicitly in the revelation of the bare being of the object.¹⁵

The Para or Suksma vac is the ultimate source of the denoting capacity of Sabda.¹⁶ This is nada which makes possible even the emergence of the implicit discursiveness of the Pasyanti vac. It is because of nada that Pasyanti becomes capable of causing nirvikalpaka jnanam. If Pasyanti is the cause of indeterminate knowledge, para is the general condition of intelligibility itself.¹⁷ The difference between the two stages corresponds to the difference between the possible and the actual. According to the dynamism of self-becoming (Sat karya vada) underlying the evolution of principles constitutive of the world of sabda and artha; the manifestly differentiated qualities found in the effect could be said to be latent in

11 Nada Karika 11. Aghora Siva's commentary.

12 "உள்ளுணர் ஓசையாகி" Supakkam Op. cit. 1.21.

13 Ibid. 1.21.

14 Supakkam 1.22. Ratna Trayam 75.

15 Mapadham, Op. cit. p.162 see also the definition of truth given in *Sivagra Bhasyam* (p.99) which applied to equally to nirvikalpaka jnanam as to sairkalpaka jnanam.

16 Aghora Siva's avatarika, Op. cit. 76. The admission of para over Pasyanti is the *differentia* of the philosophy of language as developed in the Saivajanmas. See K. C. Pandey's *Saiva Philosophy* pp. XCI-XCV.

17 'குக்கும் வாக்க துள்ளோர் சோதியாய்' Supakam. 1.23. See Siva jnanamunivar's commentary.

the cause as a possibility only through an intermediary stage, where these differentiated qualities are first actualised although unmanifestly.¹⁸ The discursive function categorised by name quality, etc. cannot be said to emerge from consciousness without being mediated by an indeterminate knowledge in which those elements are present although unspecified.¹⁹

The existence of vaikhari is known through the sensory channel of hearing; the madhyama through 'understanding', a determining function of the intellect. The Pasyanti is known as the source of madhyama, as the 'cause' of the latter's function²⁰. Now how is Para or nada known? The Agamas say that it is known intuitively, as 'one' with the self.²¹ That which remains as the residuum when all the functions of chitta are resolved as in deep sleep is the Nada. It is known immediately in all individuals as indistinguishable with their consciousness. Being the ultimate residuum it is also known as the generator of even the most subtle Pasyanti in which is latent all the discursive functions of the mind.²²

It is only in the above sense that we should understand that Para vac or nada is 'eternal' and 'conscious'. It is eternal in the sense that it is ever manifest in the individual, human and the sub-human²³ alike, as a general condition of intelligibility, even when all its more specific modifications remain unmanifest.²⁴ It is not eternal like the self, being unique to each individual and non-intelligent in itself and therefore only a 'product'. To be more precise, we can say nada forms the nexus between Bindu, the eternal prius of all the phenomena and its perishable manifestations. Viewed as a 'product' of Bindu, as Bindu in its quickened state, Nada is non-eternal being many (aneka) rooted in the primordial body (Para Sariram) of each individual, and 'objective' (jada) *qua* a product. Nada is Bindu itself come to be endowed with a competence (adhikara) to unfold into Pasyanti, etc., and cause determinate knowledge. It is this adhikara that is perishable.²⁵ In itself as Bindu when it is not as such related to each individual, and therefore unitary, it is eternal. It resembles *Siva* the first of the thirty-six tattvas in this respect. Though distinguishable from Suddha Maya as its vrtti, it is not different from it.²⁶

18 Mapadham. p.198.

19 The same logic accounts for the postulates of Prakriti as intervening between kala tattva and Guṇa tattva, of Taumatrias as intervening between ahamkara and the Bhutadi. Ibid. p.198.

20 Ratna Trayam. 82.

21 Ibid. 83.

22 Abhora Siva's commentary. 85.

23 आगोपालाङ्गना बाला म्लेच्छाः प्राकृत भाषिणः । अन्तर्जलगता स्सत्वास्तेऽपि नित्यं ब्रुवन्ति ते॥ quoted in Aghora Siva's commentary. Nadakarika See also, Panskara Agama 2.26. and Umapatis Bhashya thereon 15.

24 Aghora Siva's commentary Ratna Trayam 76.

25 "அழிவதின்றி, ஆக்கமும் அதிகாரத்திற்குப் பழிவினை" Supakkam 1.23.

26 We owe this and similar other remarkable clarifications to Sivajana munivar. Mapadham p. 170.

The Saivite, for reasons set forth, would not identify Nada with the self, individual or universal.²⁷ If nada is sometimes spoken of as of the nature of self, as 'Sabda Brahman' which when realised in its pristineness lifts the self from the thralldom of individuality,²⁸ it is only in the sense that it is most inward to the self as the inalienable condition of Self's knowledge. It is more inward than the most intimate inseparable vestures (Kanchuka)²⁹ of the self in the sense that it is what activates the experient self endowed with these vestures (Purusa). To those who can intuit it in its pristine nature as the source of all the words and all meaning, as the prius of all phenomena, there is freedom from the snare of identification with what are mere grossifications of nada.³⁰ In the heirarchy of freedoms—freedom from identification with the not-self, freedom due to a knowledge that all manifest sound and sense are but modifications of one ultimate source, indeed ranks highest. In the picturesque language of the Agamas, such men go to the highest reach to which all 'adhvas' point and enjoy transcendental Bhoga.³¹ This is, technically, the *nadanta*, the end of nada. The goal of this discipline should not however be confused with the goal reached through *transcending* nada which is Freedom *par excellence*.³² Though nada represents the inalienable condition of knowledge inclusive of both the sub-intellectual as well as the supra-intellectual, it falls on the side of not-self by the side of self. As the material cause of all manifest speech it is objective (jada); the conscious spirit can sustain no intimate relation (tadatmya) with it. Nada is, therefore, that principle which is coterminous with bondage, and for that reason, transcendable prior only to transcending the specious individuality that is due to the veil of Ignorance.³⁴ The intuition of the real must dawn before and as a condition of the transcendence of nada.³⁵ The ultimate goal of spiritual endeavour (Purusartha) is therefore often described as beyond the Nadanta in Saivism.³⁶

It is the mediation or the non-mediation of nada that makes for the difference between sensory intuition and what may be called the intellectual or spiritual intuition.³⁷ The dawn of the latter and

27 Ratna Trayam 80, 81.

28 Ibid. 77-79. Also "மகிழ்ந்திடும் பிரமமன்று" Supakkam 1.24.

29 This is the difference between *karana Sarira* and *Kanchuka Sarira* See Supakkam. 4.21

30 Ratna Trayam. 81. The discussion of the mystical significance of this metaphysical concept as the source of all mantras—Pranava, Prasada, Ajapa mantra suksma Pancaksara etc. which are all but ramification of Nada falls outside the scope of this paper.

31 i.e. *apara moksa*' of Supakkam 1.23.

32 Ibid. 1.26.

33 Nada Karika 17; Ratna Trayam 80, 81, 83. commentary.

34 Mapadian. p. Panskara Bhasyam. 2.27. Aghora Siva's commentary. Ratna Trayam 76.

35 "ஓமிட லிந்துஞானம் உதிப்பதோர் ஞானம் etc. Supakkam 1.26.

36 *Potrippahrodai* II. 4-5.

37 What are respectively termed *Pasa jnanam* and *Pati jnanam* in the Saiva-gamas. Supakkam 11.2. P

transcendence of nada coincide. The advent of a life of spirit (Suddha avastha) primarily is the cessation of empirical life (Sakala avastha). Non-mediation of nada, it is true, does not *necessarily* mean the attainment of spiritual intuition. It may mean a return to total ignorance also, to 'severe isolation' (Kevala avastha) as for instance during mahapralaya. Then of course it is no transcendence of nada.³⁸ Freedom from the activity of nada in such circumstance will be like the freedom that an ailing patient has from his ailment during intervals of deep sleep. The real freedom from nada, however, supervenes upon the intuition of the real.

To sum up, Nada is the cause of the expressiveness of all empirical knowing, propositional or otherwise³⁹ and as such is not to be identified with propositions, etc. It is what makes propositions, etc., possible. Like the categories of Kant it is their presupposition and even more absolutely so. In so far as its function underlies the sphere of the pre-propositional as well it is even more basic than the categories. It is the transcendental condition of the categorising function of the mind. It is the living 'voice' in all creatures that motivates a response which in the case of the human beings translates itself into the categories expression of the mind.

If nada cannot be identified with the categories of human understanding, still less can it be identified with its vocal expressions, viz., sentence, word or letter or the unity of letters. It is what makes these of use in the service of knowledge.⁴⁰ If these are spoken of sometimes as generators of meaning, it is only in the sense that they serve to manifest nada which alone possesses intrinsically the capacity to denote meaning. The Parakya Agama, for example, says that it is the last letter of a word with the revived residual impressions of the preceding letters that is expressive of the meaning.⁴¹ If by this were meant, like what the Nyaya would say 41-a that, literally the accumulated impressions of the past letters roused in memory presents the meaning, this is untenable because the revived residual impressions can arouse only the memory of something⁴² that was previously known and not the knowledge of a new thing. Nor can it be in the sense that it manifests what is but a unity of all letters, which is itself, unperceived, eternal and partless 42-a. The first letter, it is held, rouses this latent symbol in the mind vaguely and the succeeding letters as they are gradually heard manifest it more clearly till the last letter fully reveals it. This view too is not tenable because here again the old

³⁸ Supakkam 8. 36; Siva Jnana Bodham 8th sutra 4th adhikarana.

³⁹ Aghora Siva's Com. Nada Karika. 14.

⁴⁰ Nada Karika 2 to 7.

⁴¹ "पूर्ववर्णबसंस्कारयुक्तोऽन्त्योऽवर्णोऽभिधायक" Quoted in Aghora Siva's Com. Ibid. 12.

^{41a} Vide for e.g., Nyaya-Siddhanta manyari manjari p. 338.

⁴² Aghora Siva's commentary. Ibid 7. Mapadiam p.281. Pauskara Bhasyam pp.523, 524.

^{42a} See sarvadaršana. Samgraha (Panini system).

objection arises, viz., the residual impressions can arouse only the memory of what was experienced and cannot present to consciousness what is yet to be experienced. Again⁴³ this unperceived unity of letters which is said to possess the denotive capacity is intellible neither as identical with the letters whose unity it is said to be, nor as different from them. If identical with the letters it cannot perform a task which the letters as such are expressly incapable of performing. If different from them, when perception is *exhypothesis* evidence that the unity of the letters is not different from the letters themselves, an inference to the contrary can rally be of no avail.

The statement of the Agama cited above should therefore be understood to mean that *by manifesting nada* is meaning generated. The last letter of a word in being the manifestor of nada is eulogistically described as the manifestor of meaning. The *varna* of the Varna theorists and the *sphota* of the sphota vadins are admissible as generators of meaning only as manifestors of nada. In themselves they are contingent and therefore different from that through which their origination becomes possible.

⁴³ For a fuller dialectical refutation of sphotavada see Aghora Siva's com. Ibid. 7: Mapadīam pp. 282-284; Also Parākara Bhasyam pp. 523-527.

IN DEFENCE OF YOGA PHILOSOPHY

by

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In this country there are many schools of philosophy in vogue, from the time immemorial. Out of them only six have acquired a great repute and these are Nyaya, Vaiseshika, Sankhya, Yoga, Mimamsa and Vedanta. Each of these has its special characteristics and basic independent views about the Creation of the World, Matter, Spirit, Creator, Pleasure, Pain, Knowledge, Ignorance, Bondage and Salvation. In this way each school of thought is at the same time a theology and Religion. They differ in the conception of the Nature of Final Emancipation also. Each school of philosophy insists on the truth of its own tenets and spares no pains in advancing stronger objections in exposing fallacies in the tenets of opposite party.

The case of Yoga School of philosophy is some what different. For the propagation of fundamentals of every school of thought it is admissible that the advocates of the respective schools may adopt means of popularising their own dogmas refuting the principles of opposite party or parties fully or in part, in a fixed and organised manner. But in contradicting Yoga System the opposite party specially the Vedantins have taken an apparently objectionable measure.

Etymologically the word Yoga is derived from युज् समाधौ दिवादि to meditate and not from युजिरसयोगेरुधादि. to join. Bhaswati a commentary on Patanjala Sutra Bhashya explains clearly that according to grammar the word Yoga denotes composure or peace of mind and not the technical term Samadhi which indicates the perfect absorption of the waves of thoughts in the one object of meditation. Vachaspati Mishra says that in order to avoid the confusion arising about the meaning conveyed by the word Yoga the derivation of the word, is explained as yuj युज् and युजिर् not yujr.

In spite of this explanation the Vedantins say clearly—

संयोगे याग इत्युक्तो जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः ।

This is attributed to the authorship of Yagnavalkya. Shankaracharya says that both Sankhyas and Yogins are Dwaitins. Then how is it possible that the word Yoga may indicate Solidarity of individual Soul and the God Supreme? If this is true then where is the necessity of refuting Yoga by Dwaita or Dualistic Philosophy? The object of Yoga is to separate the individual Soul from the iron clutches of Prakriti.

मूलप्रकृतितः पुंसो वियोगो योग साञ्जितः

It should be borne in mind that Yoga philosophy advocates the Manifestation Theory (parinama vada. When some qualities of one and the same object are altogether changed and quite new qualities have evolved in their place then it is said that the same original object has manifested itself in new form.

अवस्थितस्य द्वयस्य पूर्वधर्मनिवृत्तौ धर्मान्तरोत्पत्तिः परिणामः

(एतेर्ज्ञेति III-13 सूत्रस्थं व्यासभाष्यम्)

The Spirit = Purusha is quite different from Matter = Prakriti. Purusha is attributeless; but by proximity of Prakriti he seems to be subject of changes. A clear glass which is colourless becomes red if you keep some roses in it. The attributes are naturally designed for another higher object. They are not self-centred, but intended for the sake of others. By proximity of matter the spirit assumes all the qualities of matter and becomes one with the matter. This non-differentiation and unification of Purusha and Prakriti = अत्यन्ताविशेषः is called BHOGA = Feeling perception. or (Patanjala Yoga Sutra III 35.) Buddi-satva though highly refined is essentially Matter and therefore can not illuminate or throw light upon Spirit, that is fully reflected in *Buddhi*. On the other hand the Spirit itself irrespective of others' help is self luminous

पुरुषप्रयत्नेन बुद्धिस त्वात्मना पुरुषो न दृश्यते, पुरुष एव प्रत्ययं

चात्मावलम्बने पश्यति ॥ (सत्त्वपुरु III-35 सूत्रस्थं भाष्यम्).

When Purusha realises that he is essentially different from Prakriti then only his real nature of Omiscience and Omnipotence become manifest. (Patanjala Yoga Sutra III 49.) According to Yoga philosophy the Soul attains salvation when Buddhi removed from Three Gunas or attributes becomes equal to Self. (Patanjali Y. III 55).

Now it is evident that Yoga is not in any sense a union with God. It lays down very strict and comprehensive rules for the physical as well as mental practice by which one can control passions, get full mastery over organs, enjoy full health, concentrate deeply and by profound meditation realise *Self*. This realisation consists of true knowledge of complete separation of Self from bondages of Prakriti—Matter. By such realisation only he can develop psychic powers latent in him. These are called Siddhis. He should not stop here. This is not the end. These are the impediments to his achievement of higher goal. This Yoga resembles Mysticism in Europe to some extent. Yoga is technically defined as chittavrtti nirodha the prevention of the outward flow of mind and its modifications. The practice of Yoga disentangles the individual self from the phenomenal world which is the object of sense. The Self has a natural tendency to move towards the external world because the organs of sense are made to work from within outwards.

Badarayan Vyasa, the author of Vedanta Sutra contradicted Yoga in general terms एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः V., II i-3. In their Commentaries on Badrayana Sutras, Nimbarkas, Bhaskara, Ramanuja, Madhwa, Vallabha and others have refuted Yoga according to their tenets.

It is obvious that there are some points of resemblance between Yoga and Vedanta. Both are supposed to be the means of attaining higher goal. Shankaracharya refutes Yoga philosophy in a quite different manner. According to him the theoretical part of Yoga is not reliable for प्रधानकारणाद् is not Vaidic. and the practical part of Yoga is of no importance because the authority of Upanishads is quite sufficient to accept it. There is no need of approaching Yoga System of Practice. Asanas or various poses of sitting are explained in Swetaswatara Upanishad and different methods of meditations for the purification of the Self and concentration of mind are also given in other Upanishads and these are purely Vaidic and Yoga philosophy is Non-Vaidic. But when Yoga receives the respect of Vaidic authority on the analogy of Ashtaka Smriti, Shankaracharya finds fault with it as it preaches Dwaita tenet. But Dwaitacharyas also refute it because Yoga in their view, is non-vaidic. and not capable of inspiring confidence.

Vacahaspati Mishra holds a special responsibility in this matter. In Bhamati, his commentary on Shankar Bhashya, he gives a subtle idea that the teachings of Yoga do not establish the supremacy of Pradhana as the cause of the universe, for the practice of Concentration some substantial thing is necessary to meditate upon. One can not concentrate directly on Spirit, because it is very subtle. The Chitta or mind which is matter and very highly refined, form of Pradhana is simply taken as a hold for the practice of Concentration. By this it can not be assumed that Yoga establishes Pradhana as the cause of Universe. Vachaspati quotes a sentence of Varsha-ganya a great authority on Yoga in support of his assertion. It runs thus गुणानां परमरूपं न दृष्टिपथमृच्छति । यत्तु दृष्टिपथं प्राप्ततन्मयै वस्तुच्छकं Amalananda explains the meaning of this in his Kalpataru, a Gloss on Bhamati and clearly states तेव्यक्तासूक्ष्मा गुणात्मानः The real bases of qualities is Atman which can not be perceived by the eye. What is the object of sight his Maya = Illusion only and not the Atman. Vyasa wrote a Commentary on Patanjali Yoga Sutras. In explaining the meaning of Sutra तेयध्वानो धर्माः वर्तमानाः IV—13 Vyasa quotes the same stanza and says that व्यक्तामान = अतीतानागताः सूक्ष्मा what is visible is nothing but a manifestation of Prakriti = Matter. and therefore it is transitory. Here गुणानां परमरूपम् is the original Prakriti, Prakriti is real and its Gunas are transitory. Vachaspati Mishra wrote a great commentary on Patanjala Sutras and Vyasa Bhashya तत्त्वैशादी by name.

Now it deserves special attention that in Bhamati the reading of this stanza is adopted as मायैव which means that what is visible is nothing but *Maya*, The same author Vachaspati adopts the stanza with a different reading मायेव and explains the meaning as मायाश्चप what is visible is like *Maya* and not *Maya* itself, a thing quite different from *Maya*. A great personality like Vachaspati Mishra does not hesitate to commit such interpolation. Many commentators on the Bhagavad-Gita have expressed their own experience in acquiring psychic powers, in awakening *Kundalini* and practising *Samyam*.

Yoga philosophy is not non-vaiddic. In Katha and other Upanishads the system is explained fully, without using the terms and in Maitrayaneeya Upanishad six Angas with the exception of first two Yama and Niyama are fully expressed.

On the other hand Yoga is the most sincere and tolerant Philosophy. Yoga philosophy is neither orthodox in its assertion nor is fanatic in denouncing other schools and tenets. Its rationale is indeed luminous enough to unfold the Vedanta spirit in an integrated way. To a real Vedantin Yoga is indispensable. A great Mahatma says. योग बिनाजोज्ञान बतावे, बिनातात्कके गावे ॥

ANTIQUITY AND CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF KALI-WORSHIP IN BENGAL

by

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Some years back Dr. Acyuta C. Menon wrote a book in Malayalam on Kali-worship in Kerala. Being couched in a regional language it was not possible for the non-Malayalam reader to make any use of it. However a stray reference to the work brought home to me the need of compiling the details of the worship of different well-known deities as well as rites and rituals connected with them as prevalent in different localities. This will be very helpful in studying the religious and cultural history of this vast country. For my part I propose, following Dr. Menon, to deal with the worship of Kali, the most popular of the deities worshipped by the Sakti-worshippers of Bengal. She is worshipped on different occasions under different names and forms—all fearful and ferocious, manifesting the spirit of destruction, which she represents.

We have references to the goddess in a number of Tantra and Purana works. The *Devimahatmya* section of the *Markandeya* VII 5ff.) *Purana*² describes the deity as having emerged from the forehead of the Divine Mother when she became black with anger as the demons headed by Canda and Munda came to seize her. She came out with a big hideous face and a dreadful appearance. She carried a sword, a noose and a club. She wore the skin of a tiger and had as her ornament a garland of human heads. Her eyes were red and sunken. Her tongue moved to and fro. Her shinning sound filled the quarters.

In the *Visnudharmottara* we have a description of the sublime aspect of the deity in the form of Bhadrakali stated to be beautiful in appearance. More or less fearful forms of the deity with the name Bhadrakali or Mahakali are described in works like the *Karanagama*, *Candikalpa*, *Bhavisyapurana* and *Devipurana*. A dated reference to Kali is met with in the Kinsariya stone inscription of Cacca dated 1056 v.s. (= 999 A.D.). Kali is mentioned here as an important deity though no description is given.

The forms of the deity as known and worshipped in Bengal for the last few centuries are described in Tantra works like the *Kalitantra* which do not appear to be old. They are rather peculiar from the standpoint of Hindu iconography. Few specimens of them are however known to have been preserved in the museums or col-

lections of antiquities. According to a hearsay it was Krsnananda Agamaragisa, author of the *Tantrasara*, who introduced the image in her *daksina* form. There are quite a fair number of later, mostly popular, works which deal with the details of the worship of the deity. Of these the *Syamarahasya* of Purnananda and the *Tantrasara* of Krsnananda are very well-known.

The Daksina kalika, the most popular form of the deity worshipped in Bengal, is described³ as smiling and fearful, four-handed, and black like cloud. (*Tantrasara* and *Kalitantra* I, 27 ff.) She is adorned with a garland of human heads. Her body is besmeared with the blood oozing from the heads clinging to her neck. Two corpses constitute her ear-ornament. Her girdle is formed by hands of dead bodies. She holds in her hands a head freshly served from a body, a sword, *abhaya* and *vara* (the postures of giving assurance of freedom from fear and blessing). Blood is trickling through the ends of her lips. She has her abode in the cremation ground. She has three eyes as bright as the orb of the morning sun. She has her hairs flowing and hanging on her right side. Her teeth are protruded. Her breasts are large and heaving. She is naked and stands on the body of Mahadeva lying as dead. She is engaged in coition with Mahakala in an inverted position. She is surrounded on all sides by fearful she-jackals with awful sounds. She is called Daksina or generous as she bestows all boons even though meditated at ease and without any seriousness.⁴ (*Syamarahasya* VI. 5).

Slightly different descriptions are given in the *Svatantrat Tantra* and the *Siddheshvaritantra* as quoted in the *Tantrasara*. According to the first of these works the goddess has the 'sacred thread' made by serpents and she is mad with intoxication. According to the second, which mentions only a few characteristics, she has in two of her hands a skull and a dagger.

In the form known as Siddhakali,⁵ she has her body overflowing with nectar dropping from the orb of the moon pierced by the sword [in her right hand]. She drinks the nectar from the skull in her left hand. She is naked with flowing hairs. She has the hue of a blue lotus. She is adorned with ornaments and stands with her left-foot stretched forward.

Guhyakali⁶ is covered with black cloth. She has sunken eyes, fearful teeth, restless tongue and a smiling face. She has a necklace and a 'sacred thread' of serpents which again form her bed on which she lies. She has a lock of matted hair touching the sky. She sips wine. She has a garland of fifty human heads. Her belly is big. Above her head is Ananta, the king of serpents with one thousand hoods. She is surrounded on all sides by serpent-hoods. The serpent-king Taksaka forms her left bangle and Ananta the right. Her anklet is made of jewels. Her ears are bedecked with

³ *Tantrasara* and *natitantra*, I. 27ff.

⁴ *Syamarahasya*, VI. 5.

⁵ *Tantrasara* 5 *nali*—and *tantra*, X. 33.

⁶ *Tantrasara*.

ear-rings made of human bodies. To her left there is Siva in the form of a child. She has two hands and a gay face. She is sober and adorned with nine jewels.

Bhadrakali⁷ is emaciated with hunger. Her eyes are sunken, her face as black as ink, her teeth like black-berries. She is weeping and saying, 'I am not satisfied. I shall swallow the whole world at one gulp'. She holds with her two hands two nooses like blazing fire.

Smasanakali⁸ is black like a hill of collyrium with her abode in the cremation-ground. She has three eyes, dishevelled hairs and a dreadful appearance with a thin body. She has tawny eyes. She holds a skull full of wine in her left hand and freshly severed head in the right. With a smiling face she is always busy chewing raw meat. Her body is adorned with various ornaments. She is naked and ever mad with wine.

As Raksakali or Mahakali⁹ she is four-handed, adorned with garlands of heads—one on the head and the other on the shoulder. In her right hand she holds a sword and two lotuses and in the left a dagger and a skull. She has a lock of matted hair touching the sky. She has a necklace of serpents. Her eyes are red. She wears black cloth and has a tiger's skin round the waist. She places her left foot on the breast of a corpse and the right on the back of a lion. She sips wine, bursts into terrible laughter and makes deep loud sounds. She is immensely fearful.

Special rituals are prescribed and particular purposes including the six black rites of the Tantras are indicated for the worship of these and other forms of the deity. Besides regular worship generally in the Daksina form offered daily in the houses of devotees and in various shrines, of which the number is a legion, festive worship is performed on particular occasions. Three days are of special importance in this connection, e.g., the Dewali day and the 14th day of the dark fortnights of the months of Jyāistha and Magha. Of these the Dewali festival is the most popular, though perhaps, not the oldest. Kali is worshipped on this day with great pomp and grandeur. The day is known as the Kalipuja day. No reference to the festival has, however, been traced in any old work of known date. The earliest reference that I have been able to trace is in the *Kalisaparya-vidhi* of Kasinatha who composed it in 1699 S.E. (= 1777 A.D.). Kasinatha has quoted texts from Puranas and Tantras to prove the importance of the worship of Kali on the Dewali day. Kasinatha's advocacy in the matter would appear to be rather suspicious. It may not be unlikely that he was prompted by a desire to popularize a festival which does not seem to have been so widely prevalent in his time. Attempts are reported to have been made by others also in this direction. Thus we

⁷ *Tantrasara* Bhadrakali is emaciated with hunger. Her eyes are sunken, her face as black as ink, her teeth like.

⁸ *Svatantratanttra* as quoted in the *syamarahasya*, (VI. 21.

⁹ The description occurs in the *Tantrasara* but no particular name of the form is mentioned.

are told that Maharaja Krsnacandra (18th century) of Nadia ordered all his subjects to perform this worship with threats of severe punishment. (Ward: A view of the History, literature and Mythology of the Hindus, Vol. II, p. 124). As a result, ten thousand images of the goddess came to be worshipped on this occasion every year in the district of Nadia. Isana-candra, grandson of Krsnacandra, consecrated to this deity thousands of maunds of sweet meats, thousands of pieces of cloth and other materials. Besides this, his incidental expenses in this connection amounted to about twenty thousand rupees a year. The worship in the month of magha, known as *ratanti puja* has been referred to in the *smṛti* digests (15th-18th centuries) of Govindananda, Srinatha Acaryacudamani, Brahaspati Rayamukuta and Kasinatha Tarakalankara. It is prescribed as one of the several rites to be performed on the *ratanti caturdasi* day. The *pūjā* in the month of jyaistha is done mainly with various fruits and is known as *phala-harinipuja*. Worship is offered on these days as on the festive occasions in the night, usually in the midnight. Special worship is generally performed on the nights of every new-moon, which along with Tuesdays and Saturdays, are regarded as specially sacred to the deity. Festive worship is also offered at times of rejoicing (as on the occasion of a marriage ceremony) and thanksgiving as well as times of calamity like the outbreak of epidemics, especially cholera with which the deity is particularly associated, in some parts of Bengal. Public worship of her, especially in the form of Raksakali or Smasanakali, is performed with the help of public donations when the disease breaks out in an epidemic form in a village. In cases of individual attacks the worship is occasionally offered in a private house or a public temple. It may be mentioned in this connection that the goddess is regarded as the guardian against cholera in some villages in south India, where she is also worshipped as the protectress against evil spirits and wild beasts, as the favourite goddess of the bird-catchers and as the boundary goddess who is supposed to ward off evils that may cause havoc to a village from outside. (Whitehead: Village Gods of South India, p. 32).

Animal sacrifice is a special feature of sakti-worship, particularly of Kali-worship in Bengal. Goats, sheep and buffaloes are sacrificed in this connection. The heads are severed from the bodies with one stroke of a sharp and heavy scimitar. The sacrifice of human beings is also sometimes reported. It is told that some of the important shrines of the deity are placed on five human heads, apparently of persons sacrificed with a view to her propitiation. I have not however been able to trace this awful practice in the works dealing with Tantra-rites. The number of animals sacrificed on certain occasions in the past would appear to be staggering. It has, due to various reasons, been reduced to the minimum in these days and the practice of animal sacrifice is being slowly modified by the substitution for animals of fruits and plants like pumpking gourd, cucumber and sugar-cane.

MUKTI NISCHAYAM

by

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Mukti Nischayam which means certainty about salvation is an important philosophical classic in Tamil verse. It makes plain what exactly salvation according to Saiva Siddhanta is. Guru Jnanasambanda Paramacharya Svamigal, the founder of the Dharmapura-Adhinam, is the author of this work.

There are two commentaries on Mukti Nischayam attributed to one and the same person, namely, Velli Ambalavana Munivar. The bigger commentary is known as Velli Ambalavana Mapadiyam and the smaller one is Mukti Nischaya Citturai. Recent researches show that the smaller commentary was not really written by Velli-ambalavanar, nor was it a commentary to Mukti Nischayam. This conclusion is derived from the fact that there are a number of parallel passages and sometimes verbatim reproductions in it from the smaller commentary on Sivajana Bodham.

Mukti Nischayam critically examines certain views of other Saiva Schools and repudiates them as false. It especially explains and exposes the Siva Sama Vada which goes a long way with the Saiva Siddhanta but flies off at a tangent when it expounds the nature of soul and salvation. Siva-sama-vada regards soul and Siva as equal in their nature but Saiva Siddhanta, as explained by Mukti Nischayam, refutes this by saying that soul is only Satchit (existence-consciousness) and Siva alone is Sat Chit-ananda (existence-consciousness-bliss).

Mukti Nischayam repudiates a particular work called *Mukti Nilai* by a teacher called Chidambaram Kankatti Maraijnana Pandaram.

Mukti Nischayam consists of twenty-two venbas. It is mainly in the form of a dialogue. In the course of the argument it is shown that the Atmananda Vadi stops at a half-way house; he is neither a full-blown Siva Sama Vadi nor a complete Saiva Siddhanti.

According to Saiva Siddhanta, in mukti union soul and Siva are in adwaita relationship. But this abedha union is neither equality of soul with Siva as envisaged by Siva Sama Vada nor absorption of soul into Siva as envisaged by Sankara's school of Vedanta. To the Siddhanti, even in Mukti, soul is soul and God is God though the former is in the embrace of the latter; the soul's personality is not lost. While commenting on the third sutra of Mukti Nischayam, Velli Ambalavanar discusses this Siva-iva adwaita aikiyam, samavaya, anyonyam, saiyogam, anadi saiyogam, tadat-of union-Nirupa Savitha aikiyam, Vathaipadum aikiyam, Parinama aikiyam, samavaya, anyonyam, saiyogam, anadhi saiyogam, tadat-mya, nasa aikiyam, vikitha yochana karma aikiyam, anabiviyatha-

vathi aikiyam, abibava vasathalaikyam, ananda anubhava aikiyam and snekham.

Siddhanta mukti is not a mere negative experience of the removal of anava and ajnana. It is positive bliss. Velliambalanar in his commentary on Mukti Nischayam refers to this experience in the following terms: Sankara Prithi, Sivanandam, Sivananda Vellam, Sivarasa Samudram, Brahmarasa anubhavam, Brahma rasam, Niratisayanandam, Siva darsanam, Siva Jnanam, Tiruvarul perutal, Siva yogam, Siva bhogam, Paramananda bhogam, Parama Padam, Siva Peru, Siva Sayujyam, Anmanandam Anma Suddhi, Anma labham and Anma jnanam.

The following are some of the arguments adduced against Atmananda Vada: In no place in Saiva Siddhanta literature soul is said to have the form of bliss. Atmananda vada is not established by agama pramana, anumana pramana and svanubhavapramana. The transitory pleasure (sittinbam) enjoyed by the soul is only the result of Punya Karma and not the attribute of the soul. The bliss experienced by the soul during samadhi is external to the soul. It is gift gratis bestowed by Siva to Jiva. Moreover, if soul has bliss-form just as Siva has, there cannot be any appreciable result out of their union. For like-poles do not attract each other. Further, to posit the existence of bliss in the soul also will lead to the position of Ekatma Vada and Maya Vada.

Siva Sama Vada cannot be accepted at all. For, if Siva and soul are identical either Siva should be brought to the level of the soul or soul to the level of Siva. In the former case Siva should be looked as devoid of supreme bliss and in the latter case soul should be credited with it. Vedas and agamas do not envisage such a position. Moreover if Siva sama vada were true, many of the steps of dasa karya such as anma darsan, anma shuddhi, Siva darsan, Siva yoga and Siva bhoga will be impossible. Nor will Sayujya mukti have any meaning.

Even accepting the position that Siva and Jiva are identical in Mukti (as they are devoid of mala and are luminous) we find Jiva does not enjoy all the eight gunas of Siva viz., self-existence, immaculate nature, omniscience, intensive knowledge, being ever free from imperfections, unlimited graciousness, omnipotence and infinite bliss. In the early stages of soul's experiences the soul is always the recipient and Siva the donor. In the Kevala avastha or solitary state and in the sakala avastha or bound state Siva gives the Jiva experiences on the basis of its deeds. In suddha avastha or mukti again it is Siva who imparts felicity to the soul. To deny this and to assert that the soul enjoys bliss automatically after the removal of anava tantamounts to ingratitude to the Lord.

Besides, Siva Sama Vada, Siva Sankrantha Vada also believes in the existence of conate bliss in the soul. But Saiva Siddhanta holds that the soul has only anava or conate impurity to begin with and only finally it gets ananda in mukti. Besides Siva sama vada and Siva Sankrantha vada, Sivadvaita, Pasupata and Mahavrata schools of Sāivism ignore the difference between God and soul in

mukti. As a consequence of God and soul becoming equal in mukti, the soul is considered to perform all the five functions (creation, sustenance etc.) of Siva. Saiva Siddhanta refutes this view.

While Mukti Nischayam arose to refute Kankatti Maraijnana Pandaram the commentary on it by Velli Ambalavanar seems to have arisen when Siva Sama Vada doctrine began to spread for a second time through the followers of Kankatti Pandaram. A few of the works of the Pandaram such as Sivatharunotra, Parama patha timira panu, Paramo padesam are adverted to in the course of the commentary for polemical purposes. Agora Sivacharya, the commentator of Ratna Traya and Sarvajnanotram, is condemned in the bigger commentary as he interprets these works as per Atmananda Vada and Siva Sama Vada. Among the very many works quoted in the bigger commentary Bhoga Karikai, Amara Kosam and Moksha Karikai are important Sanskrit works, while Sivaprakasam, Aikiya Viyal, Sivabhoga saram and Sivananda Malai are Tamil works of repute.

The following are some of the interesting points that are met in the course of the Mukti Nischayam perurai. It discusses why Agastiyar, Tolkapiyar and Tiruvalluvar do not directly deal with Veedu (Moksha) and while Tirumular and Meikandar directly discuss it. It divides Santhana Kuravars, Teachers of philosophy, into two kinds, namely Karma Siddhanta Kuravars and Jnana Siddhanta Kuravars, on the basis of deeksha (initiation) ceremonies they are entitled to perform. It points out that Samaya Kuruvvars (Religious preceptors) are superior to Jnana Siddhanta Kuravars. It also points out that Dasakarya (Ten spiritual steps) are possible through the help of guru alone.

THE BHASA-YOGAVASISTHASARA OF KAVINDRACARYA SARASVATI

by

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Introduction:

Bhasa-yogavasistha-sara of Kavindracharya Sarasvati has been edited by me with the help of the only manuscripts that was made available to me by Dr. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and Dr. R. N. Dandekar, my Guru and Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Poona.

The account of other manuscripts mentioned in the catalogue:

Dr. V. Raghavan, in his article¹ on "Kavindracharya Sarasvati" tells us that under No. 255 in *Aufrecht's* Catalogue of the Florentine MSS, we find a Ms. of the Yogavasisthasara in ten chapters, with Mahidhara's gloss, and a Hindi translation of the text. The colophon of that manuscript describes the work as

“ दशविद्यानिधान-कवीन्द्राचार्य-सरस्वती-विरचित-माषासहित-योगवासिष्ठसार. ”

Poleman notices in his catalogue of the Indic Mss. in America against No. 5882 a Yogavasisthasara in the Hindi section, with author as Kavindracharya, and describes it as a translation in the Index.

From these references it would appear that Kavindracharya made a Hindi translation of the Yogavasisthasara in ten chapters. In the catalogue of the Pracya Grantha Sangraha, Ujjain, a Ms. of the Yogavasisthasara was noted as a work of K. Dr. Raghavan tells us that the Ms. is similar to the Florentine manuscript, with this difference that the Hindi translation is left out. But the colophon of K. appears to be still retained.

In the *Kavindra-Candrodaya* (ed. by H. D. Sarma and M. M. Patkar) K. is described as 'Yogavasistha-yoga-vid' (sl. 12, p. 2) and as 'Yogavasisthavid' (sl. 175, p. 24). This reference is surely to the Hindi translation because a Ms. of K's Hindi Yogavasisthasara is described by Syam Sundar Das in his first Triennial Report on the search for Hindi Mss., Allahabad, 1912, p. 333 No. 276a.

The above history tells us that a Ms. of the Hindi Yogavasisthasara of K. could not be traced in India up till now. Thanks to the efforts of Drs. Gode and Dandekar who secured the Ms. from the erudite and learned Shastri Krishnaji Hari Patankar of Rajapur (Dist. Ratnagiri) and gave me an opportunity of editing it.

¹ Acarya-Puspanjali Volume (In honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (1940) pp. 164-65.

² *Kavindrachandrodaya* (KC) ed. by Har Dutt Sharma and M. M. Patkar (1939).

The Bhasa-Yogavasistha-sara is a rendering in Hindi Dohas of the original Laghu-yogavasistha-sara in Sanskrit, a popular but anonymous work. The latter is supposed to be the quintessence of Laghu Yogavasistha which again appears to be the abridged text of Brhad-yogavasistha, a well-known work on Indian Philosophy which can be ranked on par with the Prasthanatrayi.

A number of works in Marathi aiming at elucidation of the original Sanskrit Yogavasistha-sara or the Lagu-yogavasistha-sara have been referred to by Date S. G. in his Marathi Grantha Suci (p.503). Mahidhara's gloss in Sanskrit dates 1674 A.D. But a metrical rendering in Hindi is nowhere referred to. As such the work is of great importance and more so because it is from the pen of Kavindracharya Sarasvati, a great historical personage of the seventeenth century. A detailed account of his life is given later.

The manuscript :

The manuscript contains the Sanskrit text of Lagu-yoga-vasistha-sara and the Hindi Dohas of Kavindracharya. The Ms. is $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. The paper used is thick but now in a deteriorated condition. There is no water-mark on the paper.

The number of folios is 26 and no folio is missing. The edges of the folios are now in a tattered condition. The pagination is continuous. Each side of the folio contains 9 lines and each line contains about 33-40 letters. The handwriting is bold, thick, legible and uniform. On each folio the folio number is written on the obverse with letters (दोहा) and the folio-number on the right-hand bottom of the margin.

The introduction which is entirely in Hindi contains about 13 Dohas and begins with श्रीगणेशाय नमः । and गुरुगणपतिगौरीस के गोविंद चरण मनाजि । There is a lacuna in the 7th Doha. The Introduction supplies information about the eminence and erudition of the author, his habitat etc. The Introduction finishes on page 2(a). The work begins from folio 2(b). After each Sanskrit verse of the *Laghu-yoga-vasistha-sara* is given the Hindi Doha of Kavindracharya Sarasvati. There are in all ten *Prakaranas* containing 222 stanzas.

The colophon reads as —

इति श्रीसर्वविद्यानिधान—कवीन्द्राचार्य—सरस्वती—विरचिते

भाषा—योगवासिष्ठसारे ब्रह्मतत्त्वनिरूपण—प्रकरणं दशमं समाप्तम् ।

At the end of the third chapter only, the colophon has ज्ञानसार instead of भाषा—योगवासिष्ठसार probably through the mistake of the scribe.

The dates of composition and transcription:

The भाषा-योगवासिष्ठसार is also referred to as ज्ञानसार in the Introduction (stanzas 13). At the end of the text, again there are five Hindi Dohas where the date of the composition (completion) is given.

संवत् सत्रहसै बन्धो चौदह परवर्ष ।
फाल्गुन सुदि एकादशी भयो विष्णुके हर्ष ॥

i.e. फाल्गुन शु. ११ संवत् १७१४ which corresponds to (1714-58) = 1656 A.D. This date is corroborated by the following facts:—

(1) Dara got all the Upanishads translated into Persian by the Benaras Pandits in 1656 A.D.

(2) Emperor Akbar had got the Yogavasistha translated into Persian in 1597-98. As this was very lengthy Dara got it translated in an abridged form in A.D. 1656^{2a} in Persian. It is at this very time that Kavindra must have first translated the Yogavasistha-sara in Hindi and then it must have been translated into Persian.

At the end of the Sanskrit text there are two additional verses as follows:—

देहाभिमाने गलिते विज्ञाते परमात्मनि ।
यत्र यत्र मनो याति तत्र तत्र समाधयः ॥
चिद्विलासः प्रपञ्चोऽयं सर्वे ते दुःखदः कथम् ।
किमिन्द्र—वारुणी राम सितया कटुकीकृता ॥

After the colophon there are two additional Hindi Dohas which translate the above verses.

जानतहीं परमात्मैमित्त देहा भिमान ।
जहाँ जहाँ मन जाव है तहाँ समाधि वखॉन ॥
चितविलास परपंच यह काहे तै दुख-हेतु ।
यिंदोरनि करथी कहा मिश्री जाने हेतु ॥

The manuscript ends with the words:

नमः परमात्मने बासुदेवाय संवत् १८९१

So the date of the manuscript (i.e. of transcription) appears to be (1891-58) = 1833 A.D.

^{2a} See Shaikh (BDCRI Vol. III, p.397.), On a manuscript of this translation dated A.D. 1700 in the Parasnis Historical Museum at the Deccan College Institute. Other Mss. deposited elsewhere are dated 1742 and 1782 A.D. Our manuscript dates A.D. 1833.

Script of the manuscript:

According to the Nagari script used in this manuscript ङ and ढ; म and म; व and व; व ख and व are distinguished with very subtle and minute difference; झ, ण, घ, ण etc. are written in a peculiar manner.

The optional doubling of consonants in connection with a nasal or a liquid or a semivowel is frequently found in the inscriptions and partly in the traditional spellings current in some of the vernaculars (e.g. Bengali) at the present day.

Our manuscript also is an instance to the point. Thus सर्व, कवीदाचार्य, दीर्घ for कवीदाचार्य, दीर्घ etc. This practice is to be taken with great caution. These doublings are sometimes only scholastic, without any reference to the pronunciation e.g. वर्धमान, सर्व where the doubling is only the remnant of an orthographical tradition and so I have deleted all such doublings in the manuscript. परसवर्ण and द्विखण्डचिह्न are not used in the manuscript. I have, however, emended the text at such places.

Life and date of Kavindracharya

Kavindra or Acarya Kavindra was originally an inhabitant of *Punyabhumi*³ on the banks of the river Godavari. The introduction of Bhasa-yogavasistha-sara also styles him as an original inhabitant of the bank of Godavari⁴. The *KK*⁵ states that having studied Vedas with all their branches and other lore he took to a life of renunciation at Kashi and concentrated on the study of Brahman. He had studied the Asvalayana sakha of the *Rgveda*⁶ and had mastered other branches of learning also. The Bhasa-yogavasistha-sara (Henceforth referred to as *BYS.*) in its introduction tells us that Kavindra knew the four Vedas and six Angas, Nyaya, Vedanta, Mimamsa, Vaisheshika philosophy, Sankhya, Patanjala, and taught and explained them to his pupils a number of

3 *Kavindrakalpadruma* is a eulogy of Shah Jahan composed by Kavindra. The ms. is in the India Office Library, London (Ms. No. 3947). The first page of the manuscript gives its date as 1650 A.D.

4 "Pahile Godauranivasi" stanza No. 11. Introduction to *Bhasa-Yogavasistha-sara*

5 *Kavindra-Kalpadruma*

"गोदातीरे प्रमोदावलिबततमे जन्मभाक् पुण्यभूमौ-
ऋग्वेदी वेदवेदी जगति विजयते श्रीकवीन्द्रो द्विजेन्द्रः ।"

अधीत्य वेदवेदाङ्गकोन्यशास्त्राणि सर्वशः ।

ततः स्वीकृत्य संन्यासं ब्रह्मपान्यासं समाश्रितः ॥

6 Cf. 'ऋग्वेदी आश्वलायन शाखा' stanza No. 11, Introduction to *Bhasa Yogavasisthasara*.

times'. He himself composed a number of literary works. The eighteen Puranas were on the tip of his tongue and all the *Smrtis* were *kanthagata*. He knew Yogavasistha quite well⁹ and Brah-majnana came to him of its own accord.

Dr. V. Raghavan points out⁹ that his real name is Krnsa or some sannyasic appellation of which the important part was Krsna.

Kavindra and Shah Jahan:

Historians like *Smith*¹⁰ tell us that Shah Jahan took severe action against the Hindus. At Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun were ordered to be cast down by the emperor. It was reported from the province of Allahabad that seventysix temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares. It was quite natural, therefore, that pilgrim tax was levied on the Hindus. It was at Benares and Allahabad that pilgrims were specially bullied. Kavindra, who, now had become the acknowledged head of all the Pandits at Benares,¹⁰ journeyed to Agra with a large following and proceeded to the Diwan-i-am¹¹. It seems that the Acarya used to convince the king day after day about the advisability of the abolition of the pilgrim tax and expound to him the Hindu scriptures¹². Kavindra pleaded the cause of Hindu pilgrims and the integrity of Hindu Dharma with so much force of eloquence that all the noblemen of the court from Iraq, Iran, Badkshan, Balkh etc. were struck with wonder¹³. Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh, his son both relented and

7 See *BYS* Introductory part stanzas 3-5.

8 *BYS* Introduction stanza 5, 'जोगवासिष्ठभर्ते कै वृक्षा'

9 Kavindracarya Sarasvati'', Acarya Puspanjali (D. R. Bhandarkar Com. Vol.) p.160 Dr. Raghavan bases his argument on a stanza from KC (Kavindracandrodaya).

भट्टो नारायणस्साक्षात् पुरासीच्छंकरः शिवः ।

तथैवात्र स्वयं कृष्णः कवीन्द्रस्वामिदण्डशृक् ॥ (st. 123, p. 17)

10 India in the *Muhamedan Period*, p.396.

10a His place of residence at Benares appears to be where the title was conferred on him by the learned Pandits. Cf. (KC p. 9 st. 10, 16) also st. 100, p.14.

11 Cf. the account given by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri *IA*, Vol. XLI, 1912, p.11.

12 Cf. KC (ed. by (Patkar and Sharma).

(a) --कवीन्दी जयति परमुदे प्रत्यहं द्वारि साहे :-त्वरितकषिराय

(b) —दिल्लीस्वस्य निगमागमशास्त्रषुद्ध्या संवोधयन् प्रतिदिनं त्रिजगत्कवीन्द्रः
—पूर्णानन्द ब्रह्मचारि (p. 16)

13 Cf. (st. 170, p.24).

कामीरैराक—कारस्कर—दरद—खुरासान—हब्शान—जाता

बङ्गारब्बाः भिरंगास्तुरुक—शक—बदक्षान—मुब्तान—बल्काः ।

खान्धाराः काबिलेन्द्राः अपि घरणिभृतस्ते मगा रूमशामः

श्रीमच्छीसाहिजाहा—नरपतिसदसि त्वां कवीन्द्र स्तुवन्ति ॥—हीरारामकवेः

abolished the tax and conferred on him the title of 'sarva-vidya-nidhana' and perhaps 'kavindra' also. It is evident from Ksemananda Vajapeyin's tribute to him¹⁴ that he could not be tempted with gift of horses, gold and heaps of gems and that he insisted only on the abolition of the pilgrim-tax. Kavindra also received from the king a large sum of money to be given away as gifts to the pilgrims at the temple of Visvesvara, and to those bathing at Kasi and Prayaga in the liberated waters.¹⁵ He is said to have interviewed His Majesty Shah Jahan at Lahore and received Rs. 1500 in reward on 2nd Zilaquada 1062 A.H. i.e. 1062 + 590 = 1652 A.D.¹⁶

Dr. Gode identifies Kavindra to the 'chief of the Pandits' seen by Bernier at Benares and quotes from Bernier's letter of A.D. 1667 the following fact:—

"When going down the river Ganges, I passed through Benares and called upon the chief of Pandits, who resides in that celebrated seat of learning. He is a *Fakire* or Devotee so eminent for knowledge that Shah Jahan, partly for that consideration and partly to gratify the Rajas granted him a pension of two thousands *roupies* which is about one thousand crowns."

Evidently, Kavindra seems to have used the royal patronage from Shah Jahan and Dara for rewarding poets and learned Brahmins though he himself was an ascetic. 'त्यागाय संमृतार्थानाम्' thus, was true in his case.

- 14 Cf. KC (st. 58, p.8). नरि तुरगसभूहे काञ्चने रत्नराशौ
कचिदपि स कवीन्द्रो दीयमाने न तृष्णाम् ।
अभजदखिलतीर्थेद्धारतां संदडानो
न हि जलधरजालं वर्ष-स्तोषमेति ॥

क्षेमानन्दं वाजपेयिनाम्

- 15 KC. (st. 116, p. 16): श्रीविश्वेश्वरकाशिकारे सुवर्णं ददौ
श्रीमत्साहिजहांदिलीपकृपया विद्यानिधानाभिः ।

Cf. also देतसे कविवरासि मोहरा
जो असे प्रभुवरांत मोहरा

The incident of the abolition of the above tax must have taken place sometime in 1657 A.D.^{16a} The rejoicings of Hindu India knew no bounds on this occasion and addresses after addresses, verse and prose eulogies were presented to the Sanyasin. Titles of Kavindra, Sarva-Vidya-Nidhana and 'Acharya' were conferred on him. These addresses have been preserved for us by Srikrishna Upadhyaya in KC.

In addition to the removal of external disabilities imposed on Hinduism, he was exerting his influence for internal improvement also. When he came to know that the great scholars in the *Sastras* were negligent in the performance of Vedic rites, he went about urging them to perform those rites.¹⁷

His scholarship:

Kavindra was not a mere venerable recluse, nor a mere energetic public worker, but was also a man of letters. He served literature by not only collecting a unique Mss. library,^{17a} but by contributing his own works also. His versatile scholarship is frequently applauded in KC. Though he was a scholar in a variety of subjects, unfortunately we possess manuscripts of only a few of his. These works are the *Kavindrakalpadruma* (As, Bengal and India Office), and *Paducandrika* on Dasakumaracarita (Mitra, Notices, 3041)^{17b} a *Yogabhaskara* (Oudh XIX 112) of which we know nothing more, a commentary on the *Satapatha Brahmana*

16-a KC. (st. 7) (1). यवनकरग्रहणाब्धौ मग्ना येनोद्धृता पृथ्वी ।

(st. 103) (2) चकेण मोचयांचके नक्राच्छक्रानुजो ।

प्रयागेभं करग्राहात् तरग्राहात् कवीन्द्रवित् ॥

—श्रीस्वामिनः :

Cf. also BYS. (st. 12, Introduction).

कासीकी अरु प्रागकी करकी यकर मिटाअि

It is interesting to note that KC. does not fail to enlighten us about the time and occasion when Kavindra worked this miracle of tax-abolition. Hemarajamisra records that it was on a Makara Sankramana Day—

क ईदृग्दाताभूजगति भविता वा भवति वा

प्रयागे विश्वेव्यो मकरमधियाते दिनमणौ ।

17 KC. st. 70, p. 10.

17-a Vide Kavindracarya-suci-patra published by GOS, Baroda 1921, Dr. Code (NIA. VI pp. 41-42) points out that the list has no historical value.

17-b The colophon of this commentary reads as follows:—

इति श्रीसकलशास्त्रार्थकीकृत—शेमुषी-विलासरससांद्रप्रवर्तित असंख्यशः

समुद्रविद्वत्परिषद्—यतींद्र—सर्धविद्यानिधान—कवींद्राचार्य—सरस्वती—कृतायाम् ।

In this comm. the author gives Marathi equivalents which proves that he was a Maharashtrian. Cf. PO. IV pp. 134-35.

(Bikaner 179, containing book VI) and a *Mimamsasarvasva* of which nothing is known. *Kavindrakalpalata* (Anupa S. Library, Bikaner) is a Hindi work by Kavindracharya in praise of Shah Jahan and Dara Shukoh. "This poem," says Dr. Gode "is a direct contemporary testimony from Kavindracharya himself about his intimate contact with emperor Shah Jahan and his son Dara Shukoh." The present work, which is being edited namely *Bhasa-Yogavasisthasara* in ten chapters explains why he is referred to as "Yogavasisthavid".

The *KC* extols Kavindra as a great grammarian^{17c} and Verse 28, p.63 of *KC* describes as 'Prakrt-vyakrtijna' which may mean that Kavindra wrote a commentary on some Prakrt Grammar treatise. There are general references to Kavindra's scholarship in *Jyotisa* also in *KC*. The above account accords well with the remark in the *BYS* that he has composed a number of literary works.¹⁸

Dr. Gode¹⁹ finds a very interesting discussion about the personality of Kavindra from Bernier's letter—"He is a stout well-made man, and his dress consists of a white silk scarf, tied about the waist and hanging half-way down the leg and of another tolerably large scarf of red silk, which he wears as a cloak on his shoulders. I had often seen him in this scanty dress at Delhi in the streets either on foot or in a palkey. During one year he was in the constant habit of visiting my patron (Dhaneshmand Khan), to whom he paid his court in the hope that he would exercise his influence to obtain the pension of which Aurang-zebe, anxious to appear a true Musulman, deprived him on coming to the throne." That Kavindra was the chief among the Benares Pandits is corroborated also by a statement in the *BYS*

"काशीमें कोयि नाहि न पूजा कलिकवींद्र सो ओरु न दूजा । (st. 10, Introd.)."

Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was a lover of Hindu philosophy. He had gathered many Pandits around him. Kavindra occupied the foremost place among these Pandits and Bernier tells us that he was included in Dara's household. *Ramaswami Shastri* suggests that the *Bhasa-Yogavasisthasara* must have been composed by Kavindra for the use of Dara Shukoh.

His contact with Dara Shukoh:

After the deposition and imprisonment of his patron Shah Jahan in A.D. 1658, the pension of Kavindra was stopped by Aurangzeb as soon as he came to the throne in 1658-59. Dara Shukoh was then executed in A.D. 1659. In Beale's Oriental Bib-

17-c *KC*. sts. 92 and 100, pp. 13-14.

18 *BYS*, st 4, Introduction— 'साहित्यमें बहु ग्रंथ बनाजे.'

19 *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, pp. 368 f.

20 *Jaganratha Pandita*, p. 8.

liographical Dictionary²⁰ the chronology of Dara's life is given as follows:—

(a) Dara born—A.D. 1615. (b) marriage 1633. (c) Battle between Dara and Aurangzeb—26th August, 1659. (d) Dara caused the upanishads to be translated by Benares Pandits—A.D. 1656. (e) Dara wrote *Majma-ul-Bahrain* (समुद्रसंगम) in A.D. 1655 to reconcile the Hindu and Mohamedan doctrines. Kavindra, as it appears from *Bernier's* letter, sought the shelter of Dhaneshmand Khan who was also a patron of Bernier. This patron was a partisan of Dara and his associates. He entertained Kavindra in his service for a few years. Later Bernier is said to have been received very warmly by Kavindra in Kasi in his Library where he had a discussion with six Pandits on idolatry'. It would thus appear as pointed out by Dr. Gode that it was the tie of learning that brought together a Frenchman of Paris, Muslim of Persia and a Brahmin of Benares, actuated by the only motive of exchange of thought.

Period of life and literary activity:

As Dhaneshmand Khan died in A.D. 1670, Kavindra may have lost the patronage. Presuming that he survived after A.D. 1670 it can be conjectured that *Kavindra's life-period was between A.D. 1600 to 1675.*

The date of the composition of the *BYS*, as we have seen is A.D. 1657. It has been a correct surmise that the *BYS* was composed by Kavindra for initiating Dara Shikoh into the myseries of Yoga and Vedanta philosophies. This has been fairly corroborated by the end in the Ms. of *Kavindrakalpadruma*—(Date A.D. 1650).

“ त-त्वज्ञानदूरीकृत—महामोहसमवगत—सप्तभूमिका—समारोह—महम्मद—
द्वाराशिकोकृता नारायणेत्यष्टारमन्त्रपूर्वका नमस्काराः सन्ति ” ।

Shah Jahan came to the throne in A.D. 1628. So *the period of literary activity of Kavindra may be between A.D. 1628 to A.D. 1657.*

His contemporaries:

Kavindracharya, as a protege of Shah Jahan, was perhaps acquainted with Jagannatha Pandita who spent the best part of his life in North India and by his merit rose to the highest position at the court of Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh. Jagannatha's date is fixed to be c. 1590-1665 A.D.²¹ and his literary activity in the Mughal court is placed between 1620 and 1650 A.D.²² In his work *Kavindrakalpadruma*, Kavindra is said to have made a reference to Jagannatha.

²⁰ London, 1894. p. 117—article on Dara Sukoh.

²¹ *Jagannatha Pandita*, p. 25.

²² *Ibid*, p. 26.

Bernier who had arrived in India (landing at Surat) in 1655 A.D.²³ was also a contemporary of Kavindra.

Of the many elders at Benares who encouraged K. and warmly admired him, the *KC.* makes mention twice of two Sannyasins, Brahmendra and Purnendra.²⁴ The *BYS.* also seems to refer to them.²⁵

The other poets who extol him in *KC.* are Jayarama Bhattacarya (1632 A.D.), Kesamisra 1575-1625 A.D., Siddhesvarabhata Mimamsaka 1630-70 A.D., Ramkrishna Nagar 1616 A.D., Gauripati Misra 1640 A.D., Visvanatha Jyotirvida 1612-32 A.D., Bhudhara Pathak 1617 A.D., Raghunatha Upadhyaya 1656 A.D., Dhenu-bhatta 1620-1680 A.D. The dates of these scholars also are commensurate with the date and period of literary activity of Kavindracharya Sarasvati.

The philosophical importance of the Yogavasistha:

The Upanisads, the Brahmasutras and the Bhagavadgita which comprise the well-known Prasthanatrayi are the principal books which deal with the Vedantasāstra. Next in importance to these, however, is the Yogavasistha which is 'Vedantarupa', i.e., which explains the Vedānta by interesting appropriate tales, illustrations and similes adopted from practical life. The 'Yogavasisthasara' is the quintessence of the Yogavasistha since some select and important stanzas from the latter are called together in the former.

The Yogavasistha propounds the Advaita philosophy which is in consonance with that of Sankaracarya, though it differs in some contents and the use of technical words. The words like अध्यास,

²³ See *Gode, NII* Vol. III, p. 223.

²⁴ *KC.* sl. 12, p. 2 and sl. 178, p. 24.

“साहित्योपेत-सद्धर्मपुञ्जनसौहित्ये योगासिष्ठयोर्विदू

विख्यातकौर्तिः पूर्णेन्द्रब्रह्मेन्द्राद्यभिनन्दितः ।”

ब्रह्मेन्द्रपूर्णन्द्रयतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्यैरशेषैर्मनन्यमानः ।

यतिः कवीद्रोऽस्ति विभासमानः विराजमानः ॥

Cf also *KC.* p. 29. A tribute to Kavindracharya by Brahmendra Sarasvati.

²⁵ *BYS.* sl. 8 Introduction. Out of these i.e., Brahmendra Sarasvati is identified by Dr. Gode (*Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, p. 447) with Goswami Narsimhasarma of Dara Shukoh's Sanskrit letter published by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja in 1940. There is a endorsement by about 75 learned Brahmins to settle the caste disputes of the Devarsi Brahmins. This of 1677 A.D. is endorsed by Purnendra and Brahmendra as follows:—

“समतार्थोऽयं पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वतीयतेः ।”

“समतश्चार्थोऽयं ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्याख्ययतेर्नृसिंहाश्रमस्य ।”

Ramaswamy Shastri in his *Jagannatha Pandita* (p. 7) wrongly identifies Nrsimhasrama with Kavindracharya Sarasvati.

साधनचतुष्टय, सगुण and निर्गुणब्रह्म, सविशेष and निर्विशेष ब्रह्म, उपाधि, प्रारब्धकर्म and संचितकर्म, पंचकोश etc., are conspicuously absent in the Yogavasistha.²⁶ Authors like Sankaracarya (Viveka-cudamani), Bhartrhari, Gaudapadacarya, Suresvaracarya seem to have been influenced to some extent by the philosophy of Yogavasistha. Vidyanarayan in his Pancadasi Jivanmuktiviveka quotes some verses from the Yogavasistha and comments on them. As a matter of fact the author seems to have intended a grand synthesis of Hindu thought. Considering the very vast literature that the author has gone through and the cleverness with which he has blended this material into one whole, his boast that it is समस्तविज्ञानशास्त्रकोश is more than justified.²⁷

Dr. Atreya, Dr. Diwanji, Dr. Raghavan, Prof. S. Bhattacharya and Pavagishastri have tried to prove that the date of Yogavasistha is the 6th century A.D. While J. S. Karandikar says that it is the 9th century A.D. Dr. Mainkar is inclined to hold the 12th century A.D. as its date.²⁸ The Yogavasisthasara must have been prepared by some later unknown Pandit with a view to make the huge Yogavasistha of 32,000 verses concise. In this attempt the Pandit, whoever he might be, is successful because the work appears to be complete in itself.

Kavindracharya Sarasvati, who, we are told, was well-versed in various Sastras, knowing the useful nature and the convenient size suited for the use of lay devotees, translated this into Hindi. His translation is true to the original and it is only occasionally that he tries to explain the idea with additional words. His is the old type of Hindi and the author seems to have a grip over his diction. His *Anuprasas* appear to be natural and the language is so simple that even one who reads these Dohas casually may understand it. His Hindi appears to have been deeply influenced by Sanskrit.

In translating sometimes the lines are inverted by Kavindra (e.g. I 9-10). It is only occasionally that he uses a word '*metricausa*' (cf. the word नरनारी in II.4). Sometimes a few words in the original are not translated (e.g. st. II.3 'दक्षि' is not translated. The second line of II-12 is not faithfully translated). In IV.20 'जप-तप-संतत-समाज' appears to be his own addition.

In general it can be said that Kavindra was no mean poet. His Hindi appears to be mellifluous and as a poet, he well deserves the

26 Cf. also योगवासिष्ठाचा प्राचीन मराठी संतवाङ्मयावर झालेलापरिणाम

(page 6) a Ph.D. thesis by *Pranjpe*, published by प्रासादप्रकाशन, पुणे, 1955.

27 Cf. Dr. T. G. Mainkar, *the Vasistha-Ramayana, a study*, pp. 117-8.

28 Ibid. p. 46.

compliments given to him by two contemporary poets in the following words:

आसत्ति—माधुर्य—विभक्ति—भावैराकाङ्क्षया योग्यतया प्रसन्ना ।

कवीन्द्रवाणी तरुणीदृगेषा केषां न चेतस्तरलीकरोति ॥

रघुनाथ उपाध्याय

)KC. p. 27)

मुधा भवति सा मुधा मधुकथा वृथा जायते

मदालस—मरालिनी—रव-मदोऽपि मन्दोद्यमः ।

रसालफलजो रसो विफलतां तदालम्बते

कवीन्द्र भवतो यदा वचनमेतदाकर्ण्यते ॥

गुर्जरस्य कस्यचित्

(KC. pp. 32-3)

SOME RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES (व्रतस) AND FESTIVALS (उत्सवस) MENTIONED IN DOSINAMAMALA

BY

KAMALABAI DESHPANDE,

Poona.

Hemachandra's Desinamamala is a lexicon that compiles Desi words and explains their meanings with illustrations. While doing so, he has, incidently listed certain religious observances (व्रतस) and festivals, which are of interest to a student of Social History. The description of these rites is, however, very scanty and except in a few cases he does not mention the time of their performance. So one has no chance to know, when and where and how they were observed.

When Hemachandra compiled this lexicon, he must have absorbed many earlier lexicons, which then existed; for he refers to them off and on in his commentary. In addition he must have collected Desi words, which he had heard, in his extensive travels. So it is likely that the words came from obscure Aryan and other dialects; and all from different and distant localities. Their sources being different, they escaped being included in standard works, on (व्रतस) and (उत्सवस), which followed a different tradition, reflecting a different Social Stratum.

It is quite possible to find their counterparts (if not the continuations) in some of the works on व्रतोत्सवस like Chaturvarga-Chintamani and Vrataraja (व्रतराज) etc. and also in the existing social customs and manners, so far as (महाराष्ट्र) Maharashtra is concerned. I have noted their counterparts in this article. Their parallels might be found in other provinces also and enumeration of these (व्रतोत्सवस) in one article might be of use to students of Social History from other provinces for comparing notes.

With this aim in view, I have herewith noted the व्रतोत्सवस in the following manner.

First the name of a particular व्रत or उत्सव ;

Secondly their descriptions and explanations by Hemachandra, if any, (with English translation);

Then illustrations in verses, and lastly their counterparts, particularly in Maharashtra.

The following classification of the eighteen व्रतस and उत्सवस might be useful for clarification.

इंद्रमह and मुनिमह are mentioned indirectly. They are wellknown in Sanskrit Literature.

पडणम्-only the name is mentioned ; no description.

1. महालवक्ख is neither a fast nor a festival.

It is a fortnight in which श्राद्ध are offered to honour one's dead relatives.

2. अवयार and हुक्कम् are two व्रतस (religious observances).

5. जक्खरनी, गेदरिया, फग्गू, आडअम् and वोरज्जली are festivals though some sort of religious observance goes with it. (In India at least a festival cannot be absolutely free from some kind of religious observance).

7 (a) चोरल, छप्पेती & छिप्पती observances for the achievement of a desired bride or bridegroom

(b) णवजया, छयम्; पोअलओ बहुयास. these are either व्रतस or उत्सवस which mainly concern newly married couples.

I

1. अवयार (1.32) Avayara.

2. A festival in the month of Magha, January - February, when it is customary to clean one's teeth with sugar-cane.

3. Who can compete with the club-like teeth of the best of the elephants - who are as black as the त्रियंगु creeper even in the festival of Avayara, in which the sound of sugarcane is often heard (for the purpose of cleaning one's teeth).

4. The cleaning of teeth, with sugar-cane seems to be with a view to purification. It is customary to clean one's teeth with अमाभर्ग (Achyranthes Aspera) on कषिपंचमी day, a religious observance, which falls on the fifth of bright fortnight of Bhadrapada.

1. इंदमह (I.82) INDAMAHA.

2. One, who is desirous of इंदमह festival. A dog.

3. In the season of autumn, the awakening of Indra was caused with the barking of the accompanying dogs, in such a way, as if it would appear to have caused by the roaring of enemy's elephants, marching in a forest.

4. The festival इंदमह is not directly mentioned by हेमचंद्र. While explaining the word “इंदमहकामुख (a dog)” he says इंदमहकामुख is one desirous of इंदमह festivity. It is the इंदमहोत्सव wellknown in Sanskrit literature, as the rain-inducing festival to be celebrated at the beginning of Sharad season.

In मृच्छकटिक (5-11-39) इंदमहकामुख means a crow. For the origin and development of this festival vide “इंदमहोत्सव” an article by Dr. D. G. Koparkar in स्वामीकवलानंदगौरवग्रंथ.

1. चोरली (III. 19). CHORALI.

2. The fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of श्रावण (July-August).

3. With the sprouts of बिल्व you have worshipped (God) ‘Hara’ in the sacred festival of चोरली in such a way that she will come to you, as if impelled by the arrows of Cupid.

4. The acquisition of a desired woman seems to be the result of merit, gathered by the worship of Hara in चोरलीव्रत. It is not, however, clear whether चोरजी is particularly prescribed as a व्रत for obtaining a desired bride.

व्रतः prescribed to be practised by men, for getting a desired bride, are very rare; but व्रतः to be practised by women, for getting a good bridegroom or the desired bridegroom are very common. गौरी practised penance for getting ‘हर’ for a husband is wellknown and the present custom is that a bride worships गौरिहर at home, before the bridegroom reaches the bride's home for marriage. She keeps whispering the following sentence. गौरी गौरी सौभाग्यदे । दारी पाहुणा येईलत्यासक्ष आर दे ॥ (O गौरी! grant me auspicious

state of wifehood and grant life to the guest, that will arrive at the door). prescribes the worship of इंद्राणी along with गौरीह. The verse to be repeated by the bride is the following :—

देवेंद्राणि नमस्तुभ्यं देवेंद्रप्रियमामिनि ।
विवाहं भाग्यमारोग्यं पुत्रलाभं चर्दहि मे ॥

प्रयोगरत्न p. 104.

IV

1. छप्पंती (3.25) CCHAPPANTI

2. A religious observance, in which a lotus is drawn.

3. O slender-bodied one ! he-for whom you are practising this छप्पंती vow-has also grown slender and is throwing away the skin of a deer (which he had worn) under the सप्तच्छद tree. (i.e.) the lover is no longer thinking of renouncing the world by practising penance in the forest, but he has decided to enter कृहस्याश्रम and lead a married life for your sake.

V

1. छिप्पंती (III.37) CCHIPPANTI.

2. It is a kind of religious observance ; also a kind of festival.

3. A note on छप्पंती and छिप्पंती

4. Possibly both indicate one and the same vow and festival. In अर्धमागधीकोश (Vol. V) the meaning is a bit different. It explains छप्पंती or a festival in which the *word* lotus is written.

It seems to be a vow to be observed by women for achievement of a desired husband.

VI

1. जक्खरती (III.43) JAKKHARATTI.

2. the Divali festival.

3. In the square, where four roads meet, you are as if celebrating the festival of lights with your bangles studded with jewels. If so, how is it that, when while freely going out, you are afraid even of the demons, the destroyers of sacrifices ?

4. It is a festival of lights and is celebrated throughout India. As to its tradition and composition refer to the following articles by Dr. P. K. Gode.

- (a) "Some notes on the history of Divali festival" (between C.A.O. 50 and 1945) Annals of B.O.R.I. Vol. XXVI. pp. 216-262.
- (b) "The सुखसुप्तिका of the आदित्यपुराण and the नीलमत्तपुराण (A.D. 500-800) and its relation to modern दिवाळी festival". Journal of the Jha Institute, Allahabad. Vol. III. Part 2 pp. 205-216.
- (c) "The दिवाळी festival". Bharatiya Vidya. Bombay. Vol. III. Nos. 3 & 4 pp. 53-73.
- (d) दिवाळीचा इतिहास नवभारत (in Marathi)

It is a summary of the three preceeding articles.

VII

1. णवलया (IV. 21.) NAVALAYA.

2. A religious observance, in which a woman, who does not give out her husband's name, is beaten by people with branches of the पलाश (Butea frondose) tree.

3. That young bride is (said to be) observing the vow of णवलया, who if at the time of the game of a swing, is being asked the name of her husband, does not give it out and consequently is being beaten by her friends with पलाश twigs.

VIII

1. (IV. 45) NEDDARIA.

2. A festival on the tenth day of the first fortnight.

3. The (shrewd) lady of the town, as soon as she is informed of (in) the engagement of her lover by her maid, goes out under the pretext of seeing गेहूरीआ festival.

4. (a) The time and date of the festival has been given in the commentary by हेमचंद्र

(b) From the description in the illustration it seems that on that day it was possible to go out for visiting temples or seeing other demonstrations as in the days of Divali, the festival of light. Nothing, however can be said
• positively.

IX

1. दुक्कम् (V. 42) DUKKARAM.

2. Bathing early morning in the month of माघ (January - February).

3. O (lady) with a shivering body due to (religious observance)! who (else) is to be blamed when, you-who getting excited with swarms of tortises-court (fall into) great uneasiness caused by the (burden) of your difficult (vow).

4. माघस्नान. कार्तिकस्नान and वैशाखस्नान these व्रतस are very common in महाराष्ट्र in the present times also. The calender in is i.e. every month ends on the day viz. "no moon day". The tradition followed, however, in the observance of these अमाश्रतस is that these months are calculated from full-moon day to full-moon day; for example the माघस्नान begins from the full-moon day of the previous month i.e. पौष and ends by the middle of माघ on the full moon day.

1. पडणम् (VI.65) PAUNAM

2. A religious observance.

XI

1. पोअलओ (VI.81) POALAO

2. A festival in Asvina (September - October) in which the husband eats a cake received from the hands of his wife.

XII

1. फग्गू (VI.82) PHAGGU

2. The vernal festival

3. O shameless one! Why are you wielding-like a shield - the twig of a cotton bush, that you have held in your hand? For in the vernal festival, when creepers abound, the arrows, which are discharged by love, do not miss their aim.

4 From the description and illustration given above, Phaggu seems to be a counterpart of spring festival, which is often referred to in Sanskrit literature for example in शाकुतल act VI and in रत्नावलि Act. I.

XIII

1. भाउअम् (VI.103) BHAUAM

2. A festival to गौरी in the month of आषाढ (June-July).

3. O look! your brother's wife, who has received a hint (or has got an appointment) with her lover, is getting out of the house under the guise of भाउअ festival.

4. The prescription of the month of आषाढ for the festival is peculiar. There are no festivals to गौरी, in this month, though there are a number of festivals held in honour of गौरी, throughout the year.

- (a) The whole of the month of चैत्र is prescribed for holding a गौरी festival. It is parallel to वसंतोत्सव.
- (b) In the month of श्रावण there is मंगलगौरीव्रत prescribed for newly married brides.
- (c) In the month of भाद्रपद along with गणपति festival ज्येष्ठागौरी festival is prescribed.
- (d) In the month of आश्विन there is महालक्ष्मी festival.

XIV

1. महालवक्को (VI.127) MAHALA-VAKKHO

2. The second or dark fortnight of Bhādrapada (August-September) in which Sraddhas are performed to the dead relatives.

3. Owls are delighted with (at the approach of) autumn season, and Brahmanas are delighted at the dark fortnight of the month of भाद्रपद in which श्राद्धs are performed to the dead relatives; also women, with lotus-like eyes are delighted at the मकुडबंध ornament (which is worn across over the left and under the right shoulder (like the sacred thread)).

4. महालवक्ख is the dark-fortnight of the month of in which sacrifices to deceased ancestors are performed. It is neither a religious vow nor a festival.

The custom of offering sacrifices to manes is universal. It is found to exist throughout India and is observed in Maharashtra also.

XV

1. लयम् (VII. 16) LAYAM.

2. The festivity of the newly married couple, giving out the names of each other.

3. O Kumarpala ! The couples of enemy, as they run in all directions after seeing your army approaching (towards them) remember of the वय festivity in which the newly married couples are made to give out each others' names.

4. It is a peculiar festival, the parallel of which is not to be found in the standard traditional works on श्रत and उत्सवः.

There is however, a custom in महाराष्ट्र and कर्णाटक that the newly married couples are required to give out each other's names. The bride and the bridegroom put the name of their partner in a rhyming couplet, in which they can extol the partner as they like; and the whole ceremony takes place, in a jocular mood, when all people of the house gather to hear the names thus given out. Among women's gatherings this is often repeated, particularly when they gather for festivities and family gatherings. A woman's poetical genius is at its best here and these rhyming couplets, which are called उखाणा form a very interesting section of folk-literature in Marathi. Except for these rhyming couplets, to give out one's husband's (or wife's) name is taboo. Not to address an elder person by name is looked upon as a sign of showing respect to elder persons.

XVI

1. बहुमासो (VII. 46). VAHUMASO.

2. The period of honeymoon (when the lover does not leave the bride's house.)

3. O Kumara Pala Prince ! you, who have displayed the strength of your arms ! you are not coming out of the courtyard (in the form of battle-field) of your new bride (in form of victory in battle). Are you observing again बहुमास (Are you enjoying another honeymoon ?)

1. वोरली (VII. 81) VORALI.

2. The festival on the fourteenth day of the first fortnight of Sravana (July-August). Some call this धावणशुक्लचतुदशी itself as वोरली.

3. Owing to anxious impatient heart, and due to separation also, my eyes are half rolling (as if in intoxication). How can I see the festival Voralli? O friend! Why are you insisting on my going out, under the pretext of seeing Voralli?

सुगिम्हअम् this word is considered to be देश्य by other lexicographers. हेमचंद्र, however, takes it to be a तद्भव and that is why he has not included it in his 'नाममाला' proper. In the commentary he tells us that the word सुगिम्हअम् comes from the Sanskrit word सुग्रीष्मक and it is a festival to be celebrated in the month of फागुन.

THE CONCEPT OF SAKSIN AS A UNIQUE ADVAITIST PRINCIPLE OF KNOWLEDGE

by

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To have a correct understanding of Advaitist Idealism, one should analyse it firstly from the objective side and then try to come over to the subjective to make the analysis clear. What then are the connotations of the objective and the subjective sides in this regard? It requires the following considerations.—

(1) What is the status of the object or the objective side in Advaita? (2) What is meant by the subject or the subjective side? (3) Are there any means to connect the two? (4) What are these means and how can they connect the two?

Now, the Advaitist will reply to the first question by saying that the objective world has an empiric status, and it is capable of being epistemologically known at least, though ultimately it is a projection upon Consciousness (we shall always use this term with the capital 'C' as the 'near equivalent, though not fully so, to the 'Spirit' of Western Philosophy). It is true of all epistemic knowledge, be it true or false. The objective world is known whether truly or falsely, but that does not take away from its ultimate falsity. To *know* the object means to have some sort of dispelling regarding its revelation and this 'revelation' is the end of epistemic knowledge, neither more nor less. Here, therefore, the Advaitist has brought in the theory of 'revelation' through *vrttis* or some peculiar but indispensable mental modes to connect the object to the subject who, without these, could not have experienced such 'revelation' of the object. In epistemic relations the objects are always the *relata*, and subject the other pole of having these *relata* into its temporary 'events of time'. Thus though the principle of Ignorance (avidya) is the basal principle to understand the Advaitist approach to the objective side, it has really a metaphysical necessity. Empirically, the objects are to be *known* and this knowledge is their 'revelation' through particular *vrttis* to the subject.

Now, this particular approach of Advaita towards the comprehension of the object through peculiar and inevitable mental modes necessarily warrants a deeper problem. That problem is connected with the question posed above under 2 to 4. Who is the real subject and how and why is he so connected with the object? Advaita has approached this problem from the subjective point of view. It is some 'knower' (*pramatr*) who is always pointed as having such epistemic connections. Now this knower is always the subject circumscribed by the mind (which is known as the *antahkarana*, though it is not the fullest equivalent to mind as understood in the West). Such a *pramatr* has always to be there

to have a connection with the external world, through the expression of peculiar *vrttis* that are all of the *antahkarana* whenever there is valid knowledge (*prama*). Thus this subject is also the empiric subject as 'I', 'You', 'He', 'She', 'They', or in other words, the particular *Jiva* who has the handmaid, the *antahkarana*, in all its epistemic situations of valid knowledge.

We have now arrived at our subject of discussion viz. the nature, characteristics and function of the *Saksin* in Advaita. Before we do that, it is worthwhile to discuss what *Saksin* actually means in ordinary language and what implications it arouses. Panini (5/2/91) says that *Saksin* is one who is designated as some one who has seen or known something direct. Thus *Saksad drastr* is *Saksin*, that is to say, any one who is the *direct* witness to any situation. Hence, even in forensic language a witness is required to be such a person, and hence *Saksin* in Sanskrit and some vernacular languages also is used and translated as 'witness'. Such being the case, the word *Saksin* as employed in Advaita is only a glimpse of the ordinary usage and implication of it or its English equivalent 'witness'. In Advaita, the *Saksin* is used to denote *Consciousness as the direct but passive witness to all objects without any necessity of active behaviour which is mainly of the knowing agent*. Thus a peculiar way of looking at the revelation of the object to the subject has grown, and it is the more deep-rooted Advaita analysis of *Saksin*. In no other branch of Indian Philosophy has *Saksin* been held to be such a unique principle, except some stray and somewhat different references to its nature in Sankhya-Yoga system.

The Naiyayikas would deny the existence of *Saksin* as a separate principle from the *pramatr* or knower, as is held in Advaita. Their argument will centre round the non-determination and hence non-necessity of any such separate principle. They hold that all empiric knowledge rises in the knower (*pramatr*) through some means (*pramana*) regarding some object (*prameya*). These are the three categories of any knowledge-situation. They would give a consistent explanation of all knowledge-situation basing on these three categories. Thus Vatsyayana in his *Nyaya-Bhasya* has shown that these three plus the resultant knowledge (*pramiti*) are the *caturvarga* (four-fold scheme of knowledge). The Naiyayikas would never admit like the Advaitists that there is a separate principle as *Saksin* over and above the *pramatr* on the following grounds:—(1) Whatever is capable of being known is capable of being known as an object of valid knowledge (*Yad yad jneyam tat tat prameyam*). An object not being endowed with the capacity of being known as an object of valid knowledge, cannot also be capable of being known, or in other words, such an object does not exist at all. All objects, be they of even illusory situations like rope-snake, must necessarily *have the capacity* of being known *previously* as an object of valid knowledge. Otherwise, about an object which is never capable of being known as an object of valid knowledge, no illusory knowledge is also possible. We cannot have illusory knowledge of snake on rope if the snake was not at least previously known as an object of valid knowledge. (2) The

Naiyayikas would deny any separate *Saksin* even for the knowing of the illusory object. The *pramatr* is the matrix of the knowledge and the object is *capable of being known* by the *pramatr* as an object of the valid process of knowledge. No other principle is warranted to account for the knowledge of the object where no valid process of knowledge exists as in illusory situations, for the *pramatr*, as in valid knowledge—situations, is here the sole guarantor of the *objective* knowledge of the rope-snake that is only illusory due to other subjective and even objective hindrances to real knowledge. (3) This extreme empiricism is, therefore, the cudgel in the Naiyayikas' hand to crush any separate revealing principle like the Advaitists' *Saksin* which, therefore, becomes unnecessary and unprovable.

From these arguments the Naiyayika position comes to be examined at some greater details, for they have tried to demolish any *Saksin* of the Advaitist type which is consciousness as revelation *per se*, and have advocated, that knowledge is *knowable* (*vedyag-jnanaadin*). This is the crux of the whole problem and the bone of contention between the Advaitist and the Naiyayika. Knowability of knowledge—on it hinges the whole super-structure of epistemic and metaphysic theories of the two Schools. Let us consider in brief what is meant by the Naiyayika contention that knowledge is knowable. The extreme empiricist position of the Naiyayika would hold that knowledge is a category that is not revealed by itself whenever the object is known; on the contrary, knowledge has to be known like any other entity (say, the jar which is known) by a posterior knowledge. If 'jar' is the object of knowledge, the 'knowledge' that the jar has been such an object (to a subject) awaits further moment of reflection. The jar and its knowledge are not known by the same act of subjective knowledge. The jar is first objectified in knowledge (to the subject) and then the subject knows *by a posterior moment of reflection* that it has knowledge of the objectified jar. This knowability of knowledge, according to the Naiyayikas, is necessary for the fact that in an objective knowledge, knowledge itself has not to be revealed; the knowledge of object is by its very nature the sufficient ground for the object being revealed; knowledge itself need not be revealed. If it has to be revealed, it must have the *capacity* of being 'objectified' in a posterior moment. The Naiyayika position is that knowledge, desire, pleasure, pain etc., are all the specific qualities of the self and hence can be internally known, and along with them can guarantee the 'internal perception' of the self itself. Otherwise these qualities and the self are not the object of any direct revelation. Here we clearly note the realistic bias of the Naiyayikas who hold that every object, to be revealed, must be known, and hence all specific qualities of the self and the self itself are also to be the objects, but not of external means of perception; their revelation is possible because of their being known as objects of internal perception (*manasa-pratyaksavedya*). Such being the epistemic position of the Naiyayikas they can easily dispense with 'direct revelation' of knowledge, desire, pleasure, pain etc. and of Self. Here the Advaitist position is at poles asunder from the Naiyayika. The Advaitists would never posit knowledge, desire

etc., to be specific qualities of Self, for Self is ubiquitous, quality-less Pure Consciousness. All these belong to the realm of the not-Self, the mind, the *antahkarana*. Thus they are revealed direct and not through any means, even internal. What is after all internal perception? Is it perception of the internal qualities or of mind or of Self or of all of them through some sense-object contact? If the Naiyayikas cannot rid themselves of this chimera of sense-object contact through an internal organ, i.e., the mind, then they should say that the mind is unknown (as the external senses like eye etc.) and all such qualities and Self,—their substratum,—are also to be connected with the 'mind' to be revealed and hence to be known. Let us consider the difficulties in such a theory. Firstly, knowledge as a specific quality of Self has to be known, but knowledge, being known, would only be a condition precedent to the object's revelation but would never be a realised fact. As the senses (*indriyas*) are all conditions precedent to any contact with the object in a knowledge-situation, but are not resultant knowledge by themselves, similarly, knowledge will be an unrealised fact. But that would be a flagrant violation of our experience. Secondly, 'mind', being a sense (internal), must be posited as unknown. But in an act of knowledge the 'mind' also is known. That is possible because 'mind' is not a sense and hence not a *sine qua non* to be known through itself which entails the difficulty of its knowledge. As the qualities of knowledge, pleasure etc., are objects of direct revelation, mind also is an object of direct revelation, and such direct revelation does not posit that all things should have a sense-object contact, even internal, and the sense itself should remain unrevealed and unknown. That would also be a flagrant violation of our direct experience. Thirdly, the Self has also to be objectified according to the Naiyayikas through mental perception) but the Self is ever-revealed without any interim process of the mind and its contact. It is revealed not through any mind and as possessing some qualities, but *per se* i.e., on its own ground, on its own merits of being consciousness which needs no further contact or objectification. Here, therefore, the Advaitists part way from the Naiyayikas and we should bear in mind that this self-revelation (*svaprakasatva* of Consciousness is the background of their unique principle of *Saksin*. As *Brahman* is the *Absolute* Consciousness in the metaphysical analysis, the *Saksin* is also in some way akin to *Brahman*, though as self-revealed yet testifying to all the epistemic behaviour through the mind, of the mind, through the *indriyas* regarding external objects and even through Ignorance-principle. It is, therefore, the real 'witness', itself being Consciousness *per se* and detached from all reference yet making for all objective knowledge either through media or direct in its own light.

The Naiyayika standpoint cannot account for knowledge as ever being revelation. They hold that knowledge need not be known under every circumstance, but *it has the capability of being known*. Whenever the object is revealed, knowledge about the object is not of necessity to be known. The object, being known, need not necessarily pre-suppose that its knowledge has also to be known; but only indicates that by a posterior moment (of reflection) the primary knowledge *can be objectified* and hence can be known. In

our ordinary behaviour, knowledge about an object is sufficient but knowledge of the knowledge is not a *necessary* and indispensable empiric behaviour. It is capable, whenever we try to reflect, of being known; that is to say, it is known by another posterior moment of knowledge. This logical analysis of empiric behaviour and epistemic possibility of the realm of knowledge about an object is the corner-stone of the Naiyayika position. Their thesis seems to be unassailable from the practical empiric point of view. But, they also make room for knowability of knowledge whenever we are in need of such a situation of knowledge. This double-faced theory of the knowability of knowledge again assumes greater logical importance when the Naiyayikas would hold that all the posterior moments of knowledge should not be known, for it is the one primary knowledge (*Vyavasaya*) which can be secondarily known (by *anuvyavasaya*). That is to say, to avoid *regressus ad infinitum* the Naiyayikas may put forward the view that knowability of knowledge goes up to the second moment of reflection but not beyond that. Some difficulty therefore would naturally confront the Naiyayikas even though they try to evade it on logical grounds. What do the Naiyayikas mean by non-indispensability of knowledge regarding the second moment of knowledge onwards? Is it only an empiric non-indispensability or a logical one? Regarding the first, we can say that we have really no empiric necessity to know knowledge beyond the second moment. 'This is a jar' and 'I know that (there is a knowledge that) this is a jar'—these two are sufficient for subject (*pramatr*) to know. Hence on empiric grounds there is no third knowledge. But if we ask the Naiyayikas what guarantee they can give to the existence of the second knowledge, we are sure that the logical necessity will force them into knowability of the second knowledge. As the guarantee of the existence of the first knowledge is the knowledge of it by the second, similarly no earthly logic can debar us from arguing that the guarantee of the second's existence is through the knowledge by a third, and *ad infinitum*. Thus the Naiyayikas would be caught in their own trap, and will not be able to extricate themselves from the mesh of infinite regress regarding the existence of any knowledge guaranteed by another knowledge.

Let us analyse the conditions of knowledge when it is 'internally known'. It is held by the Naiyayikas that relation between the mind and the Self on the one hand and the (internal) objects on the other constitutes the conditions precedent to their knowledge. Now, it is also held by the Naiyayikas that every effect has an efficient cause (*asamavayi-karana*) and this cause is different for different effects. We should ask the Naiyayikas about the efficient cause of knowledge of the first moment and of the second moment. Is this cause the same for both or different? It cannot be same for both, for there would be the simultaneous rising of the two moments of knowledge, which is not a fact. Thus the two efficient causes for the internal knowledge-situations (of the first and second moments) cannot be the same but must be different. But that will again entail difficulties. For, they hold that whenever there is a new cause for knowledge, the previous cause has to be destroyed at least *after four moments* (contact in the mind, separation from it,

destruction of the previous contact and rise of the posterior contact) and hence the second knowledge will rise after the lapse of some duration when the previous one has disappeared. Thus the first knowledge (*vyavasaya*) cannot be the object of direct knowledge (*pratyaksa*) to the second knowledge (*anuvyavasaya*), for the former no longer exists.

This non-existence of the first knowledge (*vyavasaya*) is also logically proveable when the second knowledge (*anuvyavasaya*) arises, from another point of view. It is held by the Naiyayikas that all determinate (*savikalpaka*) perception pre-supposes a kind of indeterminate (*nirvikalpaka*) perception. Thus in the case of primary perception (*vyavasaya*) of, say, jar, the Naiyayikas posit as a logical necessity a prior state of knowledge of 'jar-hood'. This prior state of knowledge, therefore, is the *nirvikalpaka-pratyaksa* necessary for the posterior *savikalpaka-pratyaksa* of the jar. But even though those two moments may not be articulate in the perception of jar which arises whenever the sense is in contact with the object, yet the Naiyayikas posit the prior state as logically possible and necessary. Now this standpoint of the Naiyayikas can be extended to the second knowledge which they call *anuvyavasaya*. We may argue that, at the time of the direct knowledge of second knowledge, it necessarily pre-supposes the prior perception of 'Knowledge-hood' (*jnanatva*) at least logically. Thus this *nirvikalpaka*-knowledge of knowledge-hood, it can be well argued, will destroy the direct knowledge of the *savikalpaka* knowledge of the first moment (*vyavasaya-savikalpaka-pratyaksa*) by the knowledge of the second moment (*anuvyavasaya-jnana*). This logical possibility of the non-existence of the prior knowledge as *savikalpaka* or determinate (as 'this is jar') which is sought to be known direct by the posterior *savikalpaka*-knowledge of *anuvyavasaya* will never make the Naiyayikas realise their desired objective.

Let us now discuss the real nature of *Saksin* which the Advaitist calls the all-witnessing principle. It has been well-established in the Advaitist Philosophy that *Saksin* is the self-luminous Principle which guarantees all direct knowledge. What then is the nature of this Principle? It is no doubt true that *Brahman* in its pure state is not the *Saksin*, nor the *Jiva* who being limited by the *antahkarana* is the *pramatr* (knower). The *Saksin* is, therefore, the self-effulgent light, almost akin to *Brahman*-Consciousness but differing from the latter in that it is not the pure state where all objective awareness of particular moments is ended, once for all. The *Saksin* is the witness of all direct awareness of, primarily, the mind, its *vrttis* and the specific qualities, and *avidya*—principle that can project and create all sorts of illusory objects and the principle itself as making for pure unknown-ness of an object. Now, all these cases of direct awareness cannot be sufficiently and satisfactorily explained save by the principle of *Saksin*. While *Brahman* is being veiled and projected upon by the omnipotent *maya*, while *Jiva* is being guided by the *antahkarana*, itself a product of *avidya*, the direct awareness of all that is possible of knowledge in any way conceivable even in this make-belief world of knowledge is possible because there is this distinct principle of *Saksin* that is pure in Consciousness, yet is not

veiled and still is detached as witness to all manner of direct revelation in every individual. The *Saksin* accordingly is not the *Jiva* but even individually working with *antahkarana* which is an associate and not an attribute. Hence to *Jiva-Saksin* all things are revealed direct even though they have no chance of being known through any *working* of the *antahkarana*. The *antahkarana* works whenever there is the possibility of its being an attribute of *Jiva* in all *active processes of knowing*. This *Saksin*, therefore, has been accepted by the Advaitist even in individual *Jiva's* (i.e., one circumscribed within the *antahkarana*) empiric behaviour only as a detached witness being the direct revealer of all objects and states that are sometimes dependent on some means of active *knowing*. To *Saksin* no knowledge is unknown, for it is always shining in its own light of Consciousness. It knows whatever exists as knowable (even as unknown) to the individual in the most *direct and passive manner*. The *Saksin* is primarily the direct witness of all internal states (of perception, feeling, etc.) which the Naiyayikas try to know by other equal states (and this Naiyayika position has been examined in detail and shown failing in its objective).

We have not purposely discussed here the Advaitist theories of *Saksin* in the cosmic *mayic* references to an *Isvara* or God who has this associate (*upadhi*) of *maya*. Those cosmic or teleological theories are not within the scope of this paper. We have started with the empirical and individual situations and have ended with these very situations to show the Advaitist approach towards an idealistic situation in empiric and epistemic behaviour of the individual (*Jiva*). We have tried to show that the Advaitist position regarding the self-luminous Principle of *Saksin* is somewhat unique in Indian, and even Western, Philosophy.

SANKARA AND VAISNAVISM.

by

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Sankara's extreme idealistic monism, postulating the sole reality of an attributeless and unconditioned Brahman, devoid of all associations and personality and permitting an illusive and provisional reality of the world and the individual, hardly leaves any scope for dualistic conception of an individual soul's longing for a personal deity. Though admitting various degrees of reality, the essential dualism involved in a religious attitude of Bhakti in making a distinction between the devotee and the deity and implying an emotional realisation of a personal God¹ in the individual consciousness had to be reconciled with the absolute impersonal and the non-dualistic interpretation given of Vedanta Sutra. Having this in mind, we find Sankara advocating in his Brhadaranyaka Upanisad Bhasya 5. 1. 1., that one should worship "Aum" with special attributes along with faith (Sraddha) and Bhakti,² as it is not possible to grasp the attributless Brahman.³

Tradition says that Sankara was a worshipper of Siva. It is a fact that in and around the birth place of the great philosopher-saint, Saivism holds its sway. But a study of his major works shows that, in all probability he was a follower of Vaisnavism. Moreover, it is said that the tutelary deity of Sankara was Krishna. He is taken to have given expression to his true personal views on

1. ef : The doctrine of Sankara, though of great merit from the metaphysical point of view, was rather too elevated and too impersonal for the ordinary people, who wanted something more definite and personal. No doubt Sankara in order to accommodate such people, admitted a personal God and popular belief attributes to him the introduction of the worship of Panchayatana or the five Gods together, so as to displease no one. But a God was after all of an illusory and second rate importance in his system.

p. 20. V. S. Ghate : The The Vedanta.
(B.O.R.I. Poona 1926).

2. Refer here to a ne definition of Bhakti in Sivananda Lahari, attributed to Sankara :

अङ्गोलं निजबीजसन्ततिर्यस्कान्तोपलं सूचिका
साङ्गी नैजविभुं लता क्षितिरुहं सिन्धुः सरिद्वल्लभम् ।
प्राप्नोतीह यथा तथा पशुपतेः पादारविन्दद्वयं
चेतोवृत्तिरुपेत्य तिष्ठति सदा सा भक्तिरित्युच्यते ॥

Sl. 61.

3. यत्तत्परमाकाशं पुराणं खं तं चक्षुराद्यविषयत्वान्निरालंबनं अशक्यं ग्रहीतुं "श्रद्धा भक्तिभ्यां" भावविशेषेणचोकारे आवेशयति ॥ Sankara on Br : up : S. 1. 1.

the matter in such works of his as, Govindastaka (commencing from सत्यज्ञानमनन्ते.....”), Satpadi stotra, Bhaja Govinda Stotra, etc.⁴ But an attempt has been made here in the following pages to show that he was not a Saiva, but a Vaisnava and to support this view evidences from some of his major works have been given below. Gita Bhasya has been deliberately deleted, for the simple reason, that Bhagavadgita, itself is a Vaisnavite text.

In his commentary on Brahma-Sutras, under Sutra I. iii. 14, while discussing the locality of Brahman (Brahma-Pura), Sankara says that the highest Brahman is also connected with the body of the individual soul, because the latter constitutes the basis for the perception of Brahman.⁵ Thus assuming Brahma-Pura to be identical with Jiva-Pura, he says that Brahman is present in the body of the individual soul just as Visnu is in Salagrama.

Again under Sutra I. ii. 14, raising the objection: how the omnipresent Brahman can be localised in a small place like the eye (अक्ष्यन्त्यस्थान), Sankara says, that though, Brahman is really without any quality, He is spoken of as possessing the qualities of *nama-rupa*, for the purposes of उपासना.⁷ Indeed it will not be contradictory, if Brahman, although omnipresent is localised in certain place in order to facilitate one's meditation or perception.⁸ Here he compares the Saguna-Upasana of Brahman to the worship of Visnu in a Salagrama.

Further under Sutra IV. i. 3, the opponent, in putting forth his objection regarding the identity of transmigratory soul and the Lord, says that, if Isvara is identified with the individual soul, then it would follow that Isvara as such does not exist and scriptures thus would become meaningless.⁹ Continuing his objection, he

4. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his list of the authentic works of Sankara accepts these also as genuine. Vide: his Lectures on Vedanta p. 222. The author here endorses the opinion of the learned scholar.

5. S'B : I. iii. 14 : तस्याप्यस्ति पुरेणानेन संबन्धः, उपलब्ध्यधिष्ठानत्वात् ॥

Ref ; Bhamati here :

उपलब्धेरधिष्ठानं ब्रह्मणो देह इष्यते ।

तेनासाधरणत्वेन देहो ब्रह्मपुरं भवेत् ॥

6. ibidem ; अथवा जीवपुर एवस्मिन्ब्रह्म सन्निहितमुपलक्ष्यते ॥

George Thibant translates sannibhita as 'near', but it would be appropriate to translate here as "present"

7. S'B r I. ii. 14. निर्गुणमपि सद्ब्रह्म नामरूपगतैर्गुणैः सगुणमुपासनार्थं तत्रतत्रोपदिश्यते इत्युक्तम् ॥

8. ibidem : सर्वगतस्यापि ब्रह्मणः उपलब्ध्यर्थं स्थानविशेषो न विरुध्यते ॥

9. S'B : IV. i. 3 ; ईश्वरस्य संसार्यात्मत्वे ईश्वराभावप्रसङ्गः । ततः शास्त्रानर्थक्यम् ॥

says, though Isvara and Jiva are really different, whether this identification is to be assumed merely because it is so mentioned in the scriptures, in some manner as Visnu is identified in his image. Refuting all these objections, Sankara replies that, the Highest Lord must be understood as the Self.¹⁰ But what the opponent says that all the scriptural passages teach merely a contemplation of Isvara in certain symbols cannot be admitted.¹¹ This contemplation on Isvara in certain symbols is analogous to the contemplation of Visnu in an image.

Under Sutra IV. i. 5, Sankara says that, Brahman is meditated upon, in so far as a contemplation of Brahman is superimposed on its symbols. The analogy is again the same, as a contemplation of Visnu is superimposed on his image.¹² We see that, in all the above quoted passages, he exemplifies the ideas by giving illustrations of Visnu and his Pratima. And we do not come across a single instance where he mentions Siva or any other deity either by way of illustration or example.

For him the ultimate goal is the same as *Parama-Pada* of Visnu (तदिष्णोः परमं पदं), as he mentions in *Brahmasutra Bhasya* six times.¹³

Under Sutra, II. ii. 42, while criticising the doctrine of the Bhagavata school, we find Sankara accepting the salient points of their doctrine that, Narayana, who is higher than the undeveloped, who is the Highest Self, and Self of all, reveals Himself, by dividing himself into manifold ways.¹⁴ Sankara's main contention here, against the Bhagavatas is that, he cannot accept the theory that the individual soul originates from Vasudeva, the Supreme Being.¹⁵ Further he continues that the form of Vasudeva cannot properly be limited to four only, as the whole world from Brahman down to the blade of grass is understood to be a manifestation of the Supreme Being.¹⁶ So we are assured that Sankara did not entirely dis-

10. *ibidem* ; आत्मेत्येव ईश्वरः प्रतिपत्तव्यः ॥

11. *ibidem* ; यदुक्तं प्रतीकदर्शनमिदं विष्णुप्रतिमान्यायेन भविष्यतीति तदयुक्तम् ॥

12. S'B s IV. 1. 5 ; ईदृशं चात्र ब्रह्मण उपास्यत्वं यत्प्रतीकेषु तत् दृष्ट्याध्यारोपणं प्रतिमादिष्विव विष्णवादीनां

13. For example, under Sutras I. iv. 1 (twice), I. iv. 3, I. iv. 14 and IV. iii. 10.

14. S'B : II. ii. 42: योऽसौ नारायणो परोऽव्यक्तासिद्धः परात्मा सर्वात्मा च आत्मनात्मानमनेकधा व्यूह्यावस्थित इति तन्निराक्रियते ॥

15. *ibidem* ; नवासुदेवसंज्ञात्परमात्मनो संकर्षणं संज्ञकस्य जीवकस्य उत्पत्तिः । अनित्यत्वादि दोषप्रसङ्गात् ॥

16. S'B: II. ii. 44 ; न चैते भगवद्ब्रह्माश्चतुस् संख्यायामेवावतिष्ठेरन् , ब्रह्मादिस्तंब-पर्यन्तस्य समस्तस्यैव जगतः भगवद्ब्रह्मत्वावगमात् ॥

regard the Bhagavata doctrine, but for a special reason, he only concealed his own predilection for the superior teaching of Bhakti and preached deliberately a doctrine of non-duality, which tended to obscure it.¹⁷

In his Bhasyas on the Upanisads also, we meet with the same illustrations often. For example; Br. up. I. iii. 1; I. i. 1; v. i. 1; Ch. up VIII. 1-4; Taitt. up. 1-6 and 1-8.

In these and other references Sankara uses the same simile only to illustrate his notion of Saguna-Upasana. For his Isvara or the Supreme God and Visnu are synonyms. This is very well stated by him in his Bhasyas on Brahadaranyaka and Mandukya Karika.

य ईदृशीश्वरो “नारायणाख्यः” पृथिवीं पृथिवी देवतां यमति
नियमयति स्वव्यापारे अन्तरोऽन्यन्तरस्तिष्ठन् एव त आत्मा ॥

Sankara on Br. up. 3. 7. 3.

While commenting on Mandukya Karika IV-I, Sankara interpretes the word संबुद्ध. in the Karika to mean नारायण.

In his Sutra Bhasya also we find an allusion to this effect; under Sutra II. i. 1, after quoting a sloka from a Purana, (which Haridiksita, in his Brahmasutra Vritti records a quotation from Visnupurana).

अतश्च संक्षेपमिमं श्रुणुध्वं नारायणः सर्वमिदं पुराणः ।
स सर्गकाले च करोति सर्वं संहारकाले च तदस्ति भूयः ॥

Sankara says that this and many other Sruti texts declare the same context while referring to Apastambha, he clearly synonymises परमात्मन् and Visnu. This clearly reveals the fact that, by परमेश्वर or परमात्मन् he means Visnu or Narayana.

Further we see that Shankara accepts Vaisnava Puranās, apart from Mahabharata, to substantiate his views, as smṛti texts, which evidently are an authority for the followers of Vaisnavism. As example a sloka from Visnu Purana, has been referred to already.

17. p. 200. S.K.De : Vaisnava Faith and Movement. (1942. Calcutta General Printers and Publishers)

18. कुलं पवित्रं जननी कृतार्था वसुन्धरा पुण्यवती च येन ।
अपारसंवित् सुखसागरेऽस्मिन् लीने परे ब्रह्मणि यस्य चेतः ॥
(of : सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि ।
संपश्यन्नात्मयाजी वै स्वाराज्यमधिगच्छति ॥ Manu ; 12. 91.)

Even in his original writings on Vedanta metaphysics, Upadesa-Sahasri, we come across the same illustration, knower of Brahman will see his own self everywhere. After realising that ultimate, Absolute entity, which is all pervasive, he takes every fellow being of his to be his own self. This knower of Brahman, as he has realised the highest knowledge of वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्, works and desires the good of all (सर्वभूत हितैरताः ॥). Indeed it is on account of these men of spiritual realisation rapt in innate union with Brahman, the ocean of infinite Bliss and knowledge, that everything on earth becomes ennobled. Just developing this conception of identifying one's self in all, Sankara uses a simile. Just in the same way as Vasudeva speaks of Himself as residing in the pipal tree, a knower of Brahman identifies himself in all. May be this has been taken from Bh. G. x-26. अश्वत्थः सर्ववृक्षेषु ॥ but yet the significant use of this here, hints to his firm conviction as a devotee of Visnu.

Further, in the same text in Sloka XVIII-100, we come across a simile of the same type. He discusses how the ignorance of a man is removed by hearing the Mahavakya तत्त्वमसि. It is only on account of nescience that one considers himself to be separate from Brahman and takes this empirical world to be real. The very fact of his individuality is phenomenal in character. The teaching of this mahavakya removes the ignorance in one and brings in the light of that highest knowledge as to the identity of his self and Brahman. In the same way as Rama, the son of Dasaratha, was removed of his ignorance by Brahma, by saying that he was Visnu, the ignorance of an individual is removed by the teaching of the mahavakya.

The notion of Maya which Sankara elaborates seems to have been greatly influenced by the Vaisnavic thought. The Vaisnavic school holds Maya to be the Sakti of Isvara. This Mayasakti causes the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, and consists of an aspect of Bahirangavibhava or extraneous power of the material Prakriti or Pradhana. "To characterise Maya as the Bahiranga Sakti, indirectly related to Brahman, makes Brahman completely transcendent, for, this indirect relation strictly speaking is no relation; in the series of relations it is the third. Maya is related to Jiva, Jiva to Svarupa Sakti, Svarupa Sakti to Isvara. It is the creative energy, but the creative energy of Prakriti has no direct touch with Isvara. Isvara becomes completely transcendental. Although unconnected with the essential Self, this energy is as real as the other and the resultant world is rela-

19. Upadesa Sahasri : XV. II.

वासुदेवे यथाश्वत्थे स्वदेहे चाब्रवीत्समम् । तद्वद्वेति य आत्मानं समं स ब्रह्मविस्तमः ॥

ब्रह्मा दाशरथेर्यद्वदुत्तयैवापानदुतमः । तस्य विष्णुत्वसंबोधे न यन्नान्तरमूचिवान् ॥

20. p. 140. M. N. Sircar : *Comparative Studies in Vedantism* ! (1929, London ; Oxford Univ. Press.)

tively real. The Bhagavat is as much the substratum of Svanga-Sakti as that of the Maya Sakti and in the form of Paramatman, the Bhagavat is the displayer of Maya. Although Jiva consists of pure-consciousness (Cit-rupa), it is yet overpowered by Mayasakti, which is the cause of Samsara, while Maya being an extraneous Sakti of Bhagavat, the Bhagavat is superior to it, and is untouched by its influence. Hence Jiva and Brahman are perceived as different in essence (sevyā) and capacity samarthya). The relation of master (sevyā) and servant (sevaka) of the Paramatman and Jivatman is real. Sankara also regards Maya as the Sakti of Isvara. In all the places where he has expressed the notion of Maya, it can be clearly seen that by Maya Sankara means the Vaisnavi Maya. He also considers Maya as the creative aspect of the Lord, but he does not consider it as a metaphysical reality. Unlike Vaisnavism, he does not hold the reality of all the creations of Maya, but takes them as only phenomenal. He also understands, that it is Paramesvara who spreads this Maya and stands aloof from it, being untouched. Further he does not take that individual soul and Paramatman are different. It is on account of this Maya Sakti the individual soul appears to be different. But ultimately both are same. So we find that Sankara is influenced to a certain extent by the Vaisnavic thought. Thus while modifying the concept to suit his own doctrine. In his Sutra Bhasya on III. ii. 7, he quotes a sloka from Mahabharata to this effect as being said by Narayana to Narada.

तथा च विश्वरूपधरो नारायणो नारदमुवाचेति स्मर्यते ;

माया ह्येषा मया सृष्टा यन्मां पश्यसि नारद ।

सर्वभूतगुणैर्युक्तं नैवं मां ज्ञातुमर्हसि ॥

MBh. (Naraynopakhyaṇa)
Santi 339-44

Thus it is possible to interpret the statements of Sankara in his Bhasyas in favour of Vaisnavism. This is only a hint for further investigations into the problem. I leave it to the world of scholars to decide whether Sankara was definitely a Saiva or definitely a Vaisnava, in the light of modern researches.

21. p. 202. Vaisnava Faith and movement.

22. S'B: II. i. 9 ; यथा स्वयं प्रसारितया माया मायावी त्रिष्वपि कालेषु न संस्पृश्यते, अवस्तुत्वात्, एवं परमात्मापि संसारमायया न संस्पृश्यत इति ॥

NYAYALANKARA-TIPPANA (IN MS. FORM) OF
UPADHYAYA.

ABHAYATILAKA (13TH-14TH Cen. A.D.)

by

JITENDRA S. JETLEY,

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This work is a running commentary on four Nyaya works, viz., the Bhasya of Vatsyayana, the Vartika of Udyotakara, the Tatparyatika of Vacaspati Misra and Tatparya-Parisuddhi of Udayanacarya. The work is an unpublished one. Two MSS. of this work have been examined by me—one paper MS. lying in Bada Bhandara at Jaisalmer and the other palm-leaf MS. lying in Muni Hukamji's Bhandara at Surat. The work being a commentary on the above mentioned four commentaries is as big as 12,000 sloka measure. In this work Abhayatilaka-gani informs us that he consulted and followed the work Pancapraस्था-Nyayatarka of Srikantha which also explained the difficult portions of the above four commentaries.

I may here incidentally say that I have examined a MS. of this work of Srikantha containing 47 folios at Jaisalmer and can therefore say that the work of Abhayatilaka is an independent work. Srikantha seems to follow the style of similar works, viz., Vivarana Pancika of Aniruddha.¹ From my examination of a MS. fragment of this work of Aniruddha lying in Bada Bhandara at Jaisalmer I can say that it is a running commentary on the Nyaya-Bhasya, Vartika and the Tatparyatika.² From the fact that this Pancika does not contain a commentary on Udayana's Tatparya-Parisuddhi I am tempted to guess that Aniruddha existed prior to Udayanacarya. Other independent evidence is however necessary to establish the point.

Counting back to Abhayatilaka as he states in the opening verses and at the end of each Adhyaya of Nyayalankara-Tippana, Jinesvarasuri was his Diksa Guru while Lakshmitilakagani was his Vidyaguru. From this we can say that Lakshmitilakagani, the author of Pratyekabuddha-Caritra Mahakavya (10,130 Sloka measure), must have been a good Naiyayika though none of his

1 This Naiyayika Aniruddha is different from the Sankhya Aniruddha—the author of Sankhyasutra-Vrtti, and has not been known to modern scholars.

2. The MS contains Panjika of only four Adhayas of Nyayasāstra 2nd, 3rd, 4th & 5th. However the first Adhyaya is lost and it is not found in any of the Jaina Bhandaras.

works on Nyaya is known. Nyayalankara opens with the following verses :—

दिनेश्वरश्चेतकरौ गवांसरैः सितप्रकाशप्रविलासिते भृशम् ।
यस्यास्य केलीसचिवौ नु राजतो लौकेऽप्यलोके विभु तन्महः स्तुमः ॥ १ ॥

कान्त्याश्लिष्टजटाच्छटाकपटतः संसारकूलङ्कपा
कूलोल्लेखनकृत्वतोऽधितिशिरसं सलग्नवल्ल्यद्भुतः ।
त्राट्कुर्वन् मधुरैर्यशोध्वनिभैरन्याग्ये ममोद्यच्छतो
मार्गे सिद्धिकृते समस्तु वृषभेशः सम्मुखीनः शुभः ॥ २ ॥

स मम भवतु प्रेयः श्रेयः श्रिये परमेश्वरः सकलजगतीदीपः पार्श्वः प्रभुः प्रणतामरः ।
यदुपरि फणाचक्रं भव्याञ्जनाय शिवश्रिया किल विनिहितं मारानीलं सुपात्रमभाजत ॥ ३ ॥

आज्ञा कल्पलतां जिनेश्वरगुरोस्तज्जैनदत्तं मह-
श्चिन्तारत्नमथाप्य[पि]लक्ष्मीतिलकोपाध्यायगीः स्वर्गकी ।
श्रीन्यायाभिधतर्कशक्रमपि पुम्मात्रेण धीदुस्थता-
भाजोद्वाहयितु मुदुगनपदव्याख्याङ्गजाऽरम्भ्यते ॥ ४ ॥

श्री श्रीकण्ठेनाहिता दुर्गुमार्थव्याख्यास्माभिर्यावतीक्षां वभूवे ।
पञ्चप्रस्थन्यायतर्कस्य तस्या तावत्याः साऽन्या विधेयेति बोध्यम् ॥ ५ ॥

The major part of this running commentary is devoted to explaining the Tatparya-Parisuddhi of Udayana.¹ It begins with a commentary upon Udayana's work as follows:—

तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षणक्षमेमि (ता. परि. ८-७) एतेन 'तत्त्व' शब्दस्य पालकरूपोऽप्यर्थ उक्तः, तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षणक्षमस्य हि संप्रदायस्यैतस्य शास्त्रस्य प्रवर्तकत्वेनोच्यमाने-
मुनौ वस्तुतो मुनिरेव तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षक उक्तः स्यात् । दर्शित इति (८-९०) टीका कृता ।

कथन्तासंबोधविधुर इति (८-९०) कथमिदं धरते इति कथन्ता आक्षेपः । एवमेवं धरते इति संबोधः परिहारः, ताभ्यां विधुरः, आक्षेपपरिहाररहित इत्यर्थः । ७७.

¹ Srikantha also begins with commenting on TPS of Udayana as follows:

संसारचेतनवर्ग इति (ता. परि. २-३) संसारिग्रहणेन मुक्तव्यवच्छेदः चेतनग्रहणेन काष्ठादीनाम् ।

The following comparison of the passages of Srikantha and Abhayatilaka will be enough to show that Abhayatilaka though he follows Srikantha explains the point in more detail.

१. शास्त्रस्यैवायं मया निबन्ध इति (ता. परि. १९-६) अक्षपादप्रणीतसूत्रस्यैवेदं वार्तिक-
मित्यर्थः । अत एव नात्र तात्पर्यटीकायाः वार्तिकेन सह विरोध इति (११-८) अथ
भगवतेत्यादिटीकायास्तदपनीयते इत्येतदन्तायाः टीकायाः । (ता. टी. १०-११)
'यदक्षपाद' इत्यादिकेन वार्तिकेन सह न विरोधः, किन्तु संवादः । टीकापीयं
शास्त्रस्यैव वार्तिकं निबन्ध इति प्रतिपादयति । वार्तिकमपीदं शास्त्रस्यैवायं निबन्ध
इति प्रतिपादयति । वार्तिकमपीदं शास्त्रस्यैवायं निबन्ध इति ब्रूते इति ।
(श्रीकण्ठटीका ।)
९. शास्त्रस्यैवायं मया निबन्ध इति दर्शितमिति (ता. परि. ९९-८) एतेन सूत्रस्यैवायं
निबन्ध इति दर्शयितुं ' करिष्यते तस्य मया निबन्धः, ' इत्युक्तम् । तथाच ' स्वनि-
बन्धस्ये'त्यादिपराशङ्कितमपास्तम् । एतेनैव चैतदतिशयेन सांप्रतमुपयुज्यते इति
निरस्तम्, सूत्रकर्तुः प्रवरत्वोत्कीर्तनस्य व्याख्याया उपादेयताहेतुत्वेनात्यन्त-
मुपयुक्तत्वात् । अतएवेति (ता. परि. ११-८) भाष्यस्य सूत्रादनाधिक्यमननादेव
'अथ भगवते'त्यादिकायास्तदपनीयते इत्येतदन्ताया अक्षपादप्रणीतसूत्रस्यैवोपरि इदं
वार्तिकमित्यर्थप्रकाशनपरायाः टीकायाः
'यदक्षपादप्रतिमो भाष्यं वात्स्यायनो जगौ । अकारि महतस्तस्य भारद्वाजेन वार्तिकम्॥
इति वार्तिकान्तश्चोकेन भाष्यस्योपरीदं वार्तिकमित्यर्थकथनपरेण सह न विरोधः ।
(अभयतिलकम्)
२. अनुष्ठातैव व्युत्पाद्यत इति (ता. परि. १५-२) अनुष्ठातैव कर्मकाण्डकर्त्तव्यं व्युत्पाद-
नीयः, स चाद्यवर्णत्रयान्तर्गत एव, अन्यस्य अनुष्ठानेऽनधिकारात् । इदमुक्तं
भवति—यथा स्वःकामो ब्राह्मणादिरूपः शिष्यो व्युत्पाद्यः एवमपवर्गकामकोऽपि
ब्राह्मणादिरूप एव व्युत्पाद्यो न तु जगत् । ब्रह्मकाण्डे इति (ता. परि. १६-२)
ज्ञानकाण्डे । (श्रीकण्ठटीका)
२. कर्मकाण्डवदिति (ता. परि. १६-२) यथा योऽनधिकारी शूद्रादिः प्रवर्तते कर्म-
काण्डे यागादौ स फलभाङ्गं न स्यात्; तथा ब्रह्मकाण्डे तत्त्वज्ञानप्रतिपादके शास्त्रे
योऽनधिकारी प्रवर्तते स फलभाङ्गं न स्यात् ।

The above comparison will also show that Abhayatilaka faithfully explains the text with perfect freedom from bias though this

is a running commentary and therefore though Abhayatilaka explains the most essential points briefly but clearly he does not hesitate to explain in detail when the subject requires such explanation, for example, while explaining the reality of the knowledge of Visessana-Visesya-Bhava from the Naiyayika point of view he comments on the Tika sentence as follows:—

तथासतीत्यादि—इन्द्रियजस्यैव विशेषणविशेष्यभावज्ञानस्य वासनया निर्वाहे यस्य विशेषणविशेष्यभावज्ञानस्य साक्षान्निरुपाधिकं दर्शनव्यापारत्वं तत्समर्थितं भवति । इतरथा यदिपुनरवास्तवस्यैव विशेषणविशेष्यभावज्ञानस्य वासनातो धटमानत्वमङ्गीक्रियते तदाऽस्य दर्शनव्यापारत्वं निष्प्रमाणकनिर्विकल्पोपाधिकं कल्प्येप्येत । इदमुक्तं स्यात्—यथा गिरौ धूमे साक्षात्क्रियमाणे यदि तत्र वह्निरभ्युपेयेत तदैव धूमो दृश्यमानः निष्प्रमाणगन्धस्योपाधिकः कल्पितः स्यात्, तथ विशेषणविशेष्यभावज्ञानस्य यदि इन्द्रियजत्वमङ्गीक्रियते तदाऽत्रविद्यमानो दर्शनव्यापारः साक्षात्समर्थितो भवति । यदि इन्द्रियजत्वं नाङ्गीक्रियते तदा दर्शनव्यापारोऽयमन्योपाधिकः कल्पितः स्यादिति । तस्मात् विशेषणविशेष्यभावव्यवहारस्य वास्तवतः स्याभाविको दर्शनव्यापार एव प्रमाणम् । तथाच वास्तव एवायं व्यवहारः वासनया निर्वहतामिति सिद्धम् । इममर्थं हृदि संकलयोक्तमुदयनेन 'अस्य इन्द्रियार्थेत्यादि ।

P. 60 of the copy of the MS. of Juisalman.

In his work we for the first time the use of the term, जरठवैशेषिकाः or old find Vaisesikas. Stating the opinion of these old Vaisesikas, he explains the passage of the Tatparya-Parisuddhi as follows:—

पूर्वे इति प्रत्यक्षानुमानशास्त्रप्रमाणत्रयवादिनः शास्त्रेचोपमानमन्तर्भावयन्तः जरठवैशेषिकाः ।

(p. 103 of the same caps.

Similarly explaining the term आधुनिका he states प्रत्यक्षानुमानप्रमाणद्वयवादिनो ऽनुमानेच शास्त्रमुपमानं चान्तर्भावयन्तः नूतनवैशेषिकाः । (p. 103 of the MS. copy of Jaisalmer Paper MS.)

This passage makes it quite clear that the older school of Vaisesikas accepted three Pramana and that a later school did only two including Sabda into Anumana.

His familiarity with other Nyaya works of Udayanacarya is evinced by the way in which he corrects the corrupt readings with the help of references from Udayana's other works, for example.

आहार्यलिङ्गोत्थाप्य इति (ता. परि) उदयनकृतक्षणमालायां 'आहार्यलिङ्गारोप' इति पाठः, अयमेव च सङ्गतः । आहार्यलिङ्गस्य कृत्रिमलिङ्गस्य वरूढभावादेरारोपः ।

(p. 227 of the 'same copy).

in the same way when he finds any interpolation though explaining, he states the fact. For example

वाचस्पतेरित्यादिवृत्तानि अन्यकर्तृकाणि संभाव्यन्ते ।

(p. 267).

He however does not here give the reasons for his opinion.

Similarly he also jots down the different readings found in the different MSS. For example.

१. भाष्ये—अन्यकर्तृकस्येति, अन्यकृतस्येति कचित्पाठः ।
२. वार्तिके—यथा विषाणीति, यस्माद्विषाणीति पाठान्तरम् ।
३. उदयने—उपसंपदानामिति, उपपादानमिति पाठान्तरम् ।

On the whole this commentary explains satisfactorily important and difficult passages of the workers commented upon.

टीकायां कचित्प्रत्यन्तरे 'आकस्मिकत्व प्रसङ्गात्' इति स्थाने 'एकत्वप्रसङ्गात्' इति पाठान्तरं पश्यन्नाह एकत्वशब्देनेति ।

Abhayatilaka's other known works are a commentary on the Dvyasraya Mahakavya of Hemacandra, Yugadideva Stotra, Neminaatha Stava and Mahavira Rasa¹.

¹ For detailed life of Abhayatilakagani vide *Guruvavali* pp. 49-51.

RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

IN

ANDAL'S TIRUPPAVAI

by

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Religion is rooted in experience. Religious expression flows from the plenitude of spiritual experience. The experience behind the expression is the guarantee of its authenticity. Expression is testimony, but experience is the test. It provides a direct access to Reality, an immediate perception of Truth. The mystic, the man of spiritual perception, who has seen a vision, emerges from "an encounter with life's most august secret" and "speaks the disconcerting language of first-hand experience."¹ His language puzzles, because he seeks to embody in words that which is beyond words. His expression is necessarily symbolic. The symbol suggests, but does not prove. Its purpose is to induce an experience similar to that which inspired it. It is a link between the visible and the invisible, between perception and thought, between thought and experience. It provides an approach from the outer world of common experience to an inner, deeper reality. Through the symbol one can share in the profundities of the Spirit, but the sharing depends on one's own capacity and constitution, the sum-total of one's acquisition. There are levels of sharing, and there are levels of interpretation. A good symbol is not a mere metaphor. It yields a new meaning everytime we reflect on it, and has an intrinsic, dynamic quality.

The great Scriptures of the world speak the language of symbols. Symbolism is an integral feature of all religious literature. The Tiruppāvai of Āṇḍāl, a classical composition of thirty stanzas in chaste Tamil, is among the best specimens of the world's mystical literature. It is part of the Divya Prabandhas, the spontaneous song effusions of the South Indian saints known as Ālvārs, divers in the ocean of God-experience. Āṇḍāl's other work, consisting of one hundred and forty-three stanzas, bears the title "Nācciyār Tirumoli", and occupies a unique place in the literature of what has been aptly described as bridal mysticism, as it depicts the union of the soul with the Over-Soul through the symbolism of spiritual marriage. Āṇḍāl's love for the Lord was not only intense and one-pointed but innate and spontaneous. Her devotion is compared to the natural fragrance of the sacred "tulaśi", which manifests itself in the plant with its very first shoot. From the early years of her childhood she knew the God-ward longing, and looked upon herself as intended exclusively for God. This superior, steady and all-absorbing devotion is clearly reflected in every song of Āṇḍāl's.

The Tiruppāvai has several Vyākhyānas or commentaries of an expository nature, but the most popular are the Mūvāyirappaḍi of Peria-Vāccān Pillai and the Arāyirappaḍi of Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nāyanār. —both some centuries old. There have been others added to these like the Arāyirappaḍi and Nālāyirappaḍi of Jananyācārya and the Svāpadeśārtham of Suddha Sattvam Doddācārya. The language of the commentaries is a happy, harmonious blend of Tamil and Samskrit. They also presuppose a knowledge of the teaching and tradition of Viśiṣṭādvaita, in the light of which they are presented.

The very setting and background of the Tiruppāvai is significant. The opening song is itself rich in religious symbolism, and it deepens as we proceed. It relates ostensibly to vows and observances, and has for its background a prosperous, pastoral life, the occasion being a pastoral ceremony, the Mārgaḷinonbu,² performed by the cowherdesses of the village. Aḍḍāl forgets herself and her environment in the love of the Lord, identifies herself with one of S'ri Kṛṣṇa's contemporary cowherdesses, and invites the others to join in the worship of the Lord. The Tiruppāvai opens with this invitation,

“ Mārgaḷi thingaḷ! Maḍi nirainda nannāḷal
Niraḷappoduvīr podumino nerilaḷayīr ”.³

It says; “this is a great occasion, rare in its auspiciousness,—both the month and the day. Come, let us avail of it, and share in the delights of divine experience.” The auspiciousness consists in the ascendancy of ‘Sathva’ guṇa over the other guṇas, both in man and in Nature. “Maḍi nirainda nannāḷ” signifies not only the bright night of full moon in the unique month of Mārgaḷi but also clarity of mind and purity of heart in man. There are necessary conditions, that secure mystic receptivity and render man specially sensitive to spiritual intimations. Austerities and observances cleanse the mind and heart, and are intended to nurture the longing for God. The ‘Nonbu’ presupposes a ‘nīrāttam’, which ordinarily means a bath preparatory to the ceremony. But its significance here lies deeper. The bath is not intended as a purification of the body or an exhilaration of the mind, it is an experience of the soul. It is a dive in the ocean of Divine excellences, in the infinite Kalyāṇa guṇas of the Lord. Mārgaḷi Nīrāttam is God-experience, Bhagavad-anubhava. The Tiruppāvai is a call to share in the deep delights of the soul in Union with the Over-Soul.

The Tiruppāvai is a song of the dawn in a literal, as well as a symbolical, sense. It is not only sung in the early hours of the morning, but it breathes throughout the spirit of the freshness and purity of approaching dawn. Indications of the dawn are given in plentiful succession,—the birds chirp and flutter, the cocks crow and conches blow, Venus rises and Jupiter sets, and the eastern horizon brightens, as it heralds the light of a new day. The dawn symbolises the rise of ‘Sattva’ in human nature. Whiteness is the mark, the characteristic colour, of ‘Sattva’, while ‘Tamas’ is dark and dull; the rise of ‘Sattva’ signifies the dispelling of darkness, both within and without. It is the hour of awakening. It gives the signal for those, who are already awake, to rouse the others that tarry in ‘Tamas’ or isolate themselves in the selfish

2. ‘Nonbu’ means the performance of a vow, an observance;

‘Mārgaḷi’ is the auspicious month for its performance.

3. Tiruppāvai, I.

seclusion of misguided 'Rajas'. The purity of 'Sattva' is a pre-condition for Bhagavad-anubhava, and the anubhava is incomplete and insecure, if it is not shared. One easily loses one's foot-hold in the depths of divine experience, if one should venture alone. Moreover, good things are not meant to be experienced in isolation or seclusion, and God-experience is the highest good. Sharing is a service to fellow-devotees; it implies Bhāgavata-Kainkarya, as its basis is Bhagavat-Kainkarya. Ten out of the thirty stanzas of the Tiruppāvai are taken up with the theme of awakening or arousal. As we move from each to the next, we see the procession of devotees swelling as it progresses towards the holy house of the Lord Kṛṣṇa, which marks their goal. Approaching the Lord through the Puruṣa-Kāra or the benevolent intercession of Nandagopa, Yaśoda, Balarāma and Nappinnai the devotees attain to the Supreme Presence, and ask for nothing but the privilege of eternal service at His feet. This is the highest Puruṣārthat set forth in the Tiruppāvai, and expressed both at the commencement and at the conclusion as 'Parai'. 'Parai' is the supreme Puruṣārtha of dedicated service. Its superficial meaning may point to some particular object, a sounding instrument known by that name and serving as an accessory in the expression of devotion, along with other objects like conches and lamps, canopies and flags⁴ enumerated in the Tiruppāvai as external auxiliaries to the inner anubhava. But it is made definite beyond doubt in the last but one stanza that the 'Parai' asked for is nothing less than the supreme Puruṣārtha. The substance of the teaching of Tiruppāvai may be taken as summed up in that stanza. The aim of all worship, the consummation of all devotion, is dedicated service. This follows as a natural and necessary consequence from the very nature of the relation between man and God, which is intimate, eternal and irrevocable. Man stands in the position of Śarīra to God, who is the Sarīrin, and as such his Svarūpa is realised in and through service to God,

EQUALITY OF GREAT RELIGIONS.

UNIVERSAL ELEMENTS: AHIMSA AND BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

By Dr. C. N. Zutshi, M.A., D.Litt.

In this mad hour of brute force when tests of atom bombs and nuclear weapons are carried on as a prelude to the annihilation of the world, it is no wonder if the voice of one who preaches non-violence or *ahimsa* as the only remedy for the world's ills may be treated as a cry in the wilderness. The purpose of this short paper is to show that the creed of Ahimsa is the essence of all great religions, and to emphasize the fact that real peace cannot come to the world except through the path of non-violence. If this truth is realized, a new orientation will be given to the world which is to-day saturated with the spirit of violence, and the millennium envisaged by the poets will no longer be a dream but a reality. Then alone would the world be disillusioned of the efficiency of violence to which it has now pinned its faith, and settle down to a state of that angelic peace of which Lovelace sang, substituting for the savage hatchet the most powerful and invincible weapon of non-violence which is capable of defying the might of the mightiest in the world.

Human nature always seeks the realization of the ideal world, a world completely devoid of violence. The great religions of the world have from time immemorial painted rosy pictures of heaven in which violence does not exist. This fact, besides showing that truth is one, establishes that the true meaning of human nature is non-violence. That is why even in this world of violence a very large number of people do not feel truly interested in the greatest destructors of the human race, either of the past or of the present. Such men as Alexander, Mahmud Gazni, Taimur, Chengis Khan, Napoleon, Hitler, Mussolini are feared but not loved. Their fame is at best only of geographical importance with a temporal meaning common to all other sublunary things. On the other hand, great saints, sages, seers, prophets like Mohemad, Buddha, Christ, Mahatma Gandhi are to this day loved and worshipped, being non-violent in thought, word, and deed. The reason is this: human nature, being essentially non-violent, finds itself in true agreement with the truth of Ahimsa which the saints of all times upheld as the best and noblest ideal of life.

With these basic assumptions, it will be interesting to turn to the teachings of different religions to show that Ahimsa and the brotherhood of man are the universal elements of the world's greatest religions.

It goes without saying that Ahimsa is the basic creed of Hinduism. The Vedas, the Upanishad, the Gita—all these are at one in holding that the cult of Ahimsa is the very essence of Hinduism as preached from the very earliest times. Thus it is said:

“Do not return a blow by a blow nor a curse by a curse, but shower blessings in return for blows and curses.” (The Rig-Veda).

"He who holds all beings in the great Self and the Self in all beings, never turns away from it (the Self). He who perceives all beings as the Self does not hate anybody because he sees oneness everywhere." (The Isa-Upanishad).

"The true mark of wisdom is the absence of boast-fulness and violence in the spirit of forgiveness and simplicity." (The Gita).

Buddhism may be considered to be almost saturated with the spirit of non-violence. That non-violence is the basic creed of Buddhism may be seen from the following conversation which Buddha had with a merchant convert to Buddhism:

Buddha—The people of Suanaparanta are exceedingly violent; if they revile you, what will you do?

The Merchant—I will make no reply.

Buddha—And if they strike you?

The Merchant—I will not strike in return.

Buddha—And if they kill you?

The Merchant—Death is no evil in itself. Many men desire it to escape from the vanities of life.

In China the teachings of the two famous philosophers Confucius and Lao-Tze are cast in the same mould of non-violence as those of Buddha.

"Do not do unto others as you would they should not do unto you." (Confucius).

"To those who are good, I am good; and to those who are not good, I am also good; thus all grow to be good. To those who are sincere, I am sincere; and to those who are not sincere, I am also sincere; thus all grow to be sincere" (Lao-Tze).

These golden rules of conduct may be clearly seen to be almost synonymous with the teachings of non-violence.

When Zoroaster preached the doctrine—"Humata, Hukta, and Hvrashta"—which means good thoughts, good words and good deeds, we at once understand that even the great Iranian civilization was founded on the doctrine of Ahimsa.

In ancient Greece the same spirit of Ahimsa triumphed when Socrates preached not to return evil for evil as is evident from the following conversation between him and his devoted friend Crito:

Socrates—And what of doing evil in return for evil which is the morality of the many—is that just or not?

Crito—Not just.

Socrates—For evil to another is the same as injuring him.

Crito—Very true.

Socrates—Then we ought not to retaliate or render evil to any one, whatever evil we may have suffered from him.

The great Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius said:

"When a man has done thee any wrong, immediately consider with what opinion about good or evil he has done wrong. For when thou hast seen this, thou wilt pity him and wilt neither wonder nor be angry."

The well-known Stoic philosopher Cicero delivered himself in the same vein when he said:

"Let us not listen to those who think we ought to be angry with enemies and who believe this to be great and manly. Nothing is so praiseworthy, nothing so clearly shows a great and noble soul as clemency and readiness to forgive."

Christianity is broad based on the lofty spirit of Ahimsa. The death of Christ in itself may be regarded as the best example of the noble ideal of Ahimsa. While being crucified for preaching what he held to be true, he wished the good of his persecutors. His "Sermon On The Mount" may well be regarded as the last word on Ahimsa:

'Ye have heard the saying, 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'. But I tell you, you are not to resist an injury.

"Whoever strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other to him as well.

'Ye have heard the saying, 'You must love your neighbour and hate your enemy'. But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you that you may be sons of your Father in Heaven."

Islam, too, which is regarded as a synonym for violence and said to have been propagated at the point of the sword, has some noble teachings on Ahimsa. One can easily understand that the Prophet of Islam could not enjoin on his people anything but Ahimsa when God sent him on this earth with his express command—"And we have not sent thee but as a mercy for the worlds." (Al-Koran).

The following teachings of Islam may well be seen to breathe the spirit of Ahimsa in thought, word, and action. The Prophet said:

"Whoever is kind to his creatures, Allah is kind to him."

"Who is the most favoured of Allah?

"He from whom the greatest good cometh to his creatures."

"Do you love your Creator? Then love your fellow-creatures first."

"Fear God in respect of these dumb animals, ride them when they are fit to be ridden and get off when they are tired."

"Faith and envy cannot dwell together in the heart of a servant of God." (Abu-Hurayrah).

"Be on your guard against envying others; for verily it eats up goodness as fire sets up fuel." (Abu-Hurayrah).

"A keeper of fasts, who does not abandon lying and slander-
ing, God careth not about his leaving off eating and drinking."
(Abu Hurayrah).

"Backbiting is more grievous than adultery. God will not pardon the backbiter until his companion whom he has wronged pardons him." (Abu Said and Jabir).

"Take not things which have life to shoot at". (Abne Abbas).

The prophet forbade all living things, tied and bound, to be killed. (Jabir).

Here are some more noteworthy sayings of the Prophet, which command the universal application of the doctrine of Ahimsa:

"Assist any person oppressed, whether Muslim or non-Muslim."

"For him that hath gone to the relief of the oppressed, Allah has written seventy-three pardons."

"Whoever goes with a tyrant to assist him, knowing him to be a tyrant, then verily he has gone out of Islam."

"That person is not a perfect Muslim who eats his fill and leaves his neighbours hungry."

Apart from the teaching of Ahimsa to be found in all the great religions, every one of them carries as a central teaching the brotherhood of man. Note this idea or ideal given by all the great religions of the world:—

Hinduism:—"May all beings regard me with the eye of a friend. May I regard all beings with the eye of a friend. With the eye of a friend do we regard one another."

Sikhism:—"He who telleth me anything of my beloved God is my brother, is my friend. The poor man and the rich man are brothers. God's design cannot be set aside. Call everyone exalted. Let no one appear to be low. Regard all men as equal, since God's light is contained in the heart of each."

Buddhism:—"To one in whom love dwells, all the world are brothers."

Confucianism:—"He comes to ruin who says that others are not equal to himself."

Shintoism:—"All ye men under the heaven! Regard heaven as your father, earth as your mother, and all things as your brothers and sisters."

Judaism:—"Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

Christianity:—"Whosoever shall do the will of my Father in heaven, the same is my brother and sister." "Love thy neighbour as thyself."

Islam:—"Mankind is but one people". "Let none of you treat a brother in a way he himself would dislike to be treated."

It is clear from the above authentic quotations that Ahimsa and brotherhood of man are the universal elements in our great religions. It is indeed a cruel irony that, in spite of such noble teachings, the world is drifting to a crash as a result of violence. It is sadly neglected that a person who harbours the spirit of violence hurts himself far more than he hurts others. If the ills of the world are to be things of the past, this truth must dawn upon the nations of the world before they come to have that mental atmosphere of non-violence which is so essential to an adjustment of their different impulses and inclinations to create that ideal world of peace in which contentment will be writ large on the tablets of men's hearts. Such real peace, not armed peace, can come to the world only through non-violence; for the true spirit of non-violence comes from within. Salvation for individuals or communities or nations can come, not by law which is imposed from without, and is only an intermediate means designed to enforce strongest obligations on the original disorders of man's egoistic nature, but by spirit which urges from within and forges an enduring link between man and man

DHARMAN IN THE RG-VEDA

by

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The biography of the Rg-Vedic word 'Dharman' reveals many vicissitudes in its form and substance. It is formed like the other Rg-Vedic words karman, bharman and varman with the suffix 'man' added to the root. It is the precursor of the later form 'Dharmah', an 'a'-stem, in the masculine gender. Derived from the root 'dhr,' to bear, support, uphold, etc., the word occurs in the Rg-Veda as a 'n'-stem in the masculine as well as neuter forms. The masculine form 'Dharman' with the accent on the second syllable denotes the agent-the bearer, supporter, etc., and occurs but four times referring to the gods like Agni and Soma.¹ The neuter form 'Dharman' bearing an initial accent occurs not less than fifty times and is used in association with nearly a dozen gods. The word appears mostly as an independent substantive-noun and seldom as an adjective attached to some other word like vrata, pati or adhyaksa.² Retaining the central idea denoted by the root 'dhr' the word acquires varying shades of adventitious meaning depending on the context and on the salient nature and function of the deity with whom it is associated.

The connotation of the word 'Dharman' is coloured by the ritualistic idea when it is associated with Agni the

1. Agni-RV. X-92-2. इममञ्जस्वामुभये अकृण्वत धर्गणिमर्षिन (धर्मणि धारक).
Soma-IX-97-23. धर्मा भुवद्वृज्यस्य राजा (धर्मा धारयिता).
Annam (food)-I 187-1. पितुं नुस्तोषं महोधर्मणि (धर्गणि धारकम् अन्नं).
Rtviks (priests)-X-21-3. ते धर्गणि आसते (यज्ञस्य धारयितारः ऋत्विजः).
2. RV. V-72-2. धर्मणा व्रतेन. IX-35-6. (of Soma) धर्मणस्पतेः VIII-43-24. धर्मणामध्यक्षम् (of Agni).

sacerdotal god.³ In almost all cases, Sayana explains the word in terms of a religious rite or yajna in general, or Agnihotra, in particular.⁴ When yajna is conceived as the means of maintaining the co-operative relationship between the worlds of men and gods, and as a source of strength and nourishment to both of them, the central idea denoted by the root dhr is implied in yajna.⁵

Associated with the stimulating and nourishing Soma, dharman becomes the source of sustenance and strength.⁶

3. Agni the divine counterpart of earthly priesthood is spoken of as :
 Rtvik:-RV. II-5-7. X-7-5. X-21-7.
 Vipra:-RV. III-5-1. 14-5. 27-8. 29-7.
 Purohita:-RV. I-44-12. 58-3. 128-4. III-2-8.
 Hotr:-RV. I-1-5. 26-5. 76-5. II-6-6. X-2-1. 7-5.
 Adhvaryu :-RV. I-94-6. II-5-6. III-5-4. IV-6-4.
 Brahman (praying priest) RV. II-1-2. IV-9-4. VII-7-5.
 Agni is related to the sacrifice as its father (III-3-4. पितायज्ञानां) king (IV-3-1. राजानमध्वरस्य), superintendent (VIII-43-24. अध्यक्षधर्मणां) and banner (III-10-4. केतुरध्वराणां); he is the accomplisher of the rite and sacrifice :-III-3-3. विदधस्यसाधने), III-27-2. (यज्ञस्य साधने).
4. RV. VIII-43-24. धर्मणाम् (कर्मणाम्) अध्यक्षम्.
 III-3-1. धर्माणि (यज्ञान्); V-26-6. यज्ञादिक्रियाः
 III-38-2. धर्मणि (यज्ञे).
 X-26-2. धर्माणि (आग्निहोतादि कर्माणि).
5. Yajna source of strength :-RV. III-32-12. यज्ञो हि त इन्द्र वर्धनो भूत्.
 VIII-14-5. यज्ञ इन्द्रमवर्धयत्; VIII-23-8 यज्ञेभिरद्भुतक्रतुं (आग्निं)
6. Soma the stimulator :—of Vak (voice, speech) VI-47-3. उदियतिवाचं IX-84-4., 97-32. हिन्वानः वाचं; IX-95-5 इष्यन् वाचं; of Indra : IX-1-10, 76-2 RV. IX-63-3. धर्मणा (धारकेण रसेन); IX-107-15. धर्मणा (धारणार्थं) X-86-5. धर्मेभिः (धारकैः रसनिष्यन्दैः) IX-107-24. धर्मेभिः (धारकैः) IX-86-9. धर्मेभिः (धारणैः)

In association with Indra the mighty martial god of wondrous deeds, dharman refers to his activity which supports the worlds.⁸

With Savitr⁹ also the word denotes a similar idea with little emphasis on the ritual aspect.⁹

The supporting activity of Varuna, Lord of Rta¹⁰, the eternal moral Order, is referred to by dharman¹¹. The same idea is repeated with Mitra-varuna.¹² The import of dharman accords well with the conception of an Eternal Law that governs the order of things in the world.

7. Indra is mighty (sakra), also spoken of as 'sacivat' (possessed of might), 'sacipati' (Lord of might), 'sata-kratu' (of a hundred powers).
8. Indra supported the earth and propped the sky : II-17-5. अधारयत् पृथिवीं अस्त्राज्जात् द्यामवसः ; he holds asunder heaven and earth X-89-4. यो...तस्तंभं पृथिवीपत द्याम्. RV. II-13-7. धर्मेणा (कर्मणा) ; X-44-1. धर्मेणा (धाटकेणरथेन). RV. III-60-6. धर्मभिः (कर्मभिः) I-55-3. धर्मणां (धारयितृणाम्) X-50-6. धर्मणे (धारणाय) ।
9. Savitr is often spoken of as the supporter of the sky as well as the earth :—RV. IV-53-2. दिवो धर्ता भुवनस्य प्रजापतिः. IV-54-4. यथा विश्वं भुवनं धारयिष्यति X-149-1. सविता यन्त्रः पृथिवीमरम्णात् अस्कम्भने सविताद्यामदंहत्. X-149-4. धर्ता दिवः सविता...X-149-3. धर्म (धारणम् अनु ; X-175-1, 4. धर्मणा (धारणेन कर्मणा) V-81-4. धर्मभिः (जगद्धारकैः कर्मभिः) IV-53-3. धर्मणे (स्वकीयाय धारणाय).
10. Varuna lord of rta (order) and vratani (ordinances), and the supporter of heaven and earth :—RV. II-28-4. ऋतं सिन्धवो वरुणस्य यन्ति I-24-10. अदब्धानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि, VI-70-1. द्यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कम्भिते. VIII-42-1. अस्तज्जात् द्यामसुरो...
11. RV. VI-70-1. धर्मणा (धारणेन) ; VII-89-5. धर्म (धारकं कर्म).
12. Like Varuna, Mitra-varuna is the guardian of the world and rules it through the Rta ; RV. II-27-4. विश्वस्य भुवनस्य गोपाः. V-63-7. ऋतेन विश्वं भुवनं वि राजथ. V-63-7. धर्मणा (वृष्ट्यादिलक्षणेन कर्मणा). V-72-2. धर्मणा (जगद्धारकेण व्रतेन कर्मणा). X-65-5. धर्मणा । आत्मीयेन. कर्मणा. IX-107-15. धर्मणा (धारणार्थम्).

The supporting activity of Vayu, Mitra and Dyavaparthivi¹³ is also conveyed by dharman.

Visnu is spoken of as having established his high decrees (RV. I-22-18). by taking three steps.¹⁴ Sayana's interpretation of dharman here in 'Ato dharmani dharayan' in terms of the Agnihotra and other rites is rather strained: Visnu supports the worlds¹⁵ and does so by his swift movement across the worlds, characterised by the three strides.

Dharman occurring in other places is interpreted by Sayana as the supporter or sustainer.¹⁶ According to the context it is often construed as a religious rite conceived as the giver of strength.

Whatever may be the adventitious shades of meaning the central idea denoted by/dhr. to bear, support, etc., is retained by the word dharman wherever it occurs in the Rg-Veda.

The conception of support is mainly physical when it relates to the more anthropomorphic of the gods like Indra and moral or metaphorical in the case of the less anthropomorphic ones like Varuna, Agni, etc. It is noteworthy that, while interpreting dharman, Sayana imports the idea of a sustaining force based on rituals only with reference to

13. Vayu :—I-134-5. धर्मणा (अस्मदीयहविषां धारणेन). Mitra is spoken of as having supported earth and heaven RV. III-59-1 मित्रो दाधार पृथिवीमुतथाम्. He is often coupled with Varuna when his dharman is referred to in RV. The creation and sustenance of all creatures by Dyavaparthivi is spoken of in RV.-I-159-2., I-160-2., I-185-1,2. RV. VI-70-3. धर्मणः (कर्मणः...). I-159-3. धर्मणि (धारणे...सत्ति) Visnu supported heaven, earth and all the worlds-RV. I-154-4. य उन्निधातु पृथिवीमुत यामेको दाधार भुवन्नानि विश्वा । He fastened the worlds on pegs. VII-99-3. व्यस्तभारोदसी विष्णवेते दाधर्थ पृथिवीमभितोमयूखैः ।
14. I-22-18. त्रीणि पदा विचक्रमे विष्णुर्गोपा अदाभ्यः । अतो धर्माणि धारयन्
15. I-154-1, 2, 3, 4. विष्णोर्नुकं वीर्याणि प्रवोचं...
16. VIII-6-20. धर्म (धारकम् उदकम्) ; X-170-2. धर्मणि (धारके सूर्यमण्डले) X-90-16. धर्माणि (धारकाणि) ; V-12-2. धर्मणि (धारके गङ्गे) III-17-1. अनुधर्म (धर्मसाधनभूतेषुयज्ञेषु) ; I-64-43, 50. धर्माणि तत्पबन्धीनि अनुष्ठानानि VIII-27-16. धर्मणः (कर्मणः सकाशात्.)

gods like Agni who are intimately connected with the yajna. The conception of yajna as the foremost Law can be traced to the Rg-Veda itself.¹⁷ In later Vedic literature, it was accepted and acclaimed as the one force sustaining everything.¹⁸

Thus, Dharman in the Rg-Veda is an established law, decree or such other activity of a god as upholds, supports or sustains the order of things in the world.

In later classical literature, dharman is gradually replaced by the form dharmah, an 'a'-stem in the masculine gender. It means the eternal law, religion and social obligations, as also the different duties of man-in short all the stabilising forces that make for peace and happiness in the world at large. In post-Rg-Vedic texts, both the forms dharman and dharmah exist side by side thus pointing to a stage of transition in the history of the word dharman.¹⁹ In modern classical literature, however, dharman is supplanted by the form dharmah as an independent word and survives as a 'n' stem only in the adjectival compound forms.²⁰

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17. X-90-16. यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमामान्यासन् ।
18. यज्ञो वै हि धेष्टतमं कर्म (VS. 1-1., TS. 3-2-1-4., SB. 1-7-1-5.)
यज्ञो वै देवानामात्मा (SB. 9-3-2-7.), यज्ञ उ देवानामन्नम् (SB. 8-1-2-10.)
यज्ञे हि सर्वाणि भूतानि विष्टानि (8-7-3-21).
19. AV. धर्मं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती (18-3-1) ; अमो धर्मश्च कर्मच (11-7-17) श्रीश्च धर्मश्च (12-5-7) पत्नीत्वमसि धर्मणा (14-1-51) TS. धर्मं जित्वा (3-5-2-2) धर्मयित्वा (3-5-2-2, 4-4-1-1) MS. धर्मो मा धर्मणः पातु (1-5-4, 71-5 ; 1-5-11).
VS. ध्रुवेन धर्मणा (2-3 ; 5-27 ; 9-5) धर्मयि... (30-6) KS. धर्मणे त्वा (17-7)
धर्मजित्वा (17-7) SB. 10-2-2-4 ; 14-2-2-29 GB. PB. धर्मणे त्वा (GB. 2-2-13 ; PB. 1-9-2) TB. धर्मयि (3-4-1-2) AB. धर्मस्य गोप्ता (8-12-5)
TAr. धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रविष्टा (10-63-1).
Mahan up. धर्मेण पापमपनुदनि, धर्मैस्सर्वप्रतिष्ठितम् (22-1)
धर्माणि धारयन् (20-14)
20. अयमात्मानुच्छिस्तिधर्मा SB. 14-7-3-15 विनाशधर्मा Ragh V. 8-10.

A FEW CONCEPTS IN THE THEORY OF INDIAN MUSIC

By

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सर्वसौख्यप्रदा नित्यं सर्वाघौघविनाशिनी ।
गानरूपा परा देवी शुभं दिशतु सर्वदा ॥
ऋगेव गीतसम्पन्नं साम सङ्गीतमूलकम् ।
प्रोक्तं महर्षिभिः पूर्वेः तन्मता वेदतुल्यता ॥
गानं सर्वप्रपञ्चस्य जीवितं परिकीर्तितम् ।
विना गानेन लोकोऽयं जीवन्नपि न जीवति ॥
मतिर्गाने स्थितं यस्य प्रीतिमुक्ती स विन्दति ।
न हि गानसमं किञ्चित् प्रीतिदं मुक्तिदायकम् ॥
पञ्चमस्वरगानेन कोकिलो याति पूज्यताम् ।
अन्यथा कोकिलस्यापि सम्मता काकतुल्यता ॥
धातुरूपा हि वागुक्ता साहित्यं हि सरस्वती ।
वाणीविरिञ्चिनोर्योगात्सङ्गीतं दैविकं मतम् ॥
नित्यानन्दपरब्रह्मतादात्म्यं दुर्लभं नृणाम् ।
तद्वि गानेन सम्प्राप्तं त्यागार्यादिमहाशयैः ॥
गानं श्रुत्वा रुदन् बालः मुदा निद्रातुमिच्छति ।
दष्टुं समागतस्सर्पः फणां विस्तार्य नृत्यति ॥
घासैकजीवना गावः घासं विस्मृत्य निश्चलाः ।
समासक्ता हि सद्गाने स्ववत्सान् विस्मरन्त्यपि ॥
न सन्दर्भं स्वराणां च न रागगमकानि च ।
न वेत्ति च शिशुस्तालं तथा ऽप्यानन्दमेत्यहो ! ॥
बृन्दावनगतास्सर्वे कृष्णस्य परमात्मनः ।
मोहिता वेणुगानेन सद्यो मोक्षमवाप्नुवन् ॥
सत्सम्प्रदायैश्शास्त्रेण युक्तं गीतं मनीषभिः ।
सर्वैरङ्गैश्च सम्पुष्टं सङ्गीतमिति कथ्यते ॥
शास्तीति शास्त्रं प्रभुवत् सर्वकण्ठकवर्जितम् ।
गानस्य शासनादेतत् सङ्गीतं शास्त्रमुच्यते ॥
लक्ष्मलक्ष्यानुसारीति नियतिश्शास्त्रसम्मता ।
इदानींतूभयो रीति र्व्यत्यस्ता दृश्यते क्वचित् ॥

TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS

A FEW CONCEPTS IN THE THEORY OF INDIAN MUSIC

by

BRINDA VARADARAJAN

Music is the spontaneous outpouring of the joy in the heart of man. With us, Sangita has all along been considered as a means of spiritual realisation. Hence music is sacred. To seek to know the origin of this sacred music is atask well nigh impossible. Efforts have been made to glean as much as possible of the earliest traces of music extant. They are to be found first in the recitation of the Sama Veda. Considerable progress in the realm of music is seen in the reference to music in the epic Ramayana. The Silappadikaram also abounds in references to music. The songs of the early Vaishnavite and Saivite saints and the Gita Govinda usher in a new era, when songs are set in a definite raga mould and time measure. Numerous poet saints and psalmists, following in their wake, have sung the praise of the Lord in various languages.

The Rishis or the sages of the first ages are said to have 'heard' the Veda. The primordial sound (AUM) is the divine word through which, according to the Vedas, all things have been made; 'revelation being a work of the verb, as creation itself is actually a hearing for him who receives it. "All things", Dante has said "are arranged in a certain order and this order constitutes the form by which the universe resembles God". If sounds or certain pleasant combinations of them evoke in us emotions and pictures of beings, landscapes, etc., it is because, there must be some similarity between the aspects of the universe, which music enables us to bring out. But, to realise this accord between the different aspects of the universe, we must know the nature of these common aspects. Ancient writers on Indian Music maintain that the subtle bonds of accord between the principles of nature and the principles of harmony can be explained only by traditional metaphysics, drawn of course from the Vedas. Another explanation tending to support this theory is: The universe or Jagat (that which moves) is the result of combination of forces and movements. Every movement produces vibration and hence a sound—what Milton calls the 'music of the spheres'—peculiar to it. They may not be audible but there is no doubt of their existing as absolute sound. Hence it is that the relation between elements are explained by a relation of sounds. May we conjecture that this would be the reason why astrology and kindred sciences express themselves in terms of harmonic relations. This music 'inaudible', as Kabir calls it, is said to be heard by yogins—people with keener and subtler sense perceptions. We of the grosser calibre, may endeavour to produce corresponding or nearly the same vibrations. Hence, the art of music. If we were to produce the exact vibrations, the universe, the basis of the existence of which is its imperfection, would not exist. The work of the artist or the musician, would be to know as accurately as possible the harmonic relation of things and to recreate through his art, the semblance of the real universe.

Sounds alone can no more constitute music than words alone can constitute language. Words can only form a proposition, an intelligible sentence when they are associated in a logical sequence, according to the laws of intellect. This is also true of sounds which must obey certain laws of attraction and mutual response, by which is ruled their production, successive or simultaneous, before they can become a musical reality, a musical thought.

Our heritage is rich in texts, which bear this out. Bharathas Natyasastra, Matanga's Brihaddesi, Dattilam by Dattilamuni, Sangita Makaranda by Narada, Samaya Sara by Parsvadeva, Sangita Ratnakara by Sarangadeva, Ahobala's Sangita Parijata, Raga Tarangini by Lochana Kavi are only a few of the treatises on music available to-day. Other later texts are the Sangita Sudha, Svaramela Kalanidhi, Raga Vibodha, Sangraha Chudamani, Ragharnava, Sangita Darpana. Some texts treat of only one concept-tala, like the Tala Lakshana and Tala Dasa Prana Pradeepika. A cohesive continuous study of all the concepts is desirable to get an idea of the various aspects of the theory of Indian Music. An attempt is made now to give in a concise form the various concepts obtaining to-day.

The divine origin of sangita and that Sangita Sastra conduces to bliss, temporal and eternal is accepted by all writers on music, and almost all treatises state this, at the outset. Sarangadeva commences his work thus:—

ब्रह्मप्रणिजमाकतानुगतिनाचित्तेन हस्तकृजे सूरोगयनु रञ्जकं श्रुतिपदं योऽयं स्वयं राजते ।

यस्मादग्रामविभागवर्णरचनालंकारजातिक्रमो वद्वेनादतनुंतमुद्धरजगद्गीतमुदेशकम् ॥

Dattilamuni explains Gandharvam, the science of music thus;

पदस्वरसङ्घातस्तालेन सुमितस्तथा प्रयुक्तश्रावधानेन गान्धर्वमभिधीयते ॥

Pada, svara, tala, and avadhana make up Gandharvam. This new word avadhana is the very soul of music. The mind concentrates on Sruti, the basis of music. The science of the spoken word can be learnt from the Vyakaranas, etc. But the keen brain, the sense of hearing, the vocal cords all join to effect the avadhana. It may be said in passing that the 'avadhana' is mentioned only by Dattilamuni.

The svara or the note can be measured. The study of the svara incorporates sruti, svara, grama, murchhana, tana, sthana, vritti, the jatis, varnas, tala, vadya and prabhandha.

Sruti श्रवणात् श्रुतिः—

that which is heard is sruti. Not all the sounds that are heard constitute the sruti. A grace, a colour, a charm is distinctly perceptible in the sruti, that is heard. Srutis are audible only if there is a certain interval between them, though their number is countless. Such heard srutis are twenty-two. The origin or sound in the

human body is in the chest, throat and head. Twenty-two distinctly different sounds are heard from each place respectively. These two and twenty srutis constitute an octave or sthayi, called the mandra, madhya and tara sthayi in order. The basic sruti from which the other twenty-one srutis are calculated, is the adhara sruti. The srutis have each a different emotional appeal and as such are grouped under five heads-dipta, ayata, karuna, mrdu and madhya; bright, long, plaintive, soft, and uniform respectively. The twenty-two srutis have each been assigned a name, indicative of their various emotional appeals. They are Tivra, Kumdvati, Manda, Chhandovati, Ranjani, Ratika, Paundri, Krodha, Vajrika, Prasarini, Priti, Marjani, Kshithi, Raktha, Sandipini, Alapini, Madanti, Rohn, Ramya, Ugra and Kshobhini.

Venkatamakki speaks of srutis in the Chathurdandi Prakasika thus;

श्रुतिर्नामभवेन्नादविशेषोस्वरकारणम् ॥

Sruti is an exalted sound and creates svaras or notes. Of the 66 srutis obtained in the three octaves, quite a few are used in singing. Those that are most used are called svaras.

Svaras. The svara or note is defined in various ways by various writers on music. But, all are agreed on one point. The svara is that which is pleasing to the ear and heart alike—

स्वतोरज्जयतिश्रोतृचित्सस्वरउच्यते । Between a svara and its octave, there are seven notes. These seven notes resolve themselves in a certain order. There are two distinct halves and the arrangement of the notes in the two halves are similar. The twenty-two srutis are distributed among the seven notes, Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, and Ni in a certain definite order. The basic note is full, rich; the succeeding two notes are thinned out and the fourth again is majestic. The same gradation is perceptible in the second half too. The basic, the fourth and the fifth are full tones, the second and the sixth are minor tones and the third and seventh, semi-tones.

The composition of a note is complex, not simple at all. A number of pitches or srutis go to make up a svara. The emotional appeal in the various srutis making up the svara, blend together in an elegant and pleasing manner and lend the full blown svara a charm and emotional appeal peculiarly its own. Every note, because it is made up of so many srutis, has a definite approach before it is sung, a wavy, undulating motion when sung, and a fine ending, before it loses its being in the next note. This emotional appeal of the seven notes have been emphasised by the ancient writers on music. Bharathamuni classifies them thus: Sringara and hasya—the comic and the erotic appeals are brought out by the notes, Ma and Pa. Vira and Adbhuta, the heroic and the marvellous, are brought out by the notes Sa and Ri. The Karuna rasa, or the pathetic appeal is brought out by the notes Ga and Ni. The single note Dha produces the odious and terrible appeals-Bibhatsa and Bhayanaaka.

Of the seven notes, the basic or the shadja is the most important. All the six other notes, have an unbroken connection with the Sa. The Garbhopanishad says that Sa is the Anna (अन्न) and the other six notes, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha and Ni are like the six svaras-madhura, amla, lavana, Thiktha, Katu and Kashaya. Other evidences to maintain the importance assigned to the note shadja, are not lacking.

The four kinds of notes:—The seven notes are connected to one another in four ways. Each note is the Vadi or Samvadi or Anuvadi or Vivadi to the others. In other words, each note is either the dominant or consonant or assonant or dissonant. The Vadi or the dominant note is the one which occurs with the greatest frequency in the course of the song or the raga. It is also termed the amsa or the Jiva svara and is generally the note in which the tune is conceived.

The samvadi enriches the vadi note and seeks, in all ways to subserve the vadi note. The samvadi notes of a vadi are distant from it by nine or thirteen srutis. As has been observed before, these are the consonant notes. Vivadi or dissonant notes are distant from the vadi by two srutis. They do not sound in accord with the main note, but in discord. Those that are not vivadi or samvadi, may be termed assonant notes. Technically these are called anuvadi. One point of interest is that all the three types subserve the vadi. When the vadi moves, or is shifted, the samvadi, anuvadi and the vivadi are changed also.

Suddha svaras are seven and are derived from srutis. Vikruta svaras are mixed varieties and are derived from suddha notes. The antara and the kakali are never admitted as amsa svaras.

Gramas. Shadja is the basic note from which the six other notes, i.e., Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha and Ni are derived. It is possible to develop in the same way, six notes from the basic note Ma:—Pa, Dha, Ni, Sa, Ri, and Ga, in a less important way. Even now, Ma is the basic note than with Sa. Such formations are technically termed GRAMAS. Just as a village or grama is constituted of men and women so also a grama denotes in musicology, a svara samuha or a collection of notes. The Gramas are three-Shadjagrama, Madhyama grama, and Gandhara grama. In shadja grama the shadja is important, because it is the first of the notes. In the same way Ma is important in madhyama grama and Ga in gandharagrama. The shadja grama and madhyama grama are obtained here-Gandhara grama with the divinities.

The sruti distribution among the svaras in the three gramas differ slightly. In the shadja grama, Pa has four srutis and Dha three. In the madhyama grama it is vice versa-Pa has three srutis and Dha four. The sruti distribution in the ghandhara grama is described as Atcitra. The srutis of the three gramas, among the seven notes will be thus:—

Sa grama—4—3—2—4—4—3—2.
 Ma grama—4—3—2—4—3—4—2.
 Ga grama—3—2—4—3—2—4—4.

Bharatamuni describes a method by which the sruti constitution of the shadja grama and madhyama grama svaras are demonstrated with reference to the pramana sruti. Two vinas with seven strings each are tuned to the same basic sruti, to the notes of the shadja grama. The first vina is retained in the same sruti. The strings of the second vina are lowered by one sruti. The panchama or the fifth note of the shadja grama, therefore is changed into the panchama of the madhyama grama. Between the panchamas of the two vinas now, there is the interval of the pramana sruti. A second time the process is repeated in the second vina. This results in the rishabha or the second note of the second vina coinciding with the gandhrara or the third note of the first vina. When sa of the shadja grama is raised by two srutis, the note resulting comprises of four srutis, corresponding to the dha of the ma grama. The other notes will now be Ni, sa, etc., instead of ma, pa, etc. It is surprising how the change of a single note effects a change of grama.

There is a curious resemblance between first operation for transforming the shadja grama into the madhyama grama (i.e., changing ga into dha), and the first operation in the Tamil system of music for transforming the order of notes usual in the harp (யாழ்) from the series beginning with ma and ending with ga, to the series beginning with ni and ending with dha, in the first Palai of murchhana called sempalai (செம்பலை). In both the cases the first two srutis of the madhyama are added to the gandhara to make the dha which is the samvadi of the note having its svarasthana in the second sruti of ma.

Murchhanas:—Svaras are born from srutis. From svaras gramas are formed. The gramas give rise to murchhanas. A murchhana is defined as a regular ascent from any svara, right up to its seventh note and a descent back in regular order to the starting note.

Seven murchhanas are possible from any set of seven notes. To illustrate just three:—The murchhana beginning from Sa will be

1. sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni-dha-pa-ma-ga-ri-sa.
2. The murchhana beginning from ri will be ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ri-dha-pa-ma-ga-ri-sa-ri.
3. The third murchhana beginning from ga will be:—
ga-ma-pa-dha-ni-dha-pa-ma-ga-ri-sa-ri-ga.

At the outset there may not seem to be a great difference whether a certain murchhana begins from a particular note or not, as the seven notes all occur, in some order or other. But the fact remains that the note of inception lends a charm peculiarly its own, to the murchhana itself, which in turn reflects on the emotional appeal of the musical efforts. The note of inception or vadi determines the emotional appeal of the murchhana. The samvadi, easily found out, enriches the appeal and is given the prominence. Each cycle of the murchhana, consisting of an ascent and descent through the seven notes, creates a fresh set of vadi and samvadi. This is

conducive to creating new melodies, moulds with subtly varying shades of emotional appeals—the jatis first and later on, the ragas.

Murchhanas are seven for each grama. Those of the shadja grama are—

1. Uttaramandra.
2. Rajani.
3. Uttarayata.
4. Suddha shadja.
5. Matsarikrita.
6. Asvakranta.
7. Abhirudgata. The beginning notes of these are sa-ni-dha pa-ma-ga-ri and sa, in order.

Those of the madhyama grama are 1. Sauviri. 2. Harinasva. 3. Kalopanatha. 4. Sudha madhya. 5. Margi. 6. Pauravi. 7. Hrishyaka. The murchhanas begin from the notes ma-ga-ri-sa-ni-dha-pa.

These fourteen are the suddha murchhanas. Mixed varieties, admitting the Kaklai, or anatra, or both the kakali and the antara, number seven for each grama, swelling the number of murchhanas into 56.

Tanas. The murchhanas so far seen can be described as closed musical curves, traversing through a range of seven notes. Next to be considered are musical curves of less range. i.e., of six and five notes—the shadava and audava. These are termed tanas. The musical curves are produced in instruments as continuous, beginning on the initial note and gradually gliding to the other notes. The distinction in musical effects produced by the murchhana and the tana can be explained in this way. A picture of the whole is conceived first in a murchhana and the tana is developed as it goes on. The first note of the murchhana determines its entire form. In the tana, the form is determined as it proceeds.

The use of tanas is said to be in distinguishing between jatis, ragas and ragas in both the gramas. The restriction of shadavas and audava tanas to a few out of the possible combination is not easily explained. The tanas are closely connected with sacrificial rites (yagnas) and are said to yield, when sung, the fruit of those yagnas. Tanas find a place in the sama lakhana of Narada. The restriction, we may guess is due to their application in the creation of particular saman chants.

The eighty four are called suddha tanas. Any series of tanas, in any order, consisting of one, two, three, four, five or six notes are called by the generic name, tana. Suddha tanas have a regular order. Kuta tanas have not. The total number of kuta tanas consisting of 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 notes, have been calculated to 3, 22, 582.

There are two ways of playing a tana-one is pravesa and the other is Nigraha. Pravesa is explained as ध्वञ्ज्य The vina string is struck with the finger on the fret of ma. By pressing the string in the same place, higher notes like dha and ni are produced. Nigraha is explained as असंस्पर्श i.e., producing the sound as it were, without seeming to touch the string. तानक्रिया द्विधातन्त्र्याम् proves conclusively that this is possible only in instrumental music and not in the human voice.

A tana is always part of a murchhana. The form of the short curve, the tana, generally gives a clue to the continuation of the curve on either side. With the completed curve the parent murchhana is found out very easily. It should be borne in mind that the tana and murchhana concepts lend finish to the raga. Further, the murchhana determines the common number of ragas. A tana is a recognisable part of a raga. These two concepts subserve the raga. The tana which does not observe the order of the notes is a kuta tana. Kuta tanas either employ all the seven notes or less. They number 5040 in each grama.

Sthayis. The sthayi is an octave, comprising of the seven basic notes. Sthayis are three-the mandra, the madhya and the tara. These can be easily distinguished even in intonation.

The Sadharanas. The word sadharana denotes that which is common. There are svvara sadharana and jati sadharana. A sadharana svvara is one which has the features of its preceding and succeeding notes, in emotional appeal etc. The first sadharana notes to be recognised are the antara and the kakali-viz. the note between shadja and nishadam and the note between gandhara and madhyama. Antara gandhara and kakali nishadha as they obtain to-day were originally known as simply kakali and antara. According to Bharat-muni, the kakali is indistinctly sweet like the lisp of children, very fine, raised in pitch and seeing both ways. The same holds good for antara too. Antara ga for instance, sounds plaintive in mohana in the arohana combination sa-ri-ga. The musical curve stops with sa-ri and the ga, sung with gamaka is a fresh effort. When the murchhana extends upwards, to the tara shadja as in ga-pa-dha-sa, the gandhara gains in majesty. The kakshitva or seeing both ways is fulfilled here.

The place of the antara is two srutis above, the sadharana gandhara and the kakali also, two srutis above ni. In present day practice, these two have been raised by one more pitch which corresponds to the chyuta madhyama and chyuta shadja of earlier date. Kakali has been originally used in shadja grama and antara in madhyama grama. The word kaisika has gradually crept in and has been used to denote notes one pitch lower than the antara and the kakali. Further restricted, it now denotes only the nishadha. In the same way sadharana has come to be applied only to the gandhara.

The kakali and antara are generally used in jatis and their derivatives, wherein their use is not plentiful. Their discordant

positions i.e., vivaditva of the two notes necessitates such a sparse use. Such a defect can be rectified by using a new note partaking of the qualities of two notes, one vivadi and the other anuvadi. Bharatamuni says that the antara and kakali are to be used only in the ascent and that their use should be limited. Further, if they are used in the descending order, whether in a small or large measure, they spoil the unity of the jati, raga and sruti.

क्रियमाणोऽवशोहीस्यादल्पोवायदिवाबहु ।

जातिरागंश्रुतिश्चैवनाशयन्ति अन्तश्चशः ॥

During the descent of the musical curve, the lower note which is vivadi is more felt; and in the ascent, the higher note, the anuvadi and not the vivadi is felt. This may be the reason for the strong decay in the second verse.

Jatis. Murchhana krama has a note of inception, on which it ends also. That note is mostly the vadisvara and the amsa svara. When the amsa note is slightly shifted, another melody mould is created from the first. Such melody moulds are called jatis. Jatis may be described as parent ragas. It is evident that in the time of Bharatamuni, the concept of Raga had not come into being; jatis had.

Jatis are pure when the amsa and nyasa svara are the same. When they differ, the jatis are said to be modified.

Jatis are eighteen in number. They are suddha jatis, Vikrita jatis and mixed jatis derived from these two. There are seven jatis bearing svara names-shadji, Arshabhi, Gandhari, Madhyama, Panchami, Dhaivati, and Naishadhi. The remaining eleven are shadja madhyama, shadja kaisika, shadjodicyavati, gandharodicyavati, Madhyamodicyavati, Rakta gandhari, Andhri, Nandayanti, Karmaravi, Gandhara panchami and Kaisiki.

The jatis have ten distinguishing characteristics or jati lakshanas. They are graha, amsa, tara, mandra, shadava, audava, alpatva, bahutva, nyasa and apanyasa.

The graha is the note of inception.

The amsa is always five notes above the graha.

The tara and mandra are notes denoting the maxima and minima limits of its range.

Where five or six notes only are used, they are termed audava and shadava.

Alpatva and Bahutva denote whether the note is used often, or once in a while.

The ending note is the nyasa.

The apanyasa is like the nyasa but denotes the ends of intermediate step in the development of the melody mould,

Suddha jatis are full, using all the seven notes and have the same note as graha, apanyasa and amsa. Nyasa is in the mandra octave. The amsa svaras of all the jatis are given and they number sixty-three. Alpatva, bahutva and apanyasas for each jati are also given. So exhaustive is the report, that Dattilamuni is justified in saying.

तस्मात् यत् गीयतेकिञ्चित् तत् सव जातिषुस्यितम् ॥

And hence, whatever is sung (i.e. in the world) has its place in the jatis. Sloka 97. Dattilam by Dattila.

Varnas. Notes by themselves are pleasing to the ear and heart. Melodic curves, elegant, rich and full are possible by combining a few notes. These are technically termed varnas. Varnas are of four types-sthayi, arohi, avarohi and sanchari.

The sthayi varna is produced with one single note. In singing the one note, a gradual ebb and flow is perceptible which is responsible for creating the melodic effect. This ebb and flow is technically termed Prasanna and Dipta. The note sung in sthayi varna may be either prasannadi, prasannanta, prasannadyanta and prasannamadhya.

The arohi varna is created by notes sung in an ascending order. The avarohi varna is created by notes sung in the descendent. Ascents and descents combined constitute sanchari varna.

Alankaras. The alankaras are ornamental graces appended to the varnas. There are thirty alankaras. They are classed under the varnas, according as their nature is sthayi or arohi or avarohi or sanchari. They are prasannadi, prasannanta, prasannamadhya, prasannadyanta, sama, sthira, nivritta pravritti, kampita, kuhara, rechitavya, prehkhoolita, mandratara prasanna, tara mandra, prasanna, prastara, prasada, udvahita, avalokita, nishkujita, udgitha, hradamana, ranjita, avartaka, parivartaka, udghattita, akshipta, sampradana, hasita, hunkara, sandhiprachhadana, vidhunana and gatra varna. Bindu and Vena are two more alankaras, mentioned by only a few writers on music.

Of the importance of alankaras, Bharatha speaks thus:—

शशिना रहितेवनिशा विजलेन नदी लता विपुष्पेव ।

अविभूषितेव च स्त्री गीत्यलङ्कारहीनास्यात् ॥

Gitis and Vritti. Gitis can be termed styles of musical composition, to suit various provincial tastes. The same is called Riti in poetry and marga in tala. The four popular gitis are the Magadhi, ardhamagadhi, prthula and sambhavita.

Vrittis are three—Dhakshina Vritti, Vritti Vritti and Chitra Vritti. These are important in the vocal (गीत) the orchestral (उभय) • and the instrumental (वाद्य) music. The first

gives prominence to vocal music and the third to instrumental music. An artistic blending of these two is desirable in the second, ubhaya.

The Magadhi vritti contains varied layas and therefore necessarily of vrittis, as the vritti itself is dependent on the number of letters assigned to a kala. The ardhamagadhi contains short avartas. The avartas are halved, each foot of the ardhamagadhi being half of the magadhi. Prthula is composed of a plentiful collection of short letters, and the sambhavita, of a series of long letters.

TALA तालत् साम्यं भवेत् साम्यादिसिद्धिपश्च ।

Thus Dattilamuni extols tala.

The tala, or time measure bestows equanimity-samya, which brings success in the here and in the hereafter. The tala, with its even gait, breaks eternity as it were, into infinitesimal pieces. Deep concentration and unflagging attention to rhythm is indispensable in Indian Music. The Gita says समं योग उच्यते । The equanimity, samya is termed yoga.

Topics in tala are kala, pata, pada bhaga, matra, parivarta, vastu, vidari, anga, laya, pani yati, prakarana, kriya, vajra, giti and marga.

Kriya in tala is either sasabda or nisabda.

Kala denotes unit time. By extending the unit time, fresh kalas are created. The kala is likened to ghantanada-the clear, sweet, tinkle of the bell, ringing in regular continuous strokes. This is the mode of dividing the tala units that can be mentally reckoned. Kala denotes a fractional part, capable of perception. There are thus, Eka, kala, dvi kala, and chathushkala. In Eka kalavidhi, a guru is considered one kala, leghu, half a kala and and plutam one and a half kala. The arrangement of the composite units differ, according as the number of kalas is even or odd. Detailed and intricate rules are given for the execution of these units.

Marga—The marga is of three distinct types-chitra marga, vartika marga and dakshina marga. These marges have two, four and eight matras respectively. This matra in marga type is equal to five matras in ordinary usage. This also denotes provincial tastes.

Pata-is the fixing of places for sasabda kriyas. This allows of a number of varieties.

Pada bhaga—This divides each tala into a number of convenient phrases. Four padabhagas make a matra. This matra is different from the matra used for a measure.

Matra. In marga type of music, this is equal to five ordinary matras.

Parivatra. When a matra or pada bhaga or a whole tala is repeated, it is called a pada bhaga,

Vastu. This is a portion of a musical piece which has a separate entity, both in melody and tala. This generally ends in *apanyasa* or *amsa* or *nyasa* or *sannyasa*.

Vidari. This is dealt with at length by our ancient writers on music. *Vidari* has four parts—*mukha* etc. A *vidari* is a complete musical whole; it is a part of a song or musical form but complete in its musical aspect by itself.

Laya. The interval of time occupied by the *angas* in an *avarta* is the *laya*—the *druta laya*, *madhya laya* and *vilamba laya* are popularly known.

Pani—*Pani* and *tala* are synonymous. The three types mentioned in *pani* are *sama pani*, *ava pani* and *pani pani*. This amounts to the *sama anagata* and *atita eduppus*.

Yati. This is the artistic distribution of *laya*; *sama*, *srotovaha* and *gopuchha* are three well-known types.

Prakarana. These are the *tala gitis*—*madraka* etc. They are classed under two groups broadly—*kulaka* and *chhedyaka*. If a piece or part is complete by itself in meaning, it is termed *chhedyaka*. If two or more pieces should collectively form a meaningful whole, it is termed *kulaka*. *Dattilamuni* deals with this section at great length.

Vadya. Musical instruments have always been held sacred with us. Divine beings are said to play on it bestowing on the instruments a spark of their divinity. *Narada* begins his *Makaranda* thus:—

ब्रह्मातालधरोद्गृह्णन् वीणाफरा भारती ।
वंशज्ञौशशिभास्करौ श्रुतिधराः सिद्धप्सरकिन्नराः
नद्रीभृङ्गिरिटादि मर्दलधराः सङ्गीतकोनारदः ।
शम्भोर्नृत्तकरस्यमङ्गलतनोर्नाट्यंसदापातुनः ॥

Musical instruments are of three kinds—stringed instruments, wind instruments and percussion instruments. The *Natya sastra* gives in detail the method of playing on the *Vipanci vina*. The six *karanas* mentioned may be taken six formulae for harmonics. Further research on this point is desirable.

In the chapter on flute, *Bharatha* deals with the method of producing these kinds of notes—the *dvivruti svara*, *trivruti svara* and *chathusruti svara*. The orifice in the flute is either fully closed or partially closed or fully opened or closed intermittently to produce the requisite notes. The flute is the best of instruments in the opinion of *Bharathamuni*.

अविचलितमविच्छिन्नं वर्णाङ्गारसम्युतम् ।
मद्विविधिललितमधुरं वेणोरेव स्मृतं वाद्यम् ॥

Mridangam, Dardura, Panava, Jarjhari, Pataha—these are a few of the percussion instruments accepted by ancient writers on music, and in popular use to-day too. The Vadya adhyaya of the Sangita Ratnakara mentions many more and also details the method of playing them. Description of the instruments themselves is given in such a manner that it will not be a difficult task to reconstruct them to-day.

The Ragas. Perhaps the richest heritage is the raga in our music. Raga is the soul of music. It is the enticing melody mould, in which countless songs, musical forms and the musical world is created. The raga is an elusive term. It cannot be hacked to pieces, explained and analysed. An unbroken unison of mind with mind sweeping up the singer and the bearer alike in a current of bliss, is the charm of the raga. The raga has been variously defined by writers on music as

रञ्जको जनचित्तानां सचरागउदाहृतः ॥

रञ्जनाज्जायतेराग : and left at that.

The classification of ragas is a study by itself. These are ragas and raginis in the north; suddha, chaya-laga and sankirna in the south. There are ragas that can lift one to the extremes of ecstasy and to get up and dance; ragas that make one close one's eyes and meditate on the supreme being; ragas that make one's heart race with joy; ragas that make one yearn for one's beloved; ragas that bring balm to the heart of the bereaved; ragas that make one weep with despair and ragas that by sheer beauty, charm away the despair—all lovers of music are aware of this.

It is on this rich raga ground that the music mansions, musical forms of kriti, kirtana, varna etc are built. This raga is the basis on which all the musical systems of the world are built. The lines of development are divergent and hence the varied systems.

It is here that the theorist and the musician meet. What the theorist explains elaborately, the musician executes magically in a few seconds and he is innocent of the science. But how enriching how soul-stirring the music would be if the musician were aware of the science of music also! Again what can the dry theories do, if not fused with the charm of practical music? There is no doubt that the writers on music, who have expounded the theory of music in the masterly way, we have seen, were adepts in the practice of music, too. It is evident that they enjoyed "*Svanubhuti*". Unless they experienced the nectar of "*Nija Sangita*" they cannot have written so beautifully and succinctly, as they have done, that their treatises rank with the best literature available in Samskrita to-day. May we hope, with the aid of all the learned scholars assembled here, to recreate those times?.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANCIENT SARASVATI RIVER

by

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The Sarasvati is a mysterious river of ancient India. The mythical river was lost long ago. But it still lives in the memory of man. There are mentions of this river in many ancient literatures. We also get indications as to the nature of the river and there is ample evidence to show that the Sarasvati was a mighty river and was one time the biggest river of Aryavarta. But there is little information available regarding the nature of the river and the other details.

The geography of India was much different in the ancient days and it has undergone many drastic changes. The Himalayas was probably a much smaller mountain during the early period of human history. The river system of India was entirely different even during the Vedic period. The climate of the country has undergone many changes. Thus, subjected to many natural changes of geography, the great river Sarasvati was lost.

Theory of Indo-Brahm River:

From various geological evidence marshalled by two eminent geologists, viz. Pilgrim and Pascoe, independently and almost simultaneously in 1919, propounded the theory of the existence of a great river in North India. Pilgrim called it Siwalik River and Pascoe called it Indo-Brahm River. Their evidence may be briefly stated as follows.

There is a series of boulder deposits all along the foot hills of the Himalayas from Bhutan right beyond the Punjab. This kind of special deposits of boulders can only be done by a big river and based on it the existence of a large river is conjectured along the length of the boulder deposits. The Indo-Brahm used to flow from Assam towards west to the Punjab where it used to fall in a gulf of the Arabian Sea. The Arabian Sea extended at that time to the north upto the border of the Punjab. There are also deposits of some particular fossils of riverine origin along the foothills of the Himalayas. These have given rise to the formation of nummulitic limestones. These rocks were also formed probably during early part of human history. And these were certainly laid down by a big river, supporting the thesis of existence of the Indo-Brahm river. Distribution of fauna in the present-day Indus and the Gangetic systems, specially of freshwater Dolphins also points to the fact that there must have been water connection between the Indus and the Gangetic basins. The Indo-Brahm was a much larger river than many rivers of today. The Indo-Brahm received tributaries both from the Himalayan side as well as from the Deccan side. It is these tributary rivers of the Indo-Brahm which later formed the Yamuna, Ganga, Gandak and other rivers of North India.

Ancient Sarsvati River:

The author identifies this Indo-Brahm river with the Sarasvati of the ancient India. On this river many of the largest cities of the ancient India were located. It is also the author's contention that the ancient cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro were located in the deltaic region of the Sarasvati. It is quite probable that Mohenjodaro was situated at the mouth of the river and was a principal port of India. In north Rajasthan there is still a mark of dry bed of a river. It runs along the border of the Punjab and Rajasthan from North-east to the south-west towards the present Sindhu river. Locally it is known as the Ghaggar river. This dry river can be identified with the Sarasvati or a distributary river of it. The delta of the Sarasvati was located in the Punjab and there were a number of branch rivers of the Sarasvati all over the Punjab; and that is why the ancient name of the Punjab Saraswati or the land of the Sarasvati river. In Vedic religious cults, Sarasvati is described as the goddess presiding over river water. Much later probably she was changed from a River goddess to a goddess of learning. This at least indicates the importance of the river in the life and culture of Aryavarta during pre-Vedic and Vedic times.

Break up of the Sarasvati:

Question arises as to how this great river, Sarasvati was lost for ever. This is fascinating story. There is a phenomena in nature what is called in geological sciences as 'river capture'. A river generally lengthens its course by cutting backwards at the very source of the river. By this process of back cutting it may ultimately reach the course of another river and divert the water of the latter river into itself. By this process of continuous river capture the giant river Sarasvati was also cut into pieces. At that time there was a highland connecting the Khasi Hills of Assam and the Chotanagpur Plateau of Bihar. North of this ridge was the Sarasvati basin while south of this were the Meghna, Brahmaputra, Bhagirathi etc. flowing towards the then Bay of Bengal. These rivers cut backward and ultimately captured the Sarasvati River. First of all the upper part of the Sarasvati was captured near Prag-Jyotispur and was diverted to the south to form the present Brahmaputra River. The Bhagirathi also cut backward and reached the Ganga. The Ganga was a tributary to the Sarasvati and used to flow from south-east to the north-west. But due to the subsequent capture by the Bhagirathi the flow was made opposite and reversed. This reversal was also enhanced due to upheaval of the Himalayas which was still rising at that time. The ancient bed of the Sarasvati was raised up and the system broke down. The Ganga developed quickly now and became more powerful. The Yamuna, Gandak, Gomati, Rapti etc. which were formerly tributaries to the Sarasvati were also all reversed and they ultimately joined the Ganga which was now a mightier river. This was the process of the break up of the Saraswati and development of other rivers in Aryavarta .

Sarasvati River of Vedic period:

At first, though the entire upper portion of the Sarasvati underwent a thorough change, yet the lower part of the river in

the Punjab specially was probably quite intact even during the Vedic period. Possibly during this period the Punjab was known as the Sarasvati. Even at this stage the Sarasvati was quite a large river and it had its origin in the Manasarovara. The Vedic Sarasvati flowed probably along the upper courses of the Satadru, of the Yamuna and along the Ghaggar of north Rajasthan and ultimately emptied into the gulf. The Sarasvati system was quite a big one, for the river had the Sindhu, Chandrabhaga, Vitasta, Vipasa, Satadru rivers as tributaries. Probably at this period the Sarasvati was considered to be a very sacred river. But again another series of river captures brought about the final collapse of the Sarasvati system. This was primarily done by the Yamuna. The Yamuna was much a smaller river at the beginning. But later the Yamuna was rejuvenated and it quickly cut backward and captured the upper course of the Vedic Sarasvati and diverted the sacred waters into its own bed. This phenomena must have occurred within the historic times and the people of the Vedic India must have witnessed the diversion of the sacred waters of Sarasvati into the channel of the Yamuna. So now the water of the sacred Sarasvati actually flows through the Yamuna today.

Significance of the Tribeni:

It will be known that the confluence of the Ganga and the Jamuna at Prayag is termed as Tribeni sangam. It is believed that there is a third river Sarasvati apart from the other two which are obvious. The Sarasvati is commonly explained to be antahsalila, flowing underground. But the actual fact is that the people of Vedic times realised that the water of the Sarasvati was now in reality flowing in the Yamuna and thus Tribeni is the confluence of the thrice sacred waters of the Ganga and the Yamuna and the Sarasvati flowing along with the Yamuna.

Sarasvati river of Bengal:

The combined water of the three sacred rivers now therefore flows along the Ganga from Tribeni downwards. But this is Yuktabeni or combination of sacred waters. There is another Tribeni in the delta of the Ganga and this is Muktabeni that is redivision of the sacred waters into three rivers viz. Sarasvati, Yamuna and Bhagirathi rivers of Bengal. At Tribeni of Bengal (about 30 miles north of Calcutta) was the head or the apex of the delta of the Ganga. The current was divided into three rivers as mentioned above. This Tribeni is also otherwise known as Dakshin Prayag and is regarded by the Hindus of Bengal as a sacred spot.

This system of deltaic distributaries was present before the 16th Century. But in the middle of the 16th century there were a series of severe earth movements resulting in many drastic changes in the river systems of Bengal. During this catastrophic change the main flow of the Ganga which was formerly flowing down the Bhagirathi channel was diverted along the Padma. This resulted in overall deterioration in the Bhagirathi basin and ultimately the Yamuna and the Sarasvati both were dwindled and got dried up. Before the 16th century the channel of the Sarasvati was much

bigger and many ports and cities were established on the river. Saptagram and Bator were two famous trade centres on the Sarasvati and it is very likely also that the ancient port of Tamralipti was situated at the mouth of the Sarasvati river. It appears that the sea-going vessels generally used to take the Sarasvati route for trading in Bengal. The descriptions of the journeys of many famous merchants like Srimanta Sadagar are available and these descriptions show how mighty the river was. But during the catastrophic changes in the rivers of Bengal in the 16th century the current of waters of the Sarasvati was diverted into the Bhagirathi and the Sarasvati got dried up. Again subsequently the Bhagirathi deserted its own lower course (i.e., the Adi Ganga) south of Calcutta and adopted the old course of the lower Sarasvati. Thus, the portion of the Bhagirathi (also known as the Hooghly River here) south of Calcutta is in fact occupying the old bed of the ancient Saraswati.

This is the physical history of the mythical river Sarasvati; it is a lost river of olden days. Yet it is not entirely lost, for parts of the river still exist and are still active being captured by different rivers like the Brahmaputra, Yamuna and the Bhagirathi of to-day. Above all it still lives in human memory.

THE TRACES OF ANCIENT INDIAN MUSIC IN CHINA.

by

JAN YUN-HUA, M.A.

India and China, both are the ancient nations; they have their own respective glorious cultures and civilisations. They are the close friends, and they have contacts in several cultural fields, music was one of them. On this aspect, modern scholars have worked very little, up to the present time. It is still necessary for fresh studies.

The difficulties in this subject were that the Indians lost their historical records, although most of the Chinese old records were preserved. But the musical materials are without the musical tunes. In this paper, I have used the Chinese materials (most of these, dated before 13th century A.D.), to trace the history of the ancient Indian music in China. In the following pages, I have discussed:

1. The Indian musical orchestra in China;
2. The Chinese Budhistic music; and
3. The Greater Indian music in China. Most of these questions are the new problems of this field.

In beginning of the 4th century A.D., China's political conditions had a great change, the united empire had fallen and the tribal kingdoms arose on its decline. This political confusion lasted for about three centuries, until the Sui empire reunited China in the end of the 6th century A.D. Foreign elements were introduced to the Chinese by the tribal rulers. They for the first time, recognized Buddhism as their court faith, and played foreign music in their court etc. These aspects show that the foreign and tribal civilizations have great influences on the Chinese life. And this was not the case in the previous periods.

The emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty, first used a large volume of foreign music in his court. *The History of the Sui Dynasty*¹ recorded that in the age of the Ta-yeh period (605-18), the emperor Yang ordered to form the nine parts of music in his court, and seven of these nine parts are the foreign musics; viz., West Liang Kuchean Indian, Sogdian, Sogdiana, Kashgarian, Parthian and the Korean. In the middle of the 7th century India was omitted from this list, Fu-nan and Turfan were enlisted into it.

We know from *the History of the Tsin Dynasty* and Tu-yus's encyclopedia *T'ung-tien*², that Indian magical plays staged in China began in the second century A.D., and such plays were played by

1. Sui-shu (The History of the Sui Dynasty), By Wei-Cheng (580-643 A.D.) Ch. 15.
2. Tsin-shu (i.e. the History of the Tsin dynasty), compiled in X Century A.D., by Fang Chiao etc. ch. 3. and T'ung-tien. (A general encyclopedia) by Tu-yü (Compiled 601 A.D.) Ch. 146.

the Indians in the Chinese court throughout the different ages continuously, until the 8th century. We do not know in the early time whether those magical plays were associated with music or not, but in later time they were accompanied with musical arrangements.

The "*History of the Sui Dynasty*" mentioned the first Indian orchestra in China. It informed that during the 4th century A.D., while Chang Chung-hua occupied the N.W. China, foreigners came from distant regions, with their presents to the Chinese rulers. India was one of these foreign countries, and presented their music to Chang's court. After this, an Indian prince changed his life into a Buddhist monk, and spent some time in China, he made the Indian music familiar to the Chinese. Different Chinese texts mentioned that Indian orchestras consisted of 12 musicians, two dancers, and 10 different instruments, namely a phoenix-head K'ung-hou, a balloon guitar, a five stringed balloon—guitar, a flute, four different drums, a cymbal and a plain conch. Chinese texts also informed that Indian musicians used to wear black caps, white silken jackets, thin silken trousers in purple, and dark-red shoulder-skirts. The dancers wore the Chiasha (Kasayas) which was in orange-colour, as well as the colour of the sky during the morning time. Other dresses of the dancers were green coloured, and they wore also the hempen-sandals.

Among the instruments, K'ung-hou was a 23 stringed instrument, and it was not used by the Chinese musicians since long time, and it corresponded with Katyayana-vina. The balloon-guitar in Chinese was called as Pi-pa, this was a popular instrument in central Asia and it was also used by ancient Indian musicians. The drums were four in number, the Chinese named them a Tu-tan drum, a Kieh drum, a copper drum and another was named Mao-yuan drmu. The Chinese called that flute, which was used by the Indians as Pili. This probable is the transcription from the Indian name 'Bansuri'.

Chinese texts mentioned only two songs in Indian orchestra. The sons are entitled as Sha-shih-chiang and 'A song to Heaven'. Their numbers seem to be limited by the court's time, because they should play many other musics in their court.

India was the motherland of Buddhism, and that religion also was a popular and powerful faith to the Chinese. This religious contact brought these two nations more closer. Indian music just like other cultural sections, as accompanied with Buddhism, was exported to China. We do not know what place was occupied by music in the Buddhist society, during the early times. In regard to the Hinayanist traditions, they did not use music in their religious life; but on the other hand, the Mahayanists used music in their rites. Even at present, it is still being used by the Mahayanists.

According to some Chinese Buddhist translations, few simple instruments were used by the monks during the early ages. For ex-

ample the text of *Ekattaragama Sutra* mentions that Ananda was sounding a Ghanda and going to a class-room, saying that he would deliver the doctrines of Buddha, and monks who were the disciples of Buddha, should come to that room. Later, when Tantric religion developed, their believers placed music into an important place in their religious life. Many Tantric texts mentioned that their ritual rules were concerned with music; some even connected music with their doctrines, as the text of *Ta-Jih-Ching-I-Shih* mentioned that "all songs are the True words; and all dances are the sacred signs".³ It is clear that music and dance are not only the people's offering to the God, but they themselves are the doctrines.

We get no evidence to point out the exact date of the beginning of the religious music in China, but from some sources we have traced that it should be from the early centuries of the Christian era. One Chinese Buddhist work mentioned that Ts'ao-Chih (192-232 A.D.) had according to the Sanskrit verse formed the seven tones. Again, we learn from *Kao-Seng-Chuan*⁴ "the customs of T'ien-chu (India), when the people repeat the words of Dharma. Most of their verses were written in rhyme; this we (Chinese) called Fan-pai (= Pathka). Due to the linguistic differences, Chinese translations have divided the texts into two parts, viz., the songs and the essays. The songs are the hymns to God, and they are accompanied with the stringed and wind musical instruments; the essays are to explain the stories and the doctrines. *Kao-Seng-Chuan* was dated in the beginning of the 6th century. This shows that the Buddhistic music was in existence in those periods. During the T'ang period (618-907) a new literary system called Pien-wen was produced in China, it was a mixture of poetry and essay. Those poems were sung by the Buddhists, and accompanied by music. This new literature afterwards was not only used for preaching the religion, but also used for common stories. The text *Yin-Hua-Lu* had a story on this: It mentions that a monk named Wen-shu, gathered the people in his temple for the speeches. He said that his talks were quoted from the canons, but they were really the lewd stories. People liked his speeches and songs, therefore they named that temple as 'Ho-shanog Chiao-fang' which means the monks' musical club. The system of Pien-wen is still alive with modern Chinese folklores.

First, that is in Tun-huang wall-paintings, Indian musical instruments were not only played by the flying-angels, but also by the human musicians. We know that in Yun-kang and Lung-men sculptures, those instruments were only in the angels' hands. The second was that in the Tun-hung paintings, the figures of the musical orchestras appeared. This is not found in the art of other places in that period. We know that the Tun-huang caves were established since 366 A.D.; and they were situated on the Chinese frontier. It was a centre of Buddhism and also an important post of the over-land route between China and the western world. This

3. *Ta-jih-ching I-Shih* (The commentary of Mahaveirokanasutra) by I Hsin⁸ (672-717 A.D.) ch. 6.

4. *Kao-seng-chuan* (Memoirs of the eminent priests) by Seng Yu in 519 A.D. ch. 18.

shows that Buddhistic music came from outside to China, and it was not a Chinese development, it corresponded with other records as I have mentioned above.

According to the texts of TZ'U-P' there was a tune titled Po-lo-men (= Brahman), it further stated that musical terms Po-lo-men were mentioned in the texts of *Chiao-Frang-Chi*, *The History of the Sung Dynasty*, and *Yueh-Fu-Tsa-Lu*; the text of *Hsu-T' Ung Tien* also mentioned two tunes called Po-lo-men Yin and Po-lo-men Ling. Other two tunes mentioned in same text called Golden-buddha and the Yu-po-lo or Utpala (flower) seem also to have been transformed from Indian original names. One piece of Po-lo-men song was discovered in Tun-huang remains. It shows that it was a piece of the religious song. The text of *Li-Tao-Yao-Chueh* stated a very interesting point. It says that in the 13th year of the T'ien-pai period (753), Chinese changed the title of Po-lo-men into a Chinese name Ni-shang Yu-i.⁵ That Ni-shang Yu-i was one of the finest musical pieces in Chinese history; it originated from the title 'Po-lo-men'. By this we may say that its original stock belonged to Indians, because Po-lo-men was a general name of India and Indians called by the Chinese.

Some Buddhist Masters were good singers, for example, in Chinese records Srimitra was skilful in music, and he was a native of Kuche. According to the Japanese traditions, an Indian musician named Bodhi went to Japan with a Chinese mission in A.D. 736, and he taught music there. This shows that Indian musicians not only played in China, but they also went to Japan from there.

We have traced the ancient Indian orchestras and the religious music in China; these were imported from India directly to China. There was another link of Sino-Indian contacts in the musical field, that was the Greater Indian music in China. Chinese historians have divided the foreign music into the four groups, viz, the south, north west and east. They divided those groups not only because they were situated in these directions, but also regarded the characters of their music. Indian, Funanese and Burmese were mentioned as the south; and Kuchean, Turfanese, Kashgarian and others as the west; other two groups are not concerned with our subject. Now let us examine what are their relations with Indian music.

Chinese sources mentioned that the earliest Fu-nanese musical orchestra which went to China was dated in the end of A.D. 243, but they did not mention any connection between this early Funanese music with the Indians music. Later, we find in Tu-yu's *T'ung-Tien* and the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty*, that when the Sui emperor conquered the kingdom of Lin-i or Champa, from there the Chinese captured some Funanese musicians. As the Chinese king thought the Funanese instruments very simple, so he did not use it in his court, but he ordered the officers to use Indian

5. About this ref. to Tz'u-Hai (The sea of the phrases) ed. by Chung-hua book Co., pp. Ch'iu 323,

musical notes for recording those Funanese songs. *The old History of the T'ang Dynasty*⁶ further informed, that the Funanese dancers are two in number, their dresses were of the same colour like those of Indians. From those statements, a few points are clear, viz., that 1. Indian and Funan belonged to one group, 2. the number and the colour of dancer's dress of Funanese corresponded with those of the Indians, 3. the Chinese used the Indian musical notes and recorded the Funanese songs. That means that their musical system was similar. Besides this, we have found that the Chinese recorded a country called Chih-t'u or the red-cay. The Chinese said that this was another tribe of Funan. During the same century, the Chinese discovered that Indian music was used by Chih-t'us as their court music.⁷ To consider these information with other aspects of Hindu cultural influence in S.E. Asia, it is definite that the Funanese music belonged to the Indian family. Later, when the ruler of T'ang empire discontinued Indian music, Funanese music replaced it in Chinese court.

Burmese orchestra went to China during the end of 8th century, the Chinese classified it into the Indian group. This Burmese orchestra consisted of 35 musicians, they played 22 different instruments, and staged 12 songs in China. According to the text of *T'ang-Hui-Yao*⁸, that the kingdom of Piao or Burma was situated to the west of Yunnan, just near India; therefore most of their songs were the Buddhist hymns. Another text mentions the instruments of this Burmese orchestra. Except the local instruments others were similar to those of Indians. This information has been proved by Mr. Kenzo: he has pointed out that some of the Burmese instruments belonged to the Indian system. The text *The New History of the T'ang Dynasty* recorded the full list of the Burmese songs, most of them were titled with the Buddhist terms, such as Buddha, Sala flowers, white pigeon and cranes, Dhyana Samadhi, Raja Iksvaku etc. All these show that it was more close to the Indian music.

Among the western group, Kuchean had occupied a leading place among all foreign musics in China, no other foreign music could be compared with Kucheans' music. It was very popular in China and deeply influenced the Chinese music. From the 4th century A.D. down to the 8th century, Kuchean music flooded both the Chinese court and the common society. Even as late as 13th century, the Chinese still mentioned a largest number of foreign songs as Kuchean. Few points are very important to the relation between Kuchean and Indian music. First, we know that ancient Kuchean language was one branch of Sanskrit family. Secondly their instruments mainly belonged to the Indians. Another point was that some musicians went from there to China. Their names show that they were probably the Indian colonialists, such as Sujvia and a Brahmanical musician named Ts'ao Miaota. Some scholars thought

6. Chiu-t'ang-shu (the old history of the T'ang dynasty) by Liu Hsu (887-946 A.D.) ch. 29.
7. Pai-shih (the history of the northern dynasties) by Li Yen-shou composed in 7th Century A.D. ch. 95.
8. Yu-hai (an encyclopedia) by Wang Ying-lin (1223-96 A.D.) ch. 108.

that Ts'ao was translated from Jhur. Chinese records preserved the Seven musical notes of the Kuchean, and they seem to correspond with ancient Indian musical notes. Scholars have pointed out the following Seven notes viz. Sha-t' o-li = Skt. Sadharita, Ki-shih = Kaisika. Sha-shih — Sadja, Sha-hou ka-lan = Shah Grama, Sha-la = Sadava, pan-shan — Pancama, and Hou-ff-sha = Rsabha, or the bull's sound. The last five transcriptions of this list were accepted by the scholars; but the first two were not. The first one the Chinese named Sha-t'o-li, some have connected it with the Sha-t'o tribes of Turkish; and second one they thought Chinese Ta-shih = Tajik in Persian. That means it was a Arabian note. They traced them from the pronunciation of the Chinese names. But we have no more evidence to support these suggestions. Mr. H. Kenzo,⁹ after he examined those notes from the musical point of view, pointed out that these two notes also were the transcriptions of the Indian musical notes, and not anything else. We know these seven Kuchean notes introduced in China during the 6th century by Sujiva. At that time, Sujiva also told the Chinese, that before him family members already used those seven notes throughout many generations. That means from 3rd century or even earlier than this, they were in existence at Kuche; but the Arabian and the Sha-t'o powers entered that region as late as 7th and 8th century A.D. With regard to this historical background, Mr. Kenzo's conclusion would be more right.

We do not know what were the Indian influences on the musics of Turfan and Kashgar, their orchestras also played in China, and the Chinese connected those with the Kuchean's. It seems that they might be influenced by the latter. Considering these relations and the Buddhist achievements in those kingdoms, Indian music should have also once influenced them.

So far we have discussed the Indian and the Greater Indian music in China; but when we look over the Chinese music in India, during the ancient period, our subject turns to a dark stage, both the Indian and the Chinese got no sufficient records about it. But we learn from Hsuan-tsang's statement, that when the Chinese Master of law met the king Harsha-var dhana¹² and Bhaskara-varman¹¹, the ruler of Kamarupa both of them have enquired about a Chinese song to the Master of law. That song was named P'o-chen Yueh, it was composed after year 619 A.D. About twenty years after that, it already became very popular throughout north and the East Indies. This shows that at least there was a Chinese musical piece once liked by the Indians, and it is possible that other Chinese songs may also have been played in India, but we have no records regarding this.

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9. Sui-t'ang Yen-yueh-tiao Yen-chiu (A study on the tunes of Yen Music during the Sui-t'ang periods by Hayasi Kenzo, pp. 14-52.
 10. Yin-hua-lu (the records of tales) by Cheo Lin, composed in 9th Century A.D., Shuo-fu edition pp. 3a & b.
 11. Buddhist records of the western world, by Beal, pp. II. 198.
 12. The life of Hiuen-tsiang, by Beal, pp. 147.

INDIGENOUS VETERINARY MEDICINE

by

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Introduction: Among the several arts and sciences that were reported to have reached a high state of proficiency and prominence in Ancient India, Indigenous Veterinary Medicine was also one. As Ancient India was mainly an agricultural country the interdependence of man and animal was well realised, not only on account of the indispensability of animals for agriculture and draught purposes, but also due to the necessity of the several animal products for use in the common household and for medicinal purposes; such as cow's and buffalo's milk for daily consumption and preparation of curd, butter and ghee etc., dung which served as a disinfectant and purifier in every day household and also as a valuable manure for the fields and as fuel in the form of dried cakes, and the several other animal products such as the milk, urine, and bile etc. of several animals, gall-stones and musk etc. that were used in medicine. The realisation of this interdependence between men and animals is well seen not only by the great care, kindness and caution bestowed on animals by the early Hindus, but also by the fact that many animals were sanctified and put on a par with the divine. Thus we see the cow as the emblem of earth, Bull as the vehicle of Lord Siva, Garuda of God Vishnu, pea-cock of Lord Subramania, Buffalo of Dharma Raja, serpents as appendages of Siva and Vishnu etc. In the face of such high regard for animals it is no wonder that ancient Indian Literature like human Ayurveda bristles with information on animal science in all its aspects.

Authors on Indian Veterinary Science and their works:—

Among the original authentic authors on Indigenous Veterinary Science so far known are Palakapya, Slihotra, Rajaputra, Vaisampayana, Vyasa, Narada, Mrigasarna, Brihaspathi, Sukra, Nakula, Jayadatha, Gana, Garga, Malladevapandita, Nala etc; and among the authors of later origin come Verrasena, Vatsya, Jayadeva, Indusena, Bhoja, Sarangadhara, Someswara, Vahada, Basavamantri, Geeravanaydhavikrama, Biswanath Vijpevi, Sivamara Bhoopathi, Deepankara, Rudradeva and Hamsadeva, etc. Each one of these authors is reported to have contributed very useful and interesting information on Veterinary Science; but most of them are lost either wholly or partly, and the few surviving fragments of literature now available piecemeal here and there in some of the longstanding libraries and oriental institutions are already in a decaying and crumbling condition and a few of them which have survived the ravages of time, foreign invasion and domination, copies of which have since been collected by me, contain a plethora of very interesting information on animal science worthy of admiration, honest investigation and emulation by our modern scientists in an atmosphere free from any kind of bias and prejudice.

Value of information available in Indigenous Veterinary Literature:

This can be dealt with under the following 2 heads:—

1. Scientific Value.
2. Economic Value.

Scientific Value: On the Veterinary side, every standard work in Sanskrit so far located and gathered by me has information classified into different sections, each section dealing with a particular aspect of the science. In the section under treatment of diseases, all the diseases have been well classified as diseases of the head, ears, eyes, nose, teeth, diseases of the heart, lungs, urinary organs, digestive organs etc; the number of ailments under each head, their etiology, symptomatology, diagnosis, prognosis and treatment etc. have been systematically analysed and given. On the Livestock side, Livestock breeding, dedication of bulls for breeding, purposes, nature and qualifications of bulls for high class breeding, castration of scrub bulls, rearing of calves and young animals, Livestock feeding, Dairy farming, cultivation of fodder, grazing areas around villages and details of maintenance of livestock census registers in the villages etc. have all been dealt with in a way worthy of the glory of the ancient Indian civilisation. Apart from the above, the following are some of the other salient features mentioned in the ancient literature, but have not found a place in modern Animal Husbandry Science:

(1) In the case of horses, hair marks and whorls, colour pigmentation, physical configuration, smell and volition (voice) of the animal etc. in relation to their temperamental qualities, have been described.

(2) In the case of cows, colour pigmentation in relation to the nutritive value of milk is given.

(3) A book called "Sivatatva Ratnakara" by Basavamantri deals with useful information on fowls, cock-fighting, the colour, form and gait of a cock as indices to its fighting capacity. In the same book, details of breeding of sheep, goats and dog etc. have been given.

(4) Under elephantology, secrets of handling, controlling and securing of restive, mischievous and large animals for surgical operations and treatment etc. are very interesting. These find no place in our modern science.

(5) The book called "Sukramithi" gives details of the classification of horses and elephants as high, middling and low, the general body confirmation and the standard proportion and measurements of the individual limbs of an animal in relation to each other and to the body as a whole, are very interesting and find no place in our modern literature. True to the above description and measurements, albums containing multi-coloured portraits of the various breeds of horses and elephants in ancient India which were arranged to be drawn up at the time of king Sarjoji and which

have evoked the admiration of several distinguished visitors both Indian and foreign are now adorning the Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore.

(6) A book called "Mrigapakshi Sastra" by Hamsadeva deals with the various kinds of animals and birds in India both wild and domestic,—their varieties, natural colours, temperamental qualities, period and time of full youth, time of full passion, period of pregnancy, delivery time, their natural food and full life period etc. are all given. This book is a very interesting one for both Zoologists and Veterinarians as well.

(7) In the field of genetics, the science of conception, the parental disposition, traits of inheritance from the parents, monthly development of the foetus, prenatal and post-natal care of animals have been dealt with.

(8) Another interesting point is that the nutritive value of standard milk had been assessed. One drona (256 palas) of cow's milk was known to contain one prastha (16 papas) of butter and that of buffaloe one-seventh prastha ($2\frac{2}{7}$ palas) more. This works out of $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ and $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ of fat in cows' and buffaloes' milk respectively according to present day calculations.

Economic Value: The economic value of the use of the indigenous drugs of India will be apparent if we are to realise that the drugs mentioned in the Indigenous literature are only of local origin and will be within the easy reach of the great masses whose economic condition is very poor and the far off interior villages where modern treatment, cannot ordinarily reach. It is a known fact that a great many ailments of every day practice are only of a minor nature and can be treated with the herbs growing locally and other drugs available in the local bazaars. Most of these remedies if judiciously used will be nearly as efficacious as the most up-to-date refined products and will bring down the cost of treatment to the minimum. In every branch of pharmaceutical preparations such as, purgatives, anthelmintics, carminatives, expectorants, diuretics etc., equally effective local drugs are available and can be substituted with maximum efficiency and minimum expenditure. The economic value of this subject, as one of the first magnitude, will be appreciated only by a scrutiny of the important export drug-trade of India. A great many herbs and plants of known therapeutic value are growing wildly and in great abundance in many parts of India, and a few of them are cultivated. Major portion of the former grow profuse, mature and eventually die un-cared for and un-used; while some portion of them are exported to foreign countries at a very nominal cost and comes back to us in the form of the so-called Standardized preparations, Alkaloidal extracts and other allied finished products packed in suitable attractive receptacles at a price probably a hundred times and more of the original crude drugs. Leaving off the crude drugs available in the villages at little or no cost and going in for finished products of foreign countries at a cost of hundred times or more of the crude drug, will naturally affect the national economy of a country. Many other interesting details under this head are withheld in this paper for want of space.

Applicability of the Ancient Indian Veterinary Science to suit modern conditions: The availability of vast information on animal science in all its aspects, the value of such information both from the scientific and economic aspects and finally the existence of vast drug resources in India in the easy reaches of the villages, etc., have all been sufficiently well-explained above. I have been connected with this kind of work, for the last three decades. Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University and General Secretary of the present conference was mainly responsible for furnishing me with all the necessary information regarding the location and collection of the literature on this subject, and is also intimately connected with the work that I have been doing.

Sri Bishwanath Das, Ex-premier of Orissa and President of the Utkal Congress Committee has been taking keen interest in my work and was mainly responsible for bringing my work to the notice of the Central Government and putting through a scheme started under his initiative by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, to bring out all the information on Indigenous Science in a way suitable for publication among the public and profession, and application of the above published information among the rural population. Under this scheme a preliminary All-India Survey was made of the existence and distribution of information on Ancient Indian Veterinary Science, and my report thereon to the then I.C.A.R. Secretary in 1939 was recorded by him with the clear and un-stinted remarks, that "The report reveals the existence of a mass of manuscripts and Literature of Ancient Origin in Sanskrit language containing much valuable information on Veterinary medicines which is worth collecting and preserving, etc.". In spite of an honest appreciation on the part of the then foreign Government, there was not a real inclination on their part to put the scheme through to its perfection. Sri Bishvanath Das who has been watching my work and the observation of the then I.C.A.R. thereon, asked me to wait for the dawn of independence and better atmosphere which I have done. Independence has already dawn and is shining crystal clear and clean throughout the Indian Union in all its spheres except with regard to the developmental activities of a few technical arts and sciences. As far as the Indigenous Veterinary Science is concerned, it is unfortunate that it has come under those exceptions. We are still groping in the dark, with not a ray of hope of its resurrection seen any where in the horizon. A scheme on this subject is still kept pending with the I.C.A.R. on the ground that it is under the scrutiny of an expert sub-committee of which I am also a member. The working of this pending scheme under the I.C.A.R. can be summed up in the words of Sri Bishwanath Das himself, the original sponsor of the scheme thus:—"This had made me take stock of the thing that is being done in this regard from your noble efforts. Sri Dattar Singh has furnished me with copies of what all you have done, the money spent for scientific scrutiny and the rest. Having seen all that I have received, I am alarmed not because of small amounts spent, but of the fact that a sort of exploitation of Ayurvedic science is being undertaken for purposes of allopathy."

To those interested in the regeneration of this branch of Indian Literature, the usefulness of which has already been acknowledged and recorded by a band of foreign experts in pre-independent days, it should indeed be inexplicable and unconvincing, as to why even several years after the advent of independence, when the First Five Year Plan is almost coming to an end and the famous Second Five Year is on the anvil, this particular important subject of the indigenous Veterinary Science which is also expected to play an important part in the activities of the Animal Husbandry Wing of the I.C.A.R. of Free India, should not have received the proper attention it did really deserve at the hands of the concerned authorities. The result is that even to-day there is little or no inclination anywhere in any quarters to save the few surviving literature on Indigenous Veterinary Science now lying latent and uncared—for in old manuscripts of long standing libraries from their total annihilation, or to modify Veterinary education in Free India fully suitable to local conditions, and to cancel or suitably amend and replace such of the Veterinary treatises, of both foreign and Indian origin, prescribed for Veterinary education and consultation purposes, at the time of India's foreign domination, which are still widely in circulation and contain information, not befitting India's past prestige, nor its present enviable independent status in the international sphere. To substantiate the remarks above, it can be pointed out that a treatise on elephants and their diseases by one Lt.-Col. Evans which is widely in circulation not only among the veterinarians and the staff of the forest departments of both India and Burma, but also among all the big timber-cutting and trading establishments wherein maintenance of a large number of elephants is involved, is prefaced by the author himself, with the remarks that the subject of elephant diseases apart from its scientific interest, was a matter of immense economic importance, that the scantiness of literature on the subject was a source of embarrassment to himself and other elephant livestock owners as well and that his appeal for information and notes on elephants and their diseases met with very little response. In answer to this, I have pointed out in my several articles during the last 20 years, some of which have been published in the I.C.A.R. journals themselves and which have evoked the appreciation of the far off foreign scholars like Dr. Laclainchi of Paris and Dr. Reinhard Firochner of Berlin, that there are many big treatises by several authentic authors in ancient India containing profuse information on all aspects of elephant science.

Secondly, the same author in his above treatise claims that the disease called "Tuberculosis" is extremely rare in elephants. Refuting this point one Mr. J. T. Edwards, an Englishman who was Director of the Indian Veterinary Research Institute in India has claimed that Tuberculosis among elephants was prevalent, but that he was the first and foremost to have discovered this disease in India. Both the claims above are quite unjustified, and cannot stand the test of truth, in view of the fact that I have pointed out in the same articles above, that Tuberculosis was quite common among elephants and that the ancient literature contains quite a good lot of exhaustive and interesting information about it. Thus it can be seen that Mr. Evan's treatise is still widely in use, while my replies have not seen the light of day.

Again, it could be seen from the extracts of remarks of a foreigner like Lt.-Col. Evans in the previous para that the subject of elephant diseases is a matter of immense scientific and economic importance in establishments which have to deal with elephants on a large scale. In recent days, we hear that they have been employed in Agriculture also in Uttar Pradesh. So, the above subject is assuming agricultural importance also. At present in the curriculum of Veterinary education in India, not a single word is found about elephantology nor is there any authoritative original and reliable information on elephant science for adoption in the curriculum except Col. Evan's book mentioned above which is only a compilation from laymen gathered by the author during his service in India and Burma with nothing authentic or authoritative therein. On the other hand, plenty of information on the diseases and treatment of hogs, pigs, and swine, etc., in which India may not be very much interested are found in the text books now in use in the curriculum of studies. Cannot the Central Government consider the question of bringing out the very profuse and authentic information available in the ancient literature and incorporating them in the Veterinary curricula of studies, in the place of the incorrect and unwanted subjects now in force? This is for the Government of India to consider. The above are only one or two instances among the several other subjects which can be dealt under this paragraph but which are with-held for want of space.

Conclusion:—One thing is clear. God did not create the 400 millions of people and nearly one-third of the whole worlds, total cattle population in India, with remedies for them, somewhere outside India. Foreigners have acknowledged that Ancient India had a glorious past. There must have been an all-round advancement of all sciences including medicaments in ancient India to have enabled them to progress through these some thousands of years. In the Hindu, dated 4th March, 1946, we find the following "American scientists are planning a number of expeditions to different parts of the world to find out something more about the herbal medicines of primitive peoples. In these days of advanced scientific knowledge, chemists are increasingly aware of the part that old time remedies may play in new medical discoveries. One of the reasons for the renewed interest in herbal medicine is the realisation of the value of Vegetable matter in the battle against disease. Such discoveries as Penicillin, Streptomycin, etc., have proved that modern essential drugs are yielded by the same processes that produced the vegetable cures of our distant ancestors". Comment is needless. It is my wish and prayer that the concerned authorities may kindly ponder over the above remarks and be convinced of the fact that the revival of the ancient sciences of India will definitely take India a step higher and more prosperous in the international sphere.

THE 'RASA' THEORY IN INDIAN MUSIC

Prof. A. G. MANGRULKER, M.A.

At the outset it is proper to state that the remarks and observations made in this essay pertain to Indian Classical Music of the Northern Style.

Observations such as "This vocalist's performance is full of 'Karuna' Rasa", or "This particular composition, (*Cheej*) is replete with 'S'rngara' Rasa" are often made as expressions of musical appreciation. A closer examination of such statements is in order. The question here is: What type of music is intended in such observations which refer to 'Karuna' or 'S'rngara' Rasa? In the present dissertation, by 'Music' is meant 'Indian music of the classical tradition'. This is otherwise known as 'Ustadi music' also. The universe of discourse here does not include a poem which is 'sung', or a 'sher', or a ballad set to music; for in them music is only ancillary. The composers of these have all their faculties concentrated upon the word—its meaning. The attention of the audience, too, is oriented towards the word. In such a case, pure music is hardly, if ever, the focus of our expectations; and even a musically critical audience is prone to excuse lapse from musical excellence on such occasions.

However, the audience has no such indulgent attitude,—nor does the artiste welcome it—when the concert is one of classical music. In such a performance every single note is closely tested for its accuracy, every interval of rhythm (*Laya*) for its regularity, and the *Raga* that is being rendered, continuously adjudged for its purity. A musical piece in such a concert has, as its constituents, three basic elements: the Note (*Svara*) the Rhythm (*Laya*) and the *Raga*. The degree of perfection achieved in a *fusion* (—not a mere combination—) of these basic elements determines the measure of success of the performance. Now, what is the meaning of *Karuna* or *S'rngara* Rasa in the context of such music?

In the rendering of a *Thumri*, the pleasing, attractive articulation of words and its text is singularly important. The words have to be delivered with ease, feeling and softness; and the appeal of the *Thumri* increases in proportion as the text is delivered with appropriate sentiment. Very significantly, such a way of pronouncing words, peculiar to the *Thumri*, is known as '*Mukhabilas*'. Of course, skill in the execution of combination of notes is certainly a requisite here, but these combinations are always subservient to the words in so far as they have to be in perfect accord with the verbal meaning of it. In fact, they have to intensify, accentuate and beautify meaning. These tonal combinations in a *Thumri* have their free play and wide range rigorously restricted by the meaning of the words. The restriction, in the final analysis, is due to the 'Rasa' that is intended to be conveyed. The combinations have to be deve-

loped along the line of the 'Rasa' in *Thumri*. To take an illustration of a well-known *Thumri* like 'Gopala mori karuna kyu nahi ave', the performer has certainly to take great care in developing the dominant 'Rasa', viz., *Karuna* of the *Thumri*. Long, resounding and overdrawn *Tans* would assuredly mar the effect of the 'Rasa', rather than heighten it. It would also mar a variety of rhythmic patterns. Short, simple tendrils of notes and *Alaps*, therefore, would be the embellishments of such a *Thumri*, for they alone could bring out the emotional quality and depth of it. Such an artistic restraint in expression enhances its emotional appeal and deepens its colour.

The conception and theory of 'Rasa' has some part to play in the *Thumri* form of music, though. it must be remembered that this 'Rasa' is only twofold: *S'rngara* and *Karuna*. The finer shades of these two 'Rasas' are, of course, welcome as heightening the beauty of the composition and bringing out its subtlety. The 'Rasa' theory of the ancient Indian Sahitya-sastra is applicable here as the word, which is the vehicle of the 'Rasa', holds an important place.

The other 'Rasas' such as *Hasya*, *Vira*, *Adbhuta*, etc., have no place whatsoever in music. Nor do we find, in the *Thumri* texts, literary compositions suggesting them. Moreover, the *S'rngara* or *Karuna* in a *Thumri* is of a simpler type. Possibly it is for this reason that the Ragas set apart for *Thumri* are themselves comparatively simple, and melodic deviations in rendering them are allowed or even justified, if such deviations contribute to the final effect of the composition. Ragas like *Khammaj*, *Des*, *Kafi*, *Pilu*, *Mand* are worth noting in this connection. The number of such Ragas is also limited. But the absence, even in a small degree, of feeling and sensitivity is detrimental to the production of the desired 'Rasa'. It is from this point of view that the rendering of *Thumri* is, indeed, difficult as it calls for spontaneity rather than rote. There is more in it that has to be *learnt* by the disciple and less than can be taught by the Guru.

The conception of 'Rasa' is, however, inapplicable to the *Khyal* form of music. The word is at its minimum in the *Khyal* or is even absent from it. The centre of attention is shifted to the variety of melodic combinations conjoined with rhythmic variations. The medium of expression here is entirely *Svara* fused with rhythmic patterns. The word is not only secondary, but almost out of question. Consequently, the finer pronunciation of words which is the hall-mark in the rendering of a *Thumri* recedes into the back-ground when *Khyal*-singing is contemplated. The word in the *Khyal* is only a cradle, a vehicle, of *Svara*. Just as any decorations added to the cradle take their rise from a fond love for the child,—so the finer articulation of words is ultimately meant to beautify the *Svara* in *Khyal*. Desultory articulation of the word, therefore, does not detract from the beauty of the *Svara* that is *Khyal*. All this is certainly proper in an art whose sole medium of expression is *Svara*.

The other important constituent of the *Khyal* form is the rhythm (*Laya*), which is inseparably woven into it. Rhythm is to

Svara, what meaning is to word. They together resemble the well known form of *S'iva*, viz., *Ardha-naris'vara*, in their inseparable relationship. The fusion of the variations of rhythm with melodic embellishments calls for an intellectual activity independent of the word and its meaning. In fact, after the recital of the text of the *Cheej*, word is almost eschewed from *Khyal* in the *Alaps* and *Tans* that follow; and even though *Bol Tan* takes words as its support, its charm lies only in the skilful variation of rhythmic patterns. Words cease to be words, as they convey no meaning. This shows what an inferior position the word has in the *Khyal* form of music.

This granted, the conception of 'Rasa' with its literary theory should disappear from the domain of *Khyal*-singing. In the form of music whose chief interest is the imagination manifested in the melodic combinations and intellectual excellence exhibited in rhythmic patterns, the word goes overboard, and, with it 'Rasa' goes too. The table of various 'Rasas' assigned to various 'Ragas' given in ancient works is only dogmatic and has no bearing on facts, at least so far as the present-day classical Indian music is concerned. 'Rasa' theory thus has entered into musical parlance surreptitiously, through the back-door of literature and literary theories. If at all such a theory is considered proper as holding any ground in music, a systematic explanation with all its ramifications, such as *Vibhava*, *Anubhava*, etc., is imperative. This, however, is a far cry in view of the absence of Word in the *Khyal*. An extended application of the 'Rasa' theory from literary to musical field is thus unauthorised and irrelevant. If this is admitted, the only course open to the protagonists of 'Rasa' theory will be to postulate the existence of 'Rasa' in a single note, or a combination of notes or the *Raga*.

Svara, as an isolated entity, is a meaningless term. For *Svara* is a manifestation of a musical note in a related scale. Postulating 'Rasa' for a single note is thus absurd. The same holds good in the case of a *Raga*, which is a combination of a minimum number of *Svaras*. Even if it were admitted, the 'Rasas' are only two: *S'rngara* and *Karuna*. No 'Rasa' theory with its literary implications can be cogently applied here in the absence of any word. The *Cheej*, too, is of no help as different *Cheejs* of a single *Raga* frequently suggest different 'Rasas', far removed from each other. It is a common experience of a discerning listener how a *Cheej* in *Todi* (—which is presumed to suggest *Karuna*—) contains the text indicating even voluptuous *S'rngara*. In such a case it is impossible to reconcile the meaning of the text with the (presumed) 'Rasa' of the *Raga*. It need not be supposed that the ancient composers were not aware of the inconsistency between the text of the *Cheej* and the 'Rasa' of the *Raga*. On the contrary it is reasonable to argue that the idea of assigning a particular 'Rasa' to a *Raga* did not find favour with them, and hence the apparent divergence. Otherwise it is difficult to see why the composers should have composed different *Cheejs* expressive of divergent 'Rasas' in a single given *Raga*. Nor is this all. Some compositions even set out to give lists of names of gods or flowers, etc. In a *Tarana* type of composition we find meaningless, conventional symbols used for articulation. Sometimes, again, a single *Cheej* recurs in several different *Ragas* sug-

gesting divergent 'Rasas'. Any attempt, therefore, at relating a *Raga* with a 'Rasa' is unwarranted on this background.

The fact is that *Khyal*-singing is primarily an intellectual activity based on the fusion of *Svara*, *Raga* and *Laya*; and the touchstone of its excellence is the multi-coloured design conjured up by the imaginative artistic relationship which, in the final analysis, seems inevitable and emerges from out of the various constituents of musical form. A musical art-product is like a rainbow in which the solar rays and rain-drops are fused together in a relationship that results into a colourful phenomenon.

BHASKARA'S LEELAVATHI (A CHARMING ANCIENT MATHEMATICAL WORK).

by

SAHITHYALANKARA KAVIBHUSHANA SRI K. S. NAGARAJAN, B.Sc.

‘ यथाशिखा मयूराणां नागानां मणयो यथा ।

तथैव सर्वशास्त्राणां गणितं मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठति ॥ ’

It is a pity that the paramount cultural importance and the magnificent charms of Bhaskara's Leelavathi, an ancient Indian Mathematical work, are known only to a few people in India. It is the main purpose of this article to place before the world the exquisite beauty of this glorious composition which is as lovely in its music as it is erudite in its mathematics. It was Matthew Arnold who said that "Culture is passion for sweetness and light". Culture knows no distinctions between caste, community, creed or colour. It demands a high degree of the spirit of tolerance at the faults, and sympathy for the ignorance of one's own fellow beings. The eternal works of our ancient sages which were written for the benefit of humanity are a standing proof of this unblemished culture. They are works not for one country but for all countries and all men. Two dynamic factors which had a tremendous influence on the social structure and shaped the economic existence of our land are the vitality and persistence of Sanskrit and the rich cultural heritage of ancient India. Like wheels within wheels there are also two latent static factors within these two major factors which should not be lost sight of. They are the progress and history of Mathematics and the glory of Indian womanhood. While the former two factors continued to exist in some form or the other the latter two were forced to suffer a set-back for reasons well-known to a keen student of history. The invasions of foreigners to India and the consequent destruction that was wrought on the sacred institutions and books of an holy land had a devastating effect, from which we are not yet able to recover owing to the continued dependence and repression that followed under the foreign yoke.

Without touching upon these factors it is impossible to comprehend the cultural importance of Bhaskara's Leelavathi. In a word, Sanskrit was the language of the people and was their life—breath. It is like the dawn "पुनः पुनर्जायमाना पुराणी" fresher than the freshest and older than the oldest. It helps us to think nobly, act nobly and speak nobly. It helps us to perceive and conceive but not to deceive. It has its own phonetics and philology. There is no language in the world which has not taken its origin in Sanskrit and which does not owe its existence to that celestial language. We would be doing a great disservice to our country if we neglect the study of Sanskrit. To revive our ancient glory and to set India again to her former heights of culture and fame, we must all unitedly take to the keen and sincere study of Sanskrit. In one word, India is Sanskrit and Sanskrit is India. In this connection, the motto of the Sanskrit Paper "Samskritam", which is

being published once a week from *Ayodhya* may be quoted to stress the indispensability of that *divine language*.

यावद्भारतवर्षं स्याद्यावद्विन्ध्यहिमाचलौ ।

यावद्गङ्गा च गोदाच तावदेव हि संस्कृतम् ॥

As long as India exists, as long as the Vindhyas and the Himalayas exist, as long as the Ganges and the Godavari flow, so long does Sanskrit exist.

The next factor is the rich ancient cultural heritage of India, which no other country in the world can boast of. The more we peep into the pages of the past, the greater is the glory of this country. The recent archaeological discoveries in the Indus Valley, at Mohenjadaró in Sindh and Harappa in the Punjab and the still more recent in Bihar, have cried a death-knell, as it were, to the existing theories as regards the age and date of our ancient culture and civilisation. The surmises of Orientalists and research scholars have been shattered to the winds. Sir John Marshall who is the acknowledged authority on the Indus Valley civilisation has stated in unmistakable terms that "There is nothing in other contemporary civilisation that could be compared to the faience models of animals or to the intaglio engravings on the seals, etc. "The age of the civilisation which is buried therein is estimated to be not less than five to six thousand years old by modern Geological experts. The most heartrending point about it is that though it was discovered more than fifteen years ago it has all along been neglected. But in a free India its importance cannot be belittled and we hope that rapid progress in the direction of further discoveries will be achieved ere long and more definite conclusions arrived at to the satisfaction of one and all. That should be an eye-opener to the World presenting a situation which is nearer the truth. Now that India is free, a revival of Sanskrit study combined with substantial progress in the discovery of ancient relics and the unearthing of some of the mighty works of our ancient sages which indicate the progress that they had made in the exact Sciences, must be commenced in full swing to bring her back to the Pinnacle of Fame. That is why Pandit Nehru, the Premier of India, stated in one of his recent speeches "that the building up of future India does not depend on Politicians, but Poets, Artists and Scientists."

Bhaskara's "Leelavathi" is the name given to the first part of "The Siddhanta Siromani" a mighty Mathematical Work of Ancient India, attributed to Sri Bhaskaracharya, one of the greatest Mathematicians of India who is said to have flourished during the twelfth Century A.D. This mathematical work consists of four parts, namely, Pati Ganita (Arithmetic) Goladhyaya (Spherical Trigonometry and Geometry) Ganithadhyaya (Astronomy) and Bija Ganitadhyaya (Algebra), all dealing with various branches of mathematics. Bhaskara himself says in his Goladhyaya that he was born in 1037 of the *Saka Era* and that he was able to write this mighty work when he was just 36 years old. This approximates to about

1150 A.D. There are various Commentaries in Sanskrit as many as fourteen in number none of them at any time having attracted popular attention. Of these, only two, namely the *Buddhi Vilasini* of Ganesha and *Manoranjana* of Sri Ramakrishna Deva are worthy of mention.

There are various reasons explaining why the first part alone is called "Leelavathi". The most interesting, if not amusing explanation, is that it was named after his beloved daughter, who by the cruelty of that "Invincible fate" became a virgin widow within a year after her marriage in spite of the best efforts of her father, the learned Bhaskara, to avert the disaster. Some people say that there is no truth in this story which has been woven by some ingenious contemporary or disciple of Sri Bhaskara. But judging by the internal merits of the work itself we are obliged to come to the conclusion that it is a labour of love. Had it been otherwise it would not have been so exhilarating as it actually is. As a matter of fact the other parts of the "*Siddhanta Siromani*" cannot be placed on par with this part either in excellence or beauty.

Bhaskara was the son of one Pandit Maheswara who lived in a village near Sahyakuta in Central India. He does not fail to mention his indebtedness to the galaxy of earlier mathematicians like Brahmaguptha, Arya Bhatta and Varahamihira. The "*Leelavathi*" comprises thirteen Chapters. Though it is called *Patiganithadhyaya* the problems that are dealt with do not strictly lie within the province of Arithmetic but also belong to Algebra, Geometry and in some stray cases to Trigonometry also. Arithmetic in those days included a bit of mensuration and problems involving the Right Angled Triangle and some parts of Algebra like the Progressions and Kuttaka (Theory of Indeterminate Equations), emphasis being laid on the arithmetical side and on concrete problems. This explains why the Kuttaka Chapter is repeated both in *Leelavathi* and in *Bijaganitha* (Algebra) the emphasis in the latter being algebraic. The original work in Sanskrit has been translated into English by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, the celebrated orientalist. This was subsequently edited with notes by Prof. Haran Chandra Banerji, M.A., B.L., of Calcutta. There is also a Hindi translation of the entire "*Siddhanta Siromani*" by Pandit Sri Sudhakara Dvivedi, a Benares Publication of the year 1899.

"*Leelavathi*" is not only a reputed mathematical treatise but is also a poetical composition of no mean order, abounding in lovely descriptions of natural scenery, historical anecdotes, enchanting ideas and figures of speech and such other embellishments which are the special features of a Mahakavya in Sanskrit. There is strict observance of every rule of Grammar and Rhetoric and we fail to discover even a slight flaw anywhere in the work. It is a rare combination of Poetry and Mathematics. Bhaskara has manifested to the world, how it is possible to drive away the dreariness and fatigue experienced in the solution of several hard and serious mathematical problems by the mellifluous intonations of the Muse, the Goddess of Poetry. While poetry has dispelled the dreariness of Mathematics, Mathematics has improved the imaginations of poetry. Both are used not only for mutual benefit but also for the decided advantage of humanity. It is a remarkable and unique

piece of work, the like of which it is impossible to find in any literature of the world. No nation has such a work as far as we know.

That Bhaskara was an erudite scholar is revealed by a stanza which occurs at the end of "Leelavathi" and which is attributed to one of the admirers or disciples of Bhaskara. It runs thus:—

अष्टौ व्याकरणानि षट् च भिषजां व्याचष्ट याः शंहिताः
षट् तर्कान् गणितानि पञ्च चतुरो वेदानधीते स्मयः ।
रत्नानां त्रितयं द्वयं चतुर्बुधे मीमांसयो रन्तरं
सद्ब्रह्मेकमगाधबोध महिमा सोऽस्याः कविर्भास्करः ॥

The author of Leelavathi is the great Poet Bhaskara of immeasurable learning and fame who knew eight systems of grammar, six treatises on medicine and surgery, six on logic, five branches of mathematics, the four Vedas and the six systems of philosophy.

In its simplicity and elegance it can be stated, without the fear of being contradicted that it ranks as high as the Ramayana of Valmiki or the Dramas of Bhasa. The problems that are dealt within it embrace all branches of mathematics showing the versatility of the learned author. In the language of modern mathematics they deal with such branches of higher mathematics as Indeterminate Equations of the 1st degree of two unknowns. The work is no doubt purely technical and is of an unbounded academic interest to an earnest student of Mathematics. But the space of this article does not allow of a technical treatment by way of solving those problems and indicating the relation they bear to modern mathematics. What in my opinion is of greater importance is the cultural aspect of the charming work which is a harmonious combination of mathematics and music which are generally understood to be poles apart, as there is nothing in common between them. In support of this dissimilarity there is the well known quotation which runs thus and which means:—

नमः प्रमाण्यवादाय मत्कवित्वापहारिणे ।

"A bow to the Exact Sciences which have robbed me of my ability to compose poetry."

It has already been pointed out that 'Leelavathi' is also a poetical work of a very high order wherein could be seen almost all the embellishments of Poetry. Hundreds of instances can be drawn in support of this statement. But it is enough for us if we just examine the treatment, or depiction of sentiment in this mathematical work.

The following problem is a beautiful example of erotic sentiment:—

हारस्तररत्तरुषा निधुवनकलहे मौक्तिकानां विशीर्णो
भूमौ यातास्त्रिभागहशायनतलगतः पञ्चमांशोऽथ हृष्टः ।
प्राप्तः षष्ठः सुकेश्या तदनु दशमकः संगृहीतः प्रियेण
दृष्टं षट्कं च सूत्रे कथय कतिपयैर्मौक्तिकैरेव हारः ॥

In a quarrel of love that arose between a husband and a wife the pearl necklace is broken and the beads are scattered all over the room. When the quarrel is patched up they are both engaged in a serious search for the lost pearls one-third of the total number being found on the floor, $1/5$ on the bed, $1/6$ by her, $1/10$ by her husband and the remaining six were hanging in the string and it is required to find the total number of pearls. The answer is 30: but the picture that is placed before us is so superb that we find ourselves almost lost in its grandeur.

The sentiment of pathos is exquisitely described in the following problem in quadratic equations:—

अलिकुलदलमूलं मालतीं यातमष्टौ निखिलनवमभागाहचालिनी मृक्कमेकम् ।

निशि परिमल्लुब्धं पद्ममध्ये निरुद्धं प्रतिरणति रणन्तं ब्रूहि बालेऽलि संख्याम् ॥

Out of a swarm of bees which went up to gather honey eight-ninths of the total number together with the square root of half the number went up to Jasmine bush and one faithful bee was humming throughout the night outside a lotus inside the petals of which was caught her drone, being attracted by the fragrance of that beautiful flower. My daughter, tell me the total number of bees.

This is a suitable question in quadratic equations and the answer is 72. Apart from the mathematics in this exquisitely beautiful stanza there is an under-current of pathos which does not fail to reveal the cultured mind of the author. The bee cannot go home leaving her lover imprisoned in the centre of the lotus wither he had gone during day and being intoxicated with an excessive draught of honey is not aware of nightfall. All this on the part of the drone is tolerated silently by the bee even as a chaste and loyal wife puts up with all the arrogance and indecency of her husband. What a fine picture of pathos this is which touches the vitals of our hearts! This is a standing example of the highly cultured mind and the artistic capacity of the person behind the pen.

There, again there is masterly treatment of the sentiment of bravery or courage otherwise known as वीररस in the following problem which also falls under quadratic equations in Algebra.

पार्थः कर्णवधाय मार्गणगणं क्रुद्धो रणे संदधे

तस्यार्धेन निवार्य तञ्जरगणं मूलैश्चतुर्भिर्हयान् ।

शल्यं षड्भिरशेषुमिस्त्रिभिरपि धत्तं धजं कामुकं

विधत्तेदास्य शिरः शरेण कति ते यान्जुनः संदधे ॥

Arjuna, the great warrior of ancient India, being fed up with the fight against his opponent, Karna, pulled out from his quiver with great indignation a certain number of arrows, with half of

which he warded off his enemy's net-work of arrows, with four times the square root of the number he killed his horses, with six he killed the Charioteer, Salya and with three he broke the flag, the umbrella and the bow of the foe and with the remaining one cut off the head of Karna. Tell me quickly, my dear, the number of arrows he took.

This is no doubt a lovely question in mathematics. The answer is 100. The harmonious contribution and construction of musical syllables, reverberating in the air and resounding in the ear carry us to unknown heights and we are lost in the majestic descriptions and little we notice the passage of time. Can there be a better proof of the highly cultured mind of the sage Bhaskara, the erudite scholar and the author of *Leelavati*? The instance he has drawn is from the epic, *Mahabharata*, and is significant and pregnant with meaning and sentiment.

One more stanza deserves mention as it reveals a fund of information and is a lovely picture of art, besides indicating a good problem which can be solved by principles of Geometry or Trigonometry. It runs thus:—

अस्तिस्तम्भतले बिलं तदुपरि क्रीडाशिखण्डो स्तितः

स्तम्भे हस्तनवोधिते त्रिगुणिचस्तम्भप्रमाणान्तरे ।

दृष्ट्वा हि बिलगपतन्तं मतत्तिर्यक् स तस्योपरि

क्षिप्रं ब्रूहि तयोः कति मितै र्स्साम्येन गत्योर्युतिः ॥

"This is a burrow at the foot of a pillar on the top of which is seated a playful peacock; the pillar being nine units in height, it sees a serpent moving towards the foot of the pillar at a distance on the ground equal to thrice the height of the pillar and swims down to catch it. Assuming the velocity of the two to be equal, tell me, my dear, quickly where exactly (how far from the foot of the pillar) they meet."

The answer is simple and can be shown to be 12 units, either with the help of the Pythagoras' theorem or with the help of trigonometrical propositions. This is no doubt interesting to a student of mathematics. Viewing it from the artistic point we see the fine way in which the teacher is capable of making a dry problem interesting to the student. There is no wonder that *Leelavati*, Bhaskara's daughter, not only fell in love with mathematics, a subject, generally accepted to be disgusting to all and especially to women, but also was absorbed in it and reached such a capacity as to solve even difficult problems mentally and give out the answer correctly, within the twinkling of an eye.

Instances can be quoted in large numbers to indicate the rapid progress that our ancient Indians had made in Mathematics and the masterly treatment of it. Almost every problem is not only clothed in mellifluous poetry and carries us to lofty heights in the sphere of imagination but our hearts are filled with such un-

diluted joy that we find no words to express it. Bhaskara has ended this part of his mighty work with a superb finishing touch which has a crowning effect on our minds both from the artistic and cultural point of view. The closing verse is as follows:—

येषां सुजातिगुणवर्गविभूषिताङ्गी शुद्धाखिलव्वहतिः खलु कण्ठसक्ता ।
लीलावतीह सरसोक्तिमुदाहरन्ती तेषां सदैव सुखसंपदुपेति वृद्धिम् ॥

Those who have this Leelavati, abounding in lovely words full of fractions, multiplications, squares, and square roots and correct dealings at the tip of their tongues, they always will be the recipients of every prosperity in happiness and wealth. (Alternatively). Those who are lucky enough to have Leelavathi (Charming lady) seeking in an enchanting manner, pure and chaste in her character, of high birth, conduct and class, hanging round their necks, will always be the recipients of prosperity in happiness and opulence.

We can thus clearly see in the above that without any effort the versatile Bhaskara has woven a very fine artistic and aesthetic double enten-dre, which has a magical effect on us. The more we read it the greater is the influence that it has on us.

Bhaskara's Leelavathi' is thus not the only work which plays such an important role in the cultural history of India. There may be many more such works which should be detected by the earnest efforts of research scholars taking to the study and popularisation of Sanskrit without further delay. Such works not only enhance the prestige and glory of India in the eyes of the world but also facilitate her to occupy the foremost place in the comity of nations. In other words she will become ere long a Jewel in the International field. Let me close this short article with the fond hope:—

खतन्त्रे भारते शश्वद्वर्धतां नव्यशोभया ।
संस्कृता भारती रम्या रज्जयन्ती मनांस्ति : ॥

May the beautiful languages flourish in Independent India with renewed splendour delighting our minds.

PUTUMANA SOMAYAJI, AN ASTRONOMER OF KERALA AND HIS HITHERTO UNKNOWN WORKS

by

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Putumana Somayaji¹ is a well-known name both in the astronomical and astrological literature of Kerala. His *Karanapaddhati*,² in ten chapters, an astronomical manual explaining the derivation of the several astronomical constants and tables of *jyas*, and his *Jatakadesa*,³ an astrological handbook treating the subject in detail, enjoy wide popularity in Kerala. These are known in Taminad and in Andhra too, as attested by manuscripts in the local scripts and even commentaries in the local languages.⁴ Two more works of Somayaji, both on Dharmasastra, are known: (i) *Bahvrca-Smarta-Prayascita*⁵ in 173 verses on expiatory rites for the followers of the Asvalayana⁶ and Kausitaki schools; and (ii) a short Malayalam work in eighteen verses on *Asauca* on pollution resulting on the birth or death of relatives.⁷

1 The actual name of this author is not mentioned in any of his works, nor is it known from other sources. He is referred to only by the name of his family, *Putu-mana*, meaning New-house. Sanskritised into *Nutana-grha* or *Nava-alya*. It may be noted that this is the case with several Kerala authors who are known only by the name of their families.

2 Ed. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 126 (1937); Ed. with two old Malayalam commentaries, Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras, 1955. The work begins with the invocatory verse:

madiyahrdyakase cidanandamayo guruh/
udetu satam samyag ajuanatimirarunah//

and end.

Iti Sivapuranamagramajah ko 'pi yajva
kim api Karanapaddhatyahvayam tantrarupam
vyadhita; ganitam etat samyag alooya santah
kathitam iha vidantah santu santosavantah//

Though the author gives here only the name of his village, commentators on this work give the name of his family also; cf.

Nutana-grha-somasuta racitayah Karanapaddhater vidusa/
Bhasam vilikhati kasit bodhanartham alpadihiyam//

3 There are several editions of this work in Malayalam; there is also a Grantha edition. This work too has the *mangala-sloka madiyahrdyakase*, and ends with the verse:

Navalaya-vanakhycna dhimata Somayajina/
krtam prakaranam hy etat daivajnajanatustaye//

4 For two Tamil commentaries see Adyar Library, Mss. G. 11: 34 L. 12.

5 Ms. Travancore University Mss. Library, No. T. 16. The work ends with the colophonic statement:

Putumana - e - comatriyute prayascitlam samaptam.

6 The Putumana family which resides even now at Covvaram (Skt. Sivapuram or Sukapuram) in Cochin State, mentioned in the *Karanapaddhati* quoted above, Fn. 2, follow the Asvalayana school.

7 For Mss. see Trav. Uni. Mss. Lib. Nos. 8378-C, 11060-B, L. 1219-C. All these Mss. have the colophonic statement:

"Putumane Comatiri unakkiya Asaucam."

Mahakavi Ulloor in his *History of Kerala Literature*, vol. II. (Trivandrum, 1954), p. 107, attributes another astronomical manual, *Nyayaratna*, to our author, but this ascription lacks positive evidence. *Balaprabodham*, a Malayalam manual of Sanskrit grammar, is sometimes attributed to our author, but it has been shown to be the work of a different author.¹ A *Manasaganita* is attributed to Putumana Somayaji by K. Rama Varma Raja in his article on "The Brahmins of Malabar",² but nothing more is known about this work.

In the course of my study on this author, I have been able to come across some hitherto unknown works of Putumana Somayaji. "There is a *Venvarohastaka*' written on two folios in a set of miscellaneous leaves containing astronomical scraps at the end of a palm-leaf manuscript in the Travancore University Manuscripts Library, No. 414. In eight verses this work succinctly gives a method for the accurate determination of the longitude of the Moon. The work begins.

'ruksoyam krudhditasy' onita-kalidivasat prasthagorajya-
bhaktat kalanangair divindrair api kalidivasam tatra sistonam
ahuh khandam tatraiva yunjyat krsakhuranikhilam nadikantam
phalabhyam purvanyabhyam ca hatva jayakulavisikhonoragau
tatra sodhyau//

...

At the end occurs the colophonic statement that it was composed by Putumana Somayaji; cf.

'Ita Putumana Comatiri untakkiya Venvaroham'.

Another work which appears to have been written by our author is a *Pancabodha*, one among the several works current in Kerala under this title. This work is in five sections: Vyatipata, Grahana, Chaya, Srngonnati and Maudhya. Numerous manuscripts of this work are available⁴ but none of these gives the name of the author. This work begins with a Mangala sloka found in some manuscripts⁵ of the author's *Jatakadesa*.

devarsiganaih sevyam vatamulanivasinam devam/
smaratam jnanadam isam namami daksinamurtim//

followed the usual invocatory verse, madiyahradyakase etc., which is found in his other works. The calculations here bear affinity with those enunciated in Somayaji's *Karanapaddhati*. The first section, *Vyatipatakhandha*, begins with the verse:

golante dvigunayanarkarahite prayo vyatipatabham

1. See Introduction to *Karanapaddhati*, Madras edn., p. xxii-xxiii.

2. *JRAS*, 1910, p. 685.

3. This is different from the wellknown *Venvaroha* of Madhavan Namputiri of Kerala which was edited by the writer with the Malayalam commentary of Acyuta Bisarati in the Ravi Varma Granthavali. Sanskrit College, Trippunithura, T. C. State, III (1955).

4. Trav. Uni. Mss. Lib. Nos. 414-A. L. 866, L. 893, L. 1208, L. 1229-F, T. 150-B, Madras Or. Lib. M.D. 339, pp. 1-7, etc.

5. Cf. C. K. Namputiri, *Mangolodayam* (Mal.), 20 (1944-45) 501, 21 (1945)

It may be noted in support of this identification that Punnasseri Nilakantha Sarma, the reputed author and commentator of Kerala works on Astronomy extracts the whole of *Grahana-khanda* from this *Pancabodha* with the prefatory statement that he is quoting from a work of Putumana Somayaji, and comments on it.¹

Two stray verses of Putumana Somayaji in Malayalam are found quoted in a small tract on the calculation of interest in two folios in a set of miscellaneous leaves at the end of two manuscripts containing *Karanapaddhati* and its Malayalam commentary, Mss. Nos. G. 2314 and C. 2470 of the Travancore University Mss. Library; these may be reproduced here:

Kalappalisakku *Putumana Somayaji* untakkiya slokatte ezhutunnu:—

Dhanadhyakalavum kalam mutalum tammil ettiyal/
pattil kizhiccal vannitum pattanellu tarentatu//

Urulu-palisakku *Somayajiti* slokam:—

Pantirantil guniccittu mutal pattil karettiya/
mutalannapi kuttittu evam ceyka punah punah//

Views of Putumana Somayaji are cited in later literature as authority and his works are also quoted to substantiate arguments². Quotations occur in Keralite astronomical works with prefatorial statements like “uktam Somasuta”³ and it has to be examined whether any of these refer to our author.

1. See *jotissastrasubodhini*, Pt. II. 103-40 (Trichur, 1104 M.E.)

2. For such references and quotations see *Parahita-drksiddhaganitam*, Ms. Madras M. D. 339, and Kṛṣṇadasa's Malayalam commentary on the Dasagiti-sutras of the Aryabhatiya.

3. See *Parahita-drksiddhaganitam* above, pp. 50, 76, 86.

BHOJA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCIENCE OF ARCHITECTURE-IV*

The Art of Masonry

by

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In its 41st. Chapter entitled "Caya-Vidhi" the technique of masonry—a most scientific code of brick laying is propounded.

I think the proper word was Ceya and not Caya. Ceya is used in 41.4. ("चे यस्य गुणः;"). Caya seems to be either an alternative form or scribal error for Ceya. In Hindi it is called "Ceja", which word can be derived only from Ceya and not Caya. Ceja is brick-laying i.e. the Radda.

The following twenty qualities of good masonry are enumerated:—

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Subibhakts | 11. Akubja |
| 2. Sama | 12. Apidita |
| 3. Caru | 13. Samanakhanda |
| 4. <i>Caturasra</i> | 14. Rjvanta |
| 5. Asumbhranta | 15. Antaranga |
| 6. Asamdigdha | 16. Suparsva |
| 6. Avinasi | 17. Sandhi-Suslista |
| 8. Anyavarhita | 18. Supratistha |
| 9. Anuttama | 19. Susandhi |
| 10. Anudvṛtta | and 20. Ajimha. |

The presence or absence of which makes the masonry good or bad accordingly. The purpose of all these qualities is that the masonry work should be in the perfectest order, beauty, measurements and strength (Subibhakta, Sama, Caru, Avinasi etc.)

It may be noted that the S.S. has the singular credit of giving such a large number of good qualities of Masonry. Nowhere in any extant Silpa work, both ancient and modern, may be found this member. They represent the highest watermark in the masonry work, the real ability of a mason.

* Prof. D. N. Sukla has been contributing papers on this very subject for the last three sessions of the Conf. and has now completed his study of *Bhoja's Samarangana-Sutradhara*, a portion of which has been submitted to the Univ. of Lko. for the Doctorate Degree and the other portion—a more detailed presentation has been published in Hindi under the caption: *Bhartiya Vastu Sastra (Hindi Science of Architecture)* with special reference to *Bhoja's Samarangana-Sutradhara*.

If these attributes in masonry are not well brought out, they result in an equal number of defects. Our text (41.4) says:—

“If these qualities of masonry are not adhered to, they result in the defects of the same number.’ These defects in the masonry in their turn bring about miseries, misfortunes, incalculable calamities, e.g., if the southern wall goes out of its direction, it is indicative of some physical diseases to break up and it may also indicate capital punishment to the house-owner. Similarly, a western wall going off its direction while the masonry is going on, brings loss of wealth and fear from dacoits, and so on.

Not only is a disproportionate masonry work inauspicious, but a weak one also. It brings bad results. The wrong mouldings in it brings similar evil consequences. A similar fate befalls one if the walls down or breaks down on account of defective brick laying.

Defective masonry has got some technical denominations and they are a bit more interesting as they give us an indication as to how advanced the masonry work in those times was:—

1. Mallikakrti (Karnikasamasthana) i.e. Visala while operating upon all the Vahus—the Corners.
2. Brahma—too condensed (Atisamksipta) a masonry.
3. Tanumadhya—expanded externally, condensed internally.
4. Nirnata—Raised up at the corners and gone down in the
5. Kurmonnata. Reverse of the fourth.

These are all defective constructions and must be avoided, otherwise evil consequences may follow. Hence the S.S. advises:—

“ तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन चयकर्मप्रयोज्ञयेत् ”

So far only general guidance in the art of brick-laying and wall making is given. Now an interesting code of instructions is offered to the masons in the handling of the Sutra and the bricks in order to reach the desired end of good and proportionate masonry.

उदकेन समं नीत्वा सम्यङ् निश्चय कारणम् ॥ २१ ॥

तस्मादृते न चान्यत् स्यान्नितश्चयार्थं चयस्य च ।

तस्माज्जलेन वलयं गृहणीयात् पूर्वमादृतः ॥ २२ ॥

ततः सुतडिते सूत्रेनेचयं कुर्याद् विचक्षणः ।

द्विगुणां क्षेत्रमानस्य रज्जुं कृत्वा तदन्तयोः ॥ २३ ॥

यो सौ कार्योत्ततस्तस्यां पादोनज्ञोत्र मानतः ।

दद्यान्नं कीलौ शोत्रगर्भान्तगामिनौ ॥ २४ ॥

निधायाय सकौ तस्याः प्रान्तस्थौ यौजयेत् तयोः ।

निरन्नामिकृष्टायां पादोनज्ञेत्रसंमितम् ॥ २५ ॥

भुजगत्वा भवेद् रज्जुस्तस्या मिष्टानुमानतः ।

चिह्नं दद्यात् स कर्णः स्यादेवं दोषान प्रसाधयेत् ॥ २६ ॥

The following verses (41—27—32) simply portray the picture of the brick work indicative of the most scientific and advanced masonry of the day in its different stages from plinth to the high wall.

भूरि नाच्छादनं दद्यान्न मिन्यात् तत्र चेष्टकाः ।
 विषमस्थाः कुठारेणच्छित्वा ताः कल्पयेत् समाः ॥
 यथा नच स्पृशेत् सूत्रं विचिचिन्वीत तथा बुधः ।
 कुड्ये च सादिमध्यान्ते दृष्टिमेकां निपातयेत् ॥
 यदा सर्वपरिक्रान्तं तलं चोद्धाटितं भवेत् ।
 तदा नैकल कुर्वित पर्यायेण विचक्षणः ॥
 उद्घाटनं स्तराणां तु यदीच्छेत् सिद्धिमात्मनः ।
 तल तल चयं कुर्याद् यदि संविद्वक हितम् ॥
 दुर्वहं हि भवेत् तेन तस्मात् तत् परिवर्जयेत् ।
 उपरिष्ठात् सम पार्श्वे भुजं कुर्याद् विचक्षणः ॥
 ससन्साद् रुचकच्छिन्नश्चयो भित्तिषु पूजितः ।
 तस्मात् प्रयत्नः कर्तव्यश्चयकर्मणि नित्यशः ॥

“Let there be neither too much of Acchadana, the mortar, i.e., (gara) nor the bricks be laid loose or remain open. Those uneven should be made even by cutting them and thus levelling them by the Kuthara, the axe, the Basuli. The masonry should be such as when examined through the Avalambaka (i.e., Sahula, these days) one of the lightfold Sutra full a list of the Sutrastaka being drsti, kara, maunja, karpasa, Avalambaka, Kasthasrsti and Vilekhya). After some progress is obtained it should be examined in all its levels—beginning, middle and the extremity by the Drsti-sutra—“Kudya ca Sadimadhyante drstimekam nipatayet”. Now after all the four walls have reached an appreciable level, say man’s shoulder, the masonry on all sides should be abandoned and they should be taken up, one by one, otherwise the masonry may be very difficult—Durvahan ni bhavet. We know higher the masonry, larger its paraphernalias—the Padha, etc. In order that all the walls are set in together, all round leaving Dadha cf. Rucakacchinnah—is an essential code”.

BHOJA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCIENCE OF ARCHITECTURE—V PAINTING AND AESTHETICS.

by

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Not only the Rekha—the delineation and articulation of form and the Vartna, the display of light and shade constitute the essential elements of pictorial art, but the skill in the colouring (the essence of painting) is also the most predominant factor in the representation of the citra Images.

The expressionism of colours visualises a temperamental attitude and is concerned with the wide range of emotions, which in its turn gives to what are called Rasa chitras, the pictures of emotions. Sri Kumara (cf. Silparatana Vs. 145-7) considers these rasa-citras as a group by themselves. They are distinct from the realistic paintings which are resembling what is actually seen in nature and look like a reflex in a mirror”.

According to Bharata (cf. Natya-sastra ch. VI. Vs. 42-43) “each rasa (emotion) had to be painted in its expressive colour, the srngara (erotic) of syama hue, the laugh exciting (hasa) of white colour, the pathetic (karuna) of grey colour, the furious (raudra) of red colour, the heroic (vira) of yellowish white colour, the fearful (bhayana) of black colour, the supernatural and amazing of yellow colour and the repulsive loathsome (vibhatsa) of blue colour”.

The author of the Samarangana-Sutradhara himself a great aesthetician (cf. his authorship of Srngara-Prakasa) and a king of very refined talents and sentiments must have had this traditional background of the intimate relationship between aesthetics and the painting that he has devoted a full chapter on this topic in connection with the pictorial art.

In the 82nd Chapter, entitled “Rasadrsti-laksanam” at the very outset he proclaims, “Now (after I have described the canons of painting in detail) I shall describe the rasas and the rasa-drstis; because the Bhavavyaktih—the manifestation of sentiments in pictorial images (citra) is dependent on the rasas tadayatta).

Then follows the exposition of the eleven Rasas and eighteen Rasadrstis most particularly suited to the science of painting in relation to their delineation in pictures and images. The following table will show both these groups at glance with their characteristics:—

A—Eleven Rasas.

	<i>Physical manifestation</i>	<i>Mental manifestations.</i>
1. Srngara	Motion in eye-brow lovable lock.	Full of emotion of love and its manifestation in the look.
2. Hasya	Apangas, the outer covers of the eyes are blossomed; the lips flashing.	Playful mood.
3. Karuna	Cheeks wet with tears, eyes closed up in the excess of sorrow.	Worry and agitation (Santapa).
4. Raudra	Eyes red, the forehead swelled up, the lower lip being bitten up by the teeth.	—
5. Prema	Horripulation all over body (as a result of gain in riches, progeny and seeing a near and dear ones.	Happy mood (Harsa).
6. Bhayanaka	Eyes perplexed and simply confused cowed down for the fear of the look of the approaching evil (enemy).	Agitated mind and heart.
7. Vira	—	Endurance & strength,
8. —	—	—
9. Vibhatsa	—	—
10. Adbhuta	Pupils of eyes paralysed and gratified both on account of an extraordinary spectacle or scene.	—
11. Santa	Happy look throughout.	Absence of change and attachment.

B. Eighteen Rasa-Drstis.

N.B.—Each one of them are related to some principal rasa enumerated above and are indicated below:—

1. Lalita	...	Srngara
2. Hrsta	...	Prema
3. Vikasita	...	Hasya
4. Vikrta	...	Bhayanaka

5.	Bhrukuti	...	—
6.	Vibhrama	...	Srngara
7.	Samkucita	...	Srngara
8.	—	...	—
9.	Urdhvagata	...	—
10.	Yogini	...	Santa
11.	Dina	...	Karuna
12.	Drsta	...	Vira
13.	Vihvata	...	Bhayanaka and Karuna
14.	Samkita	...	„
15.	Kancita	...	Bhayanaka
16.	Jihma	...	—
17.	Madhyaatha	...	Santa
18.	Sthira	...	Santa

Without going into details it may be remarked that all these rasas and rasa-drstis are not a copy of the Kavyasastra. They have been amply modified in their Laksanas to suit the sentiments characteristic of images in paints. While in poetry the Bhavas are of secondary importance—the rasa supermost, here in painting, it is the bhavas, the physical and mental manifestations, which play the supreme role.

Two important points in relation to the aesthetics in the pictorial art still need to be expounded. Firstly all these rasas though characteristic of only human beings, men, women, and children and in their likeness the anthropomorphic forms of the gods and demigods and demons, they have an application to all sentient creations “Manusani Puraskrtya Sarvasatvesu Yojayet” 82; 13. This statement goes to the very core of the art and shows that if birds and animals in paints could be shown manifesting the sentiments, it is really the master-piece, the supreme achievement of the artist. It becomes a new creation a superior creation to that of Brahma the Primordial creator Himself. If it is through the symbolism of Mudras-hand poses, bodily poses and the postures of the legs, the mute gods speak to us, giving their vent to the sublimest of thoughts and noblest of expressions, these so-called brutes can also become our co-shares in the aesthetic experience. It is neither extraordinary nor supernatural about it. It is the marvel of the art. If poetry can create an idealistic world full of beauty and bliss alone, the painting, its sister must also follow suit.

Another point to which the attention of the reader is re-invited is the intimate relationship of painting with the art of dance and the science of Music. The following lines from Visnudharmottara are quoted to illustrate this fundamental background of the painting (from Dr. Kramrisch's translation).

Markandeya said: Without a knowledge of the art of dancing, the rules of painting are very difficult to be understood. Hence no work of (this) earth (oh) King should be done even without the help of these two, (for something more has to be known).

Vajra Said: Please speak to me about the art of dancing and the rules of painting you will tell me (afterwards) for (oh) twice-born one, the rules of the art of dancing imply (those of) the art of painting.

Markandeya said: The practice of (dancing) is difficult to be understood by one who is not acquainted with music. Without music dancing can not exist at all.

The author of Samarangana-Sutradhara fully conversant with this tradition, after he has dwelt at length on the Rasadrstis, has very beautifully brought out this implication in the 33rd and 34th lines of the 82nd Chapter:—

हस्तेन सूचयन्नर्थं दृष्ट्या च प्रतिपादयन् ।

सजीव इति दृश्येत सर्वाभिनयदर्शनाते ॥

आङ्गिके चैव चित्रे च साधनमुच्यते ।

(भवेदत्रादत् ?) स्तस्मादनयोश्चित्रमाश्रितम् ॥

“What the hand poses have implicitly expressed (cf. manifold hand poses, like Varada; Vyakhyana, Jnana, Yoga-Mudras and 64 Hastamudras together with nine-fold bodily poses and a good many of the leg postures), the rasas and the rasa-drstis make that explicit. Thus the images are bestowed life movement through this symbolism of gesticulation and articulation, the very essence of Dramatics and aesthetics—both put together (Sarvabhinyadarsanat). Therefore, the delineation of the rasas and rasa-drstis and their representation thereof constitute the fundamental background both in Angika (Drama) and the citra (the Painting arts). The science of painting is dependent on the science of aesthetics (dramatics included).

TAMIL SECTION

நோக்கு

தமிழ்ப் பேராசிரியர் திரு லெ. ப. கரு. இராமநாதன் செட்டியார்

கீழைத்திசைக் கலைத்துறைத் தலைவர், அண்ணாமலைப் பல்கலைக் கழகம்

இற்றைக்குச் சற்றேறத்தாம இரண்டாயிரத்தைந்நூறு ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன் இயற்றப்பெற்ற பழந்தமிழ்ப் பெருநூல் தொல்காப்பியம் என்பது. இஃது, எழுத்ததிகாரம், சொல்லதிகாரம், பொருளதிகாரம் என்னும் மூன்று பெரும் பிரிவுகளையுடையது. இவற்றுள் பொருளதிகாரத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாகிய செய்யுளியலின்கண், வெண்பா, ஆசிரியப்பா முதலான பல்வேறு வகைப்பட்ட தமிழ்ச் செய்யுட்களின் இலக்கணம் வரையறுக்கப் பெற்றுள்ளது. இச்செய்யுளியலானது எழுத்து, அசை, சீர், தளை, அடி, தொடை ஆகியவற்றையே செய்யுளுறுப்பெனக் கூறும் பிற்காலத்தெழுந்த யாப்பிலக்கண நூல்கள் போலாது மாத்திரை முதல் வண்ணம் ஈறுகவுள்ள இருபத்தாறும் ஒரு செய்யுட்கு உறுப்பாய் அமைதல் வேண்டுமென்று கூறுந் தனிப்பெருஞ் சிறப்பு வாய்ந்தது. அவ்வுறுப்புக்கள் இருபத்தாறனுள் நோக்கு என்பதும் ஒன்றாகும் இவ்வுறுப்பிற்கு,

“ மாத்திரை முதலா அடிநிலை காறும்

நோக்குதற் காரணம் நோக்கெனப் படுவே ”

(தொல் - செய் 104)

எனத் தொல்காப்பியர் விதி வகுத்துள்ளார். இப்பகுதிக்கு இளம்பூரணர், பேராசிரியர், நச்சினர்க்கினியர் என்னும் மூவர் இயற்றிய உரைகளும் கிடைத்திருக்கின்றன. முதலுரையாசிரியராகிய இளம்பூரணர் ‘ மாத்திரை முதலாக அடிநிலையளவும் நோக்குதலாகிய கருவி நோக்கென்று சொல்லப்படும். அஃதாவது யாதானும் ஒன்றைத் தொடுக்குங் காலத்துக் கருதிய பொருளை முடிக்குங்காறும் பிறிது நோக்காது அது தன்னையே நோக்கி நின்ற நிலை.....அடிநிலைகாறும் என்ற தனால் ஓரடிக்கண்ணும் பலவடிக்கண்ணும் நோக்குதல் கொள்க. அஃது ஒரு நோக்காக ஓடுதலும், பல நோக்காக ஓடுதலும், இடையிட்டு நோக்குதலும் என மூன்று வகைப்படும் எனக் கூறி அவற்றிற்கு உதாரணமுங் காட்டியுள்ளார். அவை, ஒரு செய்யுள் முழுதும் யாற்றெழுக்காகப் பொருள் அமைந்து நின்றல், அங்ஙனமின்றி ஆங்காங்குப் பொருள் முடிவு பெறுதல், ஓரிடத்து நின்ற சொல் பிற்தோரிடத்துச் சென்றியைந்து பொருள் தருதல் ஆகியவற்றைக் குறித்து நின்றலால், இந்நோக்கு என்னும் உறுப்பினைப் பாட்டின் பொருள் கொள்ளும் நெறிகளில் ஒன்றாகக் கருதினாரென அறியலாம்.

இனிப் பேராசிரியர் உரைக் கருத்து வருமாறு:—

மேல், இயற்சொல், திரிசொல், திசைச்சொல், வடசொல் என்னும் நால்வகைச் சொற்களால் செய்யுள் இயற்றலாம் என ஆசிரியர் கூறியுள்ளாரேனும், பொருட் செறிவில்லாத வழக்குச் சொற்களால் யாக்கப்படுவன வெல்லாம் செய்யு ளாகா. ஒரு செய்யுளில் எத்துணை அடிகள் இருப்பினும் அவற்றில் அமைந்துள்ள மாத்திரையும் எழுத்தும் அசையும் சீரும் ஆகிய எல்லாம் மீண்டும் நோக்கி நோக்கிப் பயன் கொள்ளும்வண்ணம் வற்றாத அறிவின் ஊற்றாய்ப் புதிய புதிய கருத்துக்களைத் தருவனவாயிருத்தல் வேண்டும். அதுவே நோக்கு என்னும் உறுப்பாகும் என விழுமியதோர் கருத்துத் தோன்ற உரை காண்பாராயினர். இதனால் சொற்களைக் கொண்டு முடைந்து வெற்றெனத் தொடுக்கப்படுவன வெல்லாம் செய்யுளெனப்படா என்பதும், நவில்தோறும் நூல்நயம் என்றபடி படிக்குந்தோறும், கேட்குந்தோறும் சிந்தைக்கும் செவிக்கும் இன்பம் பயப்பதாய் பொருள் ஆழமுடைய நோக்கு என்னும் உறுப்புடன் கூடியதே உயிருள்ள செய்யுளாமென்பதும் பெறப்படும். நச்சி னுர்க்கினியரும் இக்கருத்துடையவரேயாவர்.

பேராசிரியர் இவ்வுறுப்பிற்கு இலக்கியமாய் எடுத்துக் காட்டிய அகநானூற்றுச் செய்யுள் ஒன்றையும், அதன் பொருளை அவர் ஆராய்ந்து கூறும் நயங்களுையும், மேலும் அப்பாட்டின் சில பகுதிகளுக்கு நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் காட்டும் விளக்கங்களையும் இனிக் காண்போம்.

முல்லை வைந்நுனை தோன்ற இல்லமொடு
பைங்காற் கொன்றை மென்பிணி அவிழ
இரும்பு திரித்தன்ன மாயிரு மருப்பிற்
பரலவல் அடைய இரலை தெறிப்ப
மலர்ந்த ஞாலம் புலம்புபுறக் கொடுப்பக்
கருவி வானம் கதமுறை சிதறிக்
கார்செய் தன்றே கவின்பெறு கானம்
குரங்குளைப் பொலிந்த கொய்கவற் புரவி
நரம்பார்ப் பன்ன வாங்குவன் பரியப்
பூத்த பொங்கர்த் துணையொடு வதிந்த
தாதுண் பறவை பேதுறல் அஞ்சி
மணிநா ஆர்த்த மாண்வினைத் தேரன்
உவக்காண் தோன்றும் குறும்பொறை நாடன்
கறங்கிசை விழவின் உறந்தைக் குணாது
நெடும்பெரும் குன்றத் தமன்ற காந்தட்
போதவிழ் அலரின் நாளும்
ஆய்தொடி அரிவெனின் மாணலம் படர்ந்தே.

(அகநானூறு, செய்யுள், 4, குறுங்குடி மருதனார் பாடல்)

இப்பாடல், கார்காலத்துத் திரும்பி வருவதாகக் கூறிப் பிரிந்து சென்ற தலைவன், அக்காலம் வந்த பின்னும் திரும்பி வாராமையால், பிரிவாற்றாது வருந்திய தலைவிக்குத் தோழி, அக்காலத்தைக் காட்டி, 'இப்பொழுதுதான்' கார்காலம் தொடங்கியிருக்கிறது; தலைவன் விரைவில் வந்துகொண்

டிருக்கிறான். நீ பொறுத்திருத்தல் வேண்டும்' என வற்புறுத்திக் கூறும் கருத்துப்பட அமைந்துள்ளது. இப்பாடலில்,

“முல்லை வைந்நுனை தோன்ற இல்லமொடு
பைங்காற் கொன்றை மென்பிணி யவிழ
இரும்பு திரித்தன்ன மாயிரு மருப்பிற்
பரலவல் அடைய இரலை தெறிப்ப
மலர்ந்த ஞாலம் புலம்பு புறக்கொடுப்பக்
கருவி வானம் கதழுறை சிதறிக்
கார்செய் தன்றே கவின்பெறு கானம்”

என்பதுவரை யுள்ள பகுதி, கார்கால நிகழ்ச்சிகளைப் பற்றியதாகக் காணப்படுகின்றது.

முல்லையின் கூர்மையான அரும்புகள் தோன்றியிருக்கின்றன. தேற்றா, கொன்றை ஆகிய மரங்களில் பூக்கள் மலர்ந்துள்ளன. பருக்கைக் கற்களோடு கூடிய நீர்ப்பள்ளங்கள் தோறும் இரும்பை முறுக்கிவிட்டாற் போன்ற கரிய கொம்புகளுடைய மான்கள் துள்ளித் திரிகின்றன. கோடையின் வெப்பம் நீங்க மேகம் விரைவாக நீர்த் துளிகளைச் சிதறியது, என்பது இப்பகுதியின் கருத்தாகும். இப்பகுதியை ஊன்றி நோக்கினால், கார்காலம் இப்பொழுதுதான் தொடங்கியிருக்கின்றது என்ற நுண்பொருள் புலனாகின்றது. எவ்வாறு என்று பார்ப்போம்.

வேனிற் காலத்தில் கடுவெயிலால் கரிந்திருந்த முல்லைக் கொடி, பசுமையுற்றுச் செழித்து அரும்புங் காலம் கார்காலத்தின் தொடக்கமாகும். கார்காலம் தொடங்கிச் சில நாட்கள் கழிந்த பின்னரே இத்தகைய முல்லைக் கொடியில் அரும்புகள் மலர்தல் கூடும். ஆதலால் இப்பாடலில் முல்லை மலர என்று கூறுது முல்லையின் அரும்புகள் தோன்ற என்று கூறினார். இங்கே அரும்பு என்ற அளவிலும் அமையாது, கூர்மையான அரும்பு என்று கூறியிருப்பது, கார்காலத் தொடக்கத்தின் முற்பகுதி என்பதை நன்கு புலப்படுத்துவதாகும்.

தேற்றாமரமும் கொன்றைமரமும் வேனிற் காலத்தில் கடுவெயிலால் கரிந்து வாடுமளவில் மென்மையுடையன அல்ல; அம்மரங்கள் கொடிய வெயில் வெப்பத்தைத் தாங்கிக் கொள்ளும் வன்மையுடையன; மழை நீரால் செழித்துப் பின்னர் மலர்தற்கு வேண்டிய காலம் அம்மரங்களுக்குத் தேவையில்லை. முதல்மழை பொழிந்த கார்காலத் தொடக்கத்திலேயே அம்மரங்கள் செழிப்புற்றிருக்கும். ஆதலால், அவற்றில் மலர்கள் விரிந்துவிடுதல் கூடும். அதனால் அம்மரங்களில் பூக்கள் மலர்ந்தன என்றார். அவற்றைக் கூறும்போது மலர்ந்தன என்று கூறி அமையாது, அவை அப்போதுதான் சிறிதுசிறிதாகக் கட்டவிழ்ந்து மலர்கின்றன என்னும் கருத்து விளங்க

‘மென்பினியவிழ’ என்று கூறியிருப்பது மகிழ்ச்சி தருகின்றது.

பருக்கைக்கற்கள் நிரம்பிய பள்ளங்களிலே துள்ளித் திரியும் இரலை மானினது கொம்பினைக் குறிப்பிடுமிடத்தில், இரும்பினை முறுக்கிவிட்டாற் போன்ற மருப்பு என்று கூறியது நோக்கத்தக்கது. தீயிலே பழுக்கக் காய்ச்சி முறுக்கி விட்ட இரும்பினை நீரிலே தோய்த்த நிலையிலும் அதன் வெப்பம் உடனே தணியாதவாறு போலக் கடிய வெயிலிலே திரிந்த மானின் கொம்புகளில் இப்பொழுது மழைநீர் தோய்ந்தும் அவற்றின் வெப்பம் தணியவில்லை யென்பது இவ்வுவமையால் குறிப்பாக விளங்குகின்றது.

நீர்ப்பள்ளங்களில் மான்கள் துள்ளிக் குதிக்கின்றன என்றது, மான்கள் கார் காலத் தொடக்கத்தில் புதிதாக நீரைக் கண்டமையால் பலமுறை அந்நீரை உண்டும் அமையாமல், மேலும் மேலும் நீரைப் பருகுதற்கு அப்பள்ளங்களின் கரையை விடாமல் துள்ளுகின்றன என்னும் கருத்தைப் புலப்படுத்துகின்றது.

புலம்பு முழுவதும் நீங்கிற்று என்று கூறாமல், புறக் கொடுப்ப என்றது, நீரில்லாமையால் உண்டான தனிமை இன்னும் ஒரு பகுதி உள்ளது என்பதைப் புலப்படுத்துதலால், இதுவும் பருவந் தொடங்கியது என்பதைக் குறித்தது.

மின்னல் முதலியவற்றையுடைய மேகம் விரைந்து துளியைச் சிதறியது என்று கூறியிருப்பது, திரண்டு நின்ற மேகத்தினிடையே அப்பொழுதுதான் காற்று வீசப்பெற்று முதல் மழை பெய்தது என்ற புதுமையைப் புலப்படுத்துவதாகும்.

இனி இப்பாடலில்

“குரங்குளைப் பொலிந்த கொய்கவற் புரவி
நரம்பார்ப் பன்ன வாங்குவள் பரியப்
பூத்த பொங்கர்த் துணையொடு வதிந்த
தாதுண் பறவை பேதுறல் அஞ்சி
மணிநா ஆர்த்த மாண்வினைத் தேரன்
உவக்காண் தோன்றும் குறும்பொறை நாடன்
கறங்கிசை விழவின் உறந்தைக் குணஅது
நெடும்பெருங் குன்றத் தமன்ற காந்தட்
போதவிழ் அலரின் நாரும்
ஆய்தொடி அரிவைநின் மாணலம் படர்ந்தே.”

என்னும் பகுதி, தலைவன், உறையூருக்கு அயலிலே உள்ள நெடிய மலையிலே வளர்ந்த காந்தள்மலரைப் போன்று மணங்கமழும் வளையலையணிந்த நினது சிறந்த நலத்தை

நினைந்து, குதிரையின் கடிவாளத்தினைத் தளர்த்திப் பிடித்து, வழியிடையே உள்ள சோலையிலே பெண்வண்டுடன் இன்பம் துய்க்கும் ஆண்வண்டுகள் தன் தேரொலியால் நடுங்கி மயங்கும் என அஞ்சி, மணிகளின் நாவினை ஒலியாமற் கட்டிய தேரின்மீது விரைந்து வருகின்றான் பார்'' எனத் தலைவியை நோக்கி வற்புறுத்திக் கூறுவதாக அமைந்துள்ளது.

வளைந்த தலையாட்டத்தாற் பொலிந்த கத்தரித்த பிடரி மயிரையுடைய குதிரையென்றது, அக்குதிரையின் வலிமையையும் மனச் செருக்கையும் குறிப்பதாகும். நரம்பார்ப்பன்ன என்றது, அக்குதிரையின் கழுத்து வளையும்படி இறுகக் கட்டின வாரொலி, நரம்பிற்குக் கூறப்பட்ட நால்வகைக் குற்றத்தில் ஆர்ப்பு என்னும் குற்றம் எய்திய நரம்போசை போல ஆரவாரிப்ப என்னும் கருத்தைப் புலப்படுத்தும்.

பூத்த பொங்கர்த் துணையொடு வதியும், என்பதனால், பசிப்பிணி தீர நுகரும் பொருளை அது குறைவறக் கொடுப்ப உண்டு மகிழ்ந்து பின்பு தாம் நுகரா நின்று வதியும் எனவே, யாமும் இல்லறம் நிகழ்த்துவதற்கும் நுகர்தற்கும் ஏற்ற பொருள்களைக் குறைவறப் பெற்றுப் பின் இன்பம் நுகர்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது கூறினோம்.

சோலையில் பசிதீர்ந்து துணையொடு வதியும் பறவையும், தாதையுண்கிற பறவையும் கலக்கமுறுதற்கு அஞ்சி மணியொலியை அடக்கிய தேரன் என்றதனால், காதலும் அருளும் உடைமையால் அவற்றின் பிரிவிற்கும் பசிக்கும் இரங்கினான் எனக் கூறவே, அவனுக்குக் காதலும் அருளும் நின்னிடத்தும் பெருகும் என்றோம். இப்பகுதியால், இத்தகையோன் நீ வருந்தப் பொறுத்திரான் என்னும் உட்கருத்தைப் புலப்படுத்தித் தலைவியை ஆற்றியிருக்குமாறு வற்புறுத்தினோம். வதியும் பறவை வண்டும் தேனும் என்பதும், தாதுண் பறவை சுரும்பு என்பதும்,

“ எங்கும் ஓடி இடறுஞ் சுரும்புகாள்,
வண்டுகாள் மகிழ்தேனினைங்காள் ”

(சிந்தாமணி, குணமாகை, 42)

எனப் பின்னுள்ளோர் கூறியதால் அறியலாம். இப்பகுதியால் சேணிடை வரவை யுணர்த்தும் மணியொலியை வாரொலிகேட்கும் அண்மைக்கண்ணும் கேளாய் ஆயினை எனவும், அவ்வாரொலி தாதுண்பறவை யொலிக்கண் அடங்குதலால் அதனையுங் கேட்கின்றிலை எனவும் கூறினோயிற்று. வண்டு முதலிய சிற்றயிர்களின் இன்பத்திற்கும் இடையூறு வாராது குறிக்கொண்டு காக்கும் அத்தலைவனது பேரருட் குணத்தை இப்பகுதி நன்கு விளக்குகின்றது.

அவன் தன் கருத்திற்கேற்ப வினைமுடித்தமை தோன்ற மாண்வினைத் தேரன் என்றும் கூறினான். இனி,

“ கறங்கிசை விழவின் உறந்தைக் குணஅது
நெடும்பெருங் குன்றத் தமன்ற காந்தட்
போதவிழ் அலரின் நாளும்
ஆய்தொடி அரிவைநின் மாணலம் படர்ந்தே.”

என்னும் பகுதியை ஊன்றிப் பார்ப்போம். இப்பகுதியில் தெய்வம் தங்கும் மலையாதலால், தெய்வமணம் நாளும் காந்தளினுடைய போது அவிழாநின்ற மலர்போல அவன் புணர்ந்த காலத்துப் புதுமணம் நாளும் அரிவை என்று கூறியது, அவன் பிரிந்து நெடுங்காலம் ஆகவில்லை என்பதைப் புலப்படுத்தும். ஆய்தொடி என்றது, தோள் மெலிந்தபோது அயலார்க்கு மறைப்பதற்காகச் செருகும் தன்மையின்றி, அணிந்த நிலையிலேயே கிடக்கும் வகையால் என்பதைப் புலப்படுத்தும். தலைவன் பிரிந்து நெடுங்காலமானால் புணர்ந்த காலத்துப் புதுமணம் நாறாது; மேலும் வகையல்கள் அணிந்த நிலையிற் கிடவாமல் நெகிழ்ந்து, செருகும் நிலையை அடைந்து விடும். ஆதலால் இவ்வாறு கூறவே, தலைவன் பிரிந்து நெடுங்காலம் ஆகவில்லை என்பது தெளிவாகிறது.

இங்கே மாணலம் என்றது, அவன் பிரிவதாக அறிவித்த போது பிரிவதற்கு உடன்பட்டாள் போன்று உடம்படாது நின்ற நலத்தை. இது மெய்ப்பாடு.

இவ்வாறு மீண்டும் மீண்டும் நோக்க நோக்க நுண் பொருள் தரும் பண்புக்கு ‘நோக்கு’ என்று தொல்காப்பியர் பெயரிட்டது மிகவும் பொருத்தமாகும். இதற்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டாகக் குறுங்குடி மருதனாரின் அரிய பாடலைக் கண்டெடுத்த பேராசிரியர் பெரிதும் பாராட்டுதற்குரியராவர். பேராசிரியர் காட்டிய பொருள் நயங்களுக்குமேலும் அவர் கருத்தைத் தழுவி நச்சினார்க்கினியர் சில பொருள் நயங்களைக் காட்டியிருப்பதையும், இப்போது நாம் நோக்கும் போதும் சில பொருள் நயங்கள் புலப்படுவதையும் நினைக்கும்போது இப்பாடல், நோக்குக்குச் சிறந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டாதல் தெற்றென விளங்கும்.

THE GRAMMAR, THAT EXISTED BEFORE TOLKAPPIYAR.

by

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The most ancient book now available in Tamil is Tolkappiyam. Only a microscopic minority of the scholars will disagree with this conclusion and prefer to assign it to a period posterior to the Sangam works in Tamil. According to their findings, the work will belong to a period not anterior to the 5th century A.D. Consensus of opinion among the learned scholars assigns it to a period around the beginning of the Christian era. Tolkappiyam is a work on Tamil Grammar. On any finding the grammatical study in Tamil will be therefore more than 15 centuries old.

But Tolkappiyar refers to Tamil grammarians in general and to their opinions, in his work. The reference usually takes either a positive or a negative form—"They say" or "They do not object". These references therefore take us to a period anterior to Tolkappiyar. A study of these references is therefore interesting from a historical point of view, as revealing the extent of the grammatical research, and its conclusions before Tolkappiyar entered the same field with his own contributions. This study will be the basis for assessing the originality of Tolkappiyar.

In this short paper it is not possible to cover all the ground traversed by Tolkappiyar. It is better to restrict our attention to grammar proper, i.e., the second part of Tolkappiyar's work on words.

It is not possible to say how and under what heads ancient grammarians dealt with the subject. Therefore one has to be satisfied with pointing out the state of their grammatical studies, under various chapter-headings of Tolkappiyar's work. The first chapter deals with the idiomatic way in which sentences are constructed, from the point of view of agreement and government. The fundamental and what Dr. Caldwell calls a philosophical division of words into *Uyartinaï* and *Ah rinai*—those which denote the human beings—the rational or the higher ones—and those which denote the rest, is older than Tolkappiyar. (Sutra no. 1, Kilaviyakkam). The difference between any quality which is natural and the other which is artificial was referred to, in usage by ordinarily speaking of the cause of the latter, though in some idiomatic usage the reference to such a cause might be omitted and this was noticed very carefully by the ancients. (Sutra 22). The question of the agreement of the word of negative predication with the positively ascertained object had engaged the attention of the ancient scholars. The relative position of the Noun and Demonstrative Pronoun, of the name and honorary title was also a matter of their study. (Sutra 38). Nor did they forget the problem of the idiomatic usage solving the difficulties of agreement involved in enumerating and counting the

words of first person which belong to *Uyartinai* and the words of *Ahrinai*. The words denoting specific acts whilst they go on to take a common predicate. (*Sutram* 46).

In the next three chapters, *Tolkappiyanar* discusses the declensions of nouns, from the point of view of their form, of the significance of the case signs and of the respective constructions engendered by them. The conception of the case signs seems to be older than *Tolkappiyanar*. Their number was, according to the majority view, seven. Ellipsis of the subject was not recognised as the norm or the straightforward usage.

The agglutinative nature of the declined words was known to these ancients who recognised the case signs as occurring at the end of the noun without any inflectional change whatever.

The various significance of these case signs was given with the help of the pattern of the constructions of the phrases in which the declined nouns occurred and this method of explanation, according to *Tolkappiyanar* was older than himself. They were aware of compounds where these case signs had to be understood and in explaining them the necessary words, according to ancients, were to be made explicit, words which were looked upon as belonging to their places in such a construction.

After enumerating and explaining the cases and their signs *Tolkappiyanar* goes to explain the idioms in Tamil where usage equally favours more than one case sign coming in a particular semantic situation. It is surprising to denote certain scholars referring to this idiomatic alternance as a contamination of cases. This chapter really explains further the Tamil ideas about the case signs. The ancients had noted the change in the forms of certain case signs when affixed to *Ahrinai*. Whatever that may be, we find this branch of study also older than *Tolkappiyanar*. However, *Tolkappiyanar*, probably, has more to say than his predecessors. The circumstances around an act or the antecedent of an event were considered by these ancients as eight. All these became significant in explaining the construction of sentences in which the case signs occur and end with the predicate of the sentence, though they may sometimes qualify different words in the sentence and sometimes be themselves absent as noted by the ancestors of *Tolkappiyanar*.

The Vocative case is described in a separate chapter. Though it was not universally accepted as the eighth case by all, it was not unknown—nay its usage was also well studied by the older grammarians, but in this field also, probably *Tolkappiyanar* had more to say.

Having finished his study of the declined nouns which in an agglutinative language are but phrases of words, *Tolkappiyanar* proceeds to identify and study the noun. A general discussion about the words follows. Words even according to older grammarians had two aspects—their verbal aspect as word and their semantic aspect as meaning.

According to them the meaning was sometimes explicit and at other times implicit, paving the root thus for Dvani and Iraicci. Again the ancients divided the words into two categories—the name words and the action words, the noun and the verb.

Through them—they said—are revealed the uriccol the root or the semanteme and itaiccol or affixes. Classifications of name into common nouns, nouns of relationship, nouns of part and the whole and the difficulties encountered therein in the idiomatic usage were not unknown to them.

The verbs appropriate for themselves a separate chapter in Tolkappiyam. The ancients had known the three tenses. Usually the verbs complete the sentence, but the ancients were aware that in idiomatic usage there were a few finite verbs completed by some other finite verb.

The incomplete verbs in Tamil coming, as what we may now call adverbs, to modify a finite verb have certain idiomatic peculiarities of construction, and the older grammarians studied them along with the order of words in a sentence, which tolerated other words coming between the modifier and the modified. They also noted certain idiomatic usage of tenses.

The chapter on affixes follows. The name itaiccol was known to the ancients as well as the general peculiarities of their occurrence. Morphemes like man (மன்), til (தில்) o (ஒ) e, (ஏ), marru (மற்று) antil (அந்தில்), e(ஏ), kurai (குரை) and a few conjunctions are specially studied by them with reference to their meaning and their different usages.

In a similar way they had studied Uriccol or the semanteme described in the succeeding chapter uru (உறு), tava (தவ), nani (நனி) tuvai (துவை) cilai (சிலை), iyampu (இயம்பு) iranku (இரங்கு) karuppu (கறுப்பு) civappu (சிவப்பு) were explained by them. Their method of study here was to follow usage.

The last chapter is a miscellaneous one in Tolkappiyam. The ancients had divided the Tiriccol or learned words of the literary usage into synonyms and homonyms. They noticed that words underwent all sorts of transformations which they brought under 6 categories whilst occurring in literary composition. Poetry, they had noted, had perplexing conundrums of words collocation. A word they found, had itself repeated twice and thrice and they noted their significance in such repetitions.

The older grammarians had studied the compounds under the six categories of Verrumai, uvamai, vinai, panpu, ummai, and an-moli (வேற்றுமை, உவமை, வினை, பண்பு, உம்மை, அன்மொழி) and spotted out the places of emphasis in such compounds.

The words were again studied as self-contained words and others. The finite verbs, which are the best illustrations of such self-contained words, were according to the ancients 24 in number, viz., verbs of three tenses multiplied by three persons multiplied

by singular and plural numbers are 18 and these are explicit whilst the implicit verbs which are not explicit about the tenses are only 6 in number, viz., 3 persons multiplied by singular and plural numbers.

Words usually signified the grammatical category called the person with the help of their suffixes but the ancients had noted that there were certain roots which by themselves, because of their usage, denoted the person—*Cel* (செல்), *va* (வா) *ta* (தா) *kotu* (கொடு).

This shows that the grammatical study in the Tamil land had reached an advanced stage even before Tolkappiyanar. Tolkappiyar is also clear that Sanskrit was not unknown to Tamil which already freely adopted Sanskrit words into its literary compositions. If that were so, the ancients could not have been absolute foreigners to Sanskrit and its grammatical study. It looks as though the general plan had been laid for Tolkappiyar. This kind of study shows the way to the original contributors of Tolkappiyam which unfortunately could not be studied, within the short compass of this essay.

VOICED STOPS IN TAMIL

by

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To day in the Tamil colloquial language one hears both the voiced and voiceless stops, but in writing no difference is made. The other Dravidian languages do differentiate between them even in writing. It must be added that Malayalam seems to write only the voiceless stop inter-vocally and after the nasals in pure Dravidian words though pronouncing them as the Tamils do as voiced stops. It is significant that Tolkappiyar the author of the most ancient Tamil Grammar who was well conversant with Sanskrit and therefore with the difference between voiced and voiceless stops does not anywhere differentiate them in his immortal work.

Dr. Caldwell is of opinion that the voiced stops are in usage in the Dravidian languages from their inception. In his comparative Grammar he discusses the occurrence of voiceless and voiced stops under his famous "law of convertibility of Surds and Sonants." According to him voiceless stops occur initially and even medially when they are germinated whilst voiced stops will occur in the inter vocal position medially and when preceded by nasals.

This discussion itself of Dr. Caldwell shows that voiced and voiceless stops being in complementary distribution are not phonemes in the language. But the question arises whether this pronunciation of voiced stops as allophones was as old as the language itself though there can be no two opinions about their occurrence in modern Tamil.

Tamil literature which has perforce to be approached through its written form may not throw any light because it does not differentiate the voiced and voiceless stops in writing. We have to refer to the transliteration of Tamil words in foreign languages which differentiate between the voiceless and voiced stops. The Greek words of the early geographers bristle with various problems of their pronunciation. Therefore we may restrict our study to the Sanskrit of the inscriptions of the Pallava and Chola imperialism though the inscription may belong to the Pandyas and other rulers.

We have got two Pandya copper-plate grants from Sinna-manur. The Sanskrit portion of the bigger Sinnamanur plates mentions that a Minister of the King born at the village of Kuram the son of a nobleman of Kill-Vempanatur and known by the famous name Nakkan-Kuman was the master of the female elephant and the warden (Kutikaaval). Nakkan Kaatan, Kon Velan and Pataran were three officers who witnessed the demarcation of the boundary line. In these Sanskrit verses 35 and 36 we find certain Tamil words like Kill-Vempanatu Nakkan Kaatan and Kuti Kaaval transcribed in Sanskrit. From this it becomes clear that even in the medial intervocal position and even when preceded by nasals voice-

less stops remain as they are without being voiced. For example in Kill - Veempanatu the voiceless stop (p) preceded by the nasal (m) remains the same thus disproving the theory of Dr. Caldwell. In the words Nakkhan Kaatan and Kuti Kaaval only voiceless stops are found. Taking this into consideration we can rest assured that voiced stops were not in usage during that time. On the other hand a speaker of modern Tamil will pronounce them as Kill Veembanaadu Nakkangaadan and Kudi kaaval respectively. In case they had been pronounced in that way at that time the transcription in Sanskrit would have noted this difference as Sanskrit language has got both voiced and voiceless stops. Vata Kala and cenkuti are other words found in the Sanskrit verses 26 and 21 of the same plates which serve as examples of this. So it may be concluded that voiced stops were not found in the period of the Tamil of the Pandya and Cola imperialism. The inscriptions of the Chola describing their history in Sanskrit verses transliterate Chenganaan as Cenkanaana, nalladi as nallati, karigaalam as kari-kaalam and not a cenganaan, nalladi, karigaalan as they are pronounced to day.

The inscriptions and works in foreign languages and transliteration of Tamil words have to be studied like this from period to period before one can arrive at a final general conclusion covering all the periods.

CONJUNCTION (Tamil)

by

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In the Indo-European languages, one is accustomed to hear about various conjugation of the verbs therein. A student of the comparative study of the Dravidian language will ask how many conjugations there are in the family of languages. According to Dr. Caldwell, there is only one conjugation in all the Dravidian languages including Tamil; but the Tamil Lexicon gives a table of the classification of Tamil verbs according to their conjugation.

Tamil lexicon gives us thirteen classes of roots, suggesting 13 conjugations. In the first six conjugations, the present tense is formed by adding the tense-sign 'kiru', to which is directly added the personal suffixes; in the future tense, the tense-sign is 'v'. In the infinitive form, the suffix 'a' is added on to the root. Really these first six classes form thus only one class. The only difference amongst these six classes arises because of the various forms they take in the past-tense.

The first conjugation adds the tense-sign 't' to the root without any further change. Some of the roots ending in Y (ω) like ey, koy, ney, pey and vai which may be considered as (vay) and some of the roots ending in u (ε) like tolu, alu, poru, come under this conjugation. There are thus only nine roots belonging to this conjugation.

The fourth conjugation also is forming its preterite form with the tense-sign 't', but this conjugation differs from the first because of a nasal 'n' corresponding to 't' coming in between the tense-sign and the root. This euphonic nunnation differentiates this fourth conjugation from the first. As a matter of fact cey, ney, pey and ey in colloquial language have this nunnation, with the additional palatalisation of the dental 't' into 'c'—neyncan, peyncan, ceyncan and eyncan. This will lead us to conclude that the first conjugation, of verbs, especially those ending in 'y' (ω) and the fourth really belong to one conjugation namely the first, and that the euphonic nunnation belongs to a later stage of the development of the language. This is further confirmed by reference to Kanarese, where in most cases, this nunnation is absent. But in most cases this nunnation differentiates the 'tanvinai' form of these verbs from the 'piravinai' forms in which a corresponding plosive 't' replaces the nasal. This is not true of all cases; for, there are cases like 'agri', where there is no differentiation. Many of the roots ending in y, ai (since this can be written as ay also, it may be taken as corresponding to the ending y), r, i and l belong to this conjugation.

The second conjugation and the third conjugation are characterised by their preterite signs *t* and *r* respectively. All the roots of the second conjugation end in *or* and third in *o*. There are in

all thirty-three and thirty-five respectively belonging to these conjugations. In both the conjugation in No. 2 and 3, it is possible to conclude that the preterite is 't' which becomes *t* and *r* because of the preceding consonant ஸ் and ல் respectively. This will make these classes of verbs similar to the 1st and fourth all having the preterite sign 't' which changes according to the rules of sandhi. But the nasalisation of the final consonant of the root characterises these two conjugations and differentiate them from the ninth and the tenth.

Third conjugation ends in ல் except for man. (மாண்) One wonders whether originally these endings in ல் and ன் might have been ன் and ண் For otherwise the nasalisation of ல் and ன் are inexplicable. Denasalisation seems to be a trend in the Tamil language.

எண்	▷	எள்
ஆண்	▷	ஆல்
இன்	▷	இல்

There are 33 roots ending in ல் and two roots which are however of the same form though differing in meaning, end in ன்.

The fifth conjugation is differentiated from others by forming its preterite participle with the suffix i. Therefore one has to consider this legitimately of a different conjugation. When the personal suffix is added, 'n' comes in. to prevent hiatus. In later days y and v come to prevent hiatus. Most of the roots of the conjugation are ending in Kurriyalukaram. All the 'piravinais' formed by adding 'tu' to the roots of the second and third conjugations, because of their altered form ending in Kurriyalukaram, come under this fifth conjugation. There are words ending in 'u' which are not Kurriyalukaram, found in this conjugation. The preterite sign 'i' seems to be older than 't' and therefore we find words ending in ன் e.g., viral, nal etc., taking this preterite sign. Perhaps they represent an older usage.

The sixth conjugation is characterised by doubling of the plosive in the second syllable, of the root when forming its preterite. Here again one has a different conjugation to speak of without any consonantal cluster in the middle. Almost all the roots consist of two short syllables. The exceptions are vecaru, ecaru, which are probably compounds with aru alone as the auxiliary verbs, and therefore when aru becomes arru, it comes under our rule relating to the dissyllabic roots. Pokadu becomes podu and if pokadu is taken as the altered form of pokavitu, where the auxiliary verb will be 'vitu'—a case again of a dissyllabic root.

The seventh and eighth conjugation really belong to the first group of conjugation namely one to six, where the preterite is formed by adding *t* and *r* as in the second and the third conjugation respectively, if our conclusion is right that the roots of the second and the third originally ended in ன் and ண். But these are differentiated from the second and the third because of their form in the future tense, where they take 'p' as the future-tense sign. Of course

there are corresponding forms with 'v' sign which are probably of a later date coined on the analogy of the second and third conjugation. There are only four verbs belonging to the seventh—pun, man, muran, and un and four belonging to the eighth—non, in, en and kavin.

Ninth and tenth conjugations along with the eleventh and twelfth form a class by themselves. The final consonants of these roots undergo change in view of the preterite sign follows this and the infinitive ending in 'a' as usual, has 'k' immediately after the root. Malayalam, in enlisting these roots always adds a k-ketkukla, karkkuka, natakkuka. In all these four conjugations, the future tense sign is 'p' and there is either the changing of the final consonant of the root into a plosive or an addition of a plosive corresponding to the infix. The sign of the present tense is kiru or kinru, but here also the final consonant of the root is changed into a plosive corresponding to the initial of the infix added.

The ninth conjugation ends in *ir* There are five roots of short mono-syllables—tal, tel, pil, pel and tol, and three long mono-syllables—nil, vel and tol.

The tenth conjugation ends in *u* There are only five roots belonging to this group—kal, vil, el, nol and nul.

The 12th conjugation is like the fourth as far as the preterite form is concerned, with a nasal coming before the tense sign. In other respects, it is like the 11th conjugation. In the 11th conjugation, the sign of the present tense is 'kiru' or 'kinru', the past tense sign is 't' and the future sign is 'p' but they are all found in the doubled form. All the verbs which become piravinai by adding a plosive between the tense sign and the root, belong to this conjugation. Tirukiren will be tanvinai of the fourth conjugation but tirkkiren and tirtten, their piravinai forms belong to the 11th conjugation. What comes between the root and the tense-sign are not therefore additions engendered by the rules of sandhi but are morphemes, showing the piravinai character of the words. All these conjugations 9 to 12 form the ceyin and ceyyum forms with a k coming in.—

Ketkin, ketkum, karkin, karkum, tirkin, tirkum, natakin, natakkum.

All these have got an older form of the infinitive karpa, ketpa, natappa, tirppa. Perhaps these words ended in a glottal stop which become a plosive when followed by another plosive. It was this, that the Malayalam writers make clear when they write the roots of the verb with a ku, there are words like 'par' which come within this conjugation, though it is not a piravinai.

The 13th conjugation consists of all those roots which undergo changes. There are verbs whose first syllable become shortened in the preterite.

No	—	nonden
kan	—	kanden
va	—	vanden
ta	—	tanden
ca	—	cetten

ta, va etc., are like the fourth conjugation kan is like the seventh conjugation, it takes the doubled preterite sign—cetten. va and ta are also peculiar. In their present and future forms and in this ceyyin and ceyyun forms, we have a 'r' coming in—varukiren, varuven, vara, varum so also is ta. Putu is a corrupt form of pukutu. Potu is also a peculiar form. It has got the present and future tenses potukinran and potuvan. In the preterite, we have the forms pontan and puntan, for putu. This will be the preterite of po in the fourth conjugation. The root po has got the form poyinan in the 5th conjugation. Poru is another form of potu. There is another root poru—to be enough which becomes potum, potiyadu etc., Alavaru, emaru, terumaru, paruvuru are really, compounds where the auxiliary verb is really va and they behave like the root va. Therefore they are not exceptions.

In the 11th conjugation most of the roots are piravinai roots. The causals often confused with piravinai are all found in this conjugation. Sanskrit roots adequated into Tamil end in 'i' like the causals, probably this i ending of these roots is the Tamil root i itself. It will be found that the noun form of the sanskrit words is taken as ending in a consonant and to their original consonant is added the Tamil root i. Therefore these roots are really compounds with a noun and a verb, where the verb as auxiliary denominialises the noun. There are number of roots in Tamil, where, these third and fourth syllables are repetition of their first and second syllables. These are called irattaikkilavi or double imitative words. All these roots come under the eleventh conjugation.

The number of roots in various conjugations tells a tale.

I	1st conjugation	—	nine
	(ending in y	—	five
	ending in u	—	four)
II	2nd conjugation	—	33
	(ending in !)	
	7th conjugation	—	4
	(ending in u)	
	9th conjugation	—	8
	(ending in !		
	short mono—syllables	—	5
	long mono—syllables	—	3)
III	3rd conjugation		35
	(ending in l	—	35
	• ending in n	—	2

8th conjugation	—	2	
(ending in n)			
10th conjugation	—	5	
(ending in l)			
IV 4th conjugation	—	385	
(ending in U	—	9	
ending in l	—	33	
ending in ai	—	98	
ending in i	—	129	
ending in ī	—	3	
ending in y	—	22	
ending in a	—	7	
ending in ā	—	1	
ending in r	—	81)
V 5th conjugation	—	976	
(ending in u	—	966	ending in l — 3
ending in ॠ	—	3	ending in l — 4)
IV 6th conjugation	—	28	
(ending in u	—	(dissyllable)	
VII 11th conjugation		1326	
(ending in i (Sanskrit)		589	
ending in i		326	
ending in l		16	
ending in a		1	
ending in ā		7	
ending in ū		2	
ending in ē		2	
ending in o		3	
ending in ai		118	
ending in u		67	
ending in r		67	
ending in y		37	
irattaiḥkiḥavi		80	
12 conjugation		69	
(ending in a and ā)			
13 conjugation		14	

SAIVA SIDDHANTHA WORKS (SATTIRAM AND
AND TOTTIRAM) IN TAMIL IN THE DAYS OF THE
VIJAYALAYA LINE OF CHOLAS (9TH TO THE
13TH CENTURIES A.D.)

by

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The period of the Vijayalaya line of Cholas that closely followed the age of the Pallavas saw a good deal of literary activity in its various fields, and it is rightly hailed as the period of literary revival. In the age of the Pallavas there was religious revival sponsored by the Alvars and Nayanmars and there was a lot of royal patronage of Sanskrit learning and culture, and closely following the religious revival, all the religious works of the period were collected codified, and canonised as the Tirumurais and Divya Prabandam out of which Saivite and Vaishnavite philosophic works emanated.

The Tamil Saiva canons owe their present arrangement to Nambiyandar Nambi assigned to the close of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th Century A.D. The Cholas rendered the greatest service to Tamil Literature during this period by recovering the lost hymns of the Tevaram Trio. According to the Tirumuraikanda puranam of Umapathi Sivacharya, Nambiyandar Nambi was responsible for the redaction of the Saiva canon. He arranged the canon in the form of 10 tirumurais (the holy or beautiful divisions) the first three comprising the (384) Patikams of Tirugnanasambandar, books four to six made up of the (307) Patikams of Tirunavukkarasar, the seventh comprising of the (100) Patikams of Sundarar, the 8th comprising the Tiruvachakam and Tirukkovaiyar of Manikkavachakar, the ninth made up of Tiruvisaippa (the beautiful or holy melodious songs) of different authors and the 10th consisting of the Tirumantiram of Tirumular. On the request of the King (Raja Raja I) who was responsible for the codification it is said that Nambiyandar Nambi added the eleventh book called the "Patinoram Tirumurai", consisting of sayings the twelve authors three of whom, Serman Perumal and Karaikkal Ammaiyar and Aiyadikal Kadavar Kon are among the 63 saints of Periya Puranam, and the Pasuram uttered by Siva himself. It contains strangely enough the works of the Nambi himself.

The arrangement of the books is not strictly chronological and one instance may be given in support of this. Tirumular was earlier than Sundarar and mentioned in his (Sundarar's) Tirutondattokai but the Tirumandiram of Tirumular is only the tenth book while Sundarar's hymns form the 7th. It is doubtful also if Nambiyandar, who is said to have codified the 11 tirumurais, codified all the eleven. For one thing, will Nambi himself include his books in his own redaction? Further it is said that Raja Raja,

on hearing stray Tevaram songs sung to him, became so much interested in them that he wanted to collect and codify them. It is not said that he heard Tiruvachakkam or Tirukovaiyar which are equally melodious, emotional and headt-melting. So, Raja Raja would have codified through Nambiyandar Nambi, only the Tevaram hymns as far as they were available, and it was only the images of these three authors that he installed in his great temple. Nambiyandar himself has not written any work on Manikkavachakar, while he has written a number of works on Tirunavukkarasar and Tirugnanasambandar. If he had codified Tiruvachakam also as the 8th book, Raja Raja would have installed Manikkavachakar's image too in his great temple and worshiped it. Some of the authors of the 9th and other Tirumurais came far later than Nambi himself and he could not have codified them at all. 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th Tirumurais must have been added to the 7 Tirumurais codified by Nambi by somebody else later. Similarly Periya Puranam also was tagged on as the 12th and last of the series.

The dates of the codification of Tirumurais and of some Tiruvisaippa authors can possibly be fixed. The traditional Raja Raja Abayakulasekaran associated with Nambi in Tirumuraikandapuram, is none other than Raja Raja I. Though Nambi has not definitely said any where that Raja Raja I was the King who requested him to codify the hymns, he drops a hint in his Tiruttondar Tiruvandadi that the famous chola King, who came to him with the request was one, "who laid waste Ceylon" (சிங்களாநாடு பொடிபடுத்த). The King who fits well with the times in this context was none other than Raja Raja himself. We have already seen elsewhere Raja Raja's exploits in Ceylon, and his building activities there, and so Nambi must have been the contemporary of Raja Raja I living in the end of the 10th and beginning of the XI century A.D. (985-1014). But Somasundara Desikar not on very sound grounds, assigns Nambiyandar Nambi to the reigns of the three Kings, Parantaka Sundara Chola II (956-73) Aditya II (956-69) and Uttama Chola (969-985) Refer to Desikar and Pandarattar for details).

Some of the authors of Tiruvisaippa also perhaps lived during this period. One of them, Kandaraditya, may be identified with the Chola King Kandaraditya, himself, though Mr. Venkaiya preferred to identify him with a Madurantaka Kandaradittanar figuring in the inscriptions of Raja Raja I. Kandaraditya's Tiruvisaippa verses end in proclaiming him to be the ruler of Koli (Woruir) and Tanjai (Tanjavur). Evidently, he is king Kandaraditya only and not the Maduranthaka Kandaraditanar, who was not a prince but only an officer of Raja Raja and no royal blood was running in his veins. Both of them are totally different persons. We can therefore, safely reject Venkaiya's identification and hold that the author of Tiruvisaippa under reference is none other than King Kandaraditya son of Parantaka I. Kandaraditya in unmistakable terms refers to the gold plating of Tillaicirrambalam of his father Parantaka I, when he says in his 8th stanza that "the Chola King Sembian weilding the sceptre, who was lord of Koli i.e. Woriur, was powerful enough to subdue the Pandiyan Kingdom and the Ila Nadi and he glod-plated the beautiful Tillaimbalam, where beautiful damsels wearing bangles sing and dance." That he was a great devotee of

Siva is borne witness to by his inscription which calls him "Sivanana Kandaradittar", his wife and mother of Uttama Chola was equally pious and was reverently called by all as Sembiyan Madivi and Madavadikal. She lived upto an old age and rendered service to Siva Temple; and images of Kandaraditya with his wife in the pose of worshipping Siva are available and the Devi's image was installed and worshipped by Raja Raja I.

Attempts have been made, by M Raghava Iyengar, on the strength of the Tiruvilimilai inscription of Raja Raja I, wherein one Jayantan (Sendanar being the Tamilised form of this name) alias Tirumalikai Tevar, a Siva Devotee, endowed an ever burning lamp to the temple, that Tirumalikai Tevar, the Tiruvisaippa author and Sendanar (another Tiruvasaippa author) are identical. But the inscription, for one thing, does not offer conclusive proof of the identity and it is not likely also that tradition could in this instance have erred to make two authors out of one. The arrangements of the books have taken the present form even before the age of Umapathi Siva Charya. It is worthy of consideration in this connection whether Sendanar one of the authors of Tiruvisaippa is the same as Sendanar the author of Tirupallandu which is also included as part of the ninth Tirumurai.

Karuvur Tevar, yet another Tiruvisaippa author was a contemporary of Raja Raja I and his son Rajendra because he has sung on both the great temples built by the father and the son. Stories about him have found a place in Karuvur puranam. It is very clear that Nambiyandar Nambi who is said to have codified the Tirumurais in Raja Raja's reign itself, would not have included the Tiruvisaippa of Karuvur Tevar, on Gangaikonda Cholapuram temple built after Rajendra's triumphal return from his north Indian expedition as the ninth Tirumurai unless he lived longer in Rajendra's reign too and included Tiruvisaippa hymns also unofficially in the Tirumurais, already officially codified under Royal patronage, as the 9th book. Nambi Koda Nambi of Punturutti who has sung Tiruvisaippa on Tiruvarur and Koil (Chidambaram) is said to be identical with one Nambi Kada Nambi mentioned in the Tiruvaiyaru inscription of Rajadi Raja in the 32nd year of his reign (1050). It is very likely because of the proximity of the place of inscription and the birth place of the author namely Tiruppunturutti. If this age is accepted for him namely, the last decade of the 11th century then he is certainly later than Nambiyandar Nambi also. There is yet another possibility of bringing this Kada Nambi to the second half of the 12th century on the strength of his mentioning in his hymns the idea of Sundarar going bodily to the Kailas on a white elephant along with Seraman Perumal which forms the subject matter of a painting in the outer wall of the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Siva temple built by Raja Raja II (1146—1173) at Darasuram. The idea is that Raja Raja got the clue for this painting from the songs of this author depicting this kind of passage for the saint to Mount Kailas. There is yet another version of Sundarar going to Kailas on a white elephant while his friend Serman accompanied him separately on a horse. This strangely enough forms the subject matter

of a similar painting in the outer wall of the Sanctum Sanctorum of the great temple built by Raja Raja I (985-1013), Did this Kada Nambi then live in the time of Raja Raja I?

Venattadigal is the name of a Tiruvisaippa author and as the same indicates he belonged to Venadu (the land of bamboos) which is the name ascribed to South Travancore and some of the Kings of Travancore have been described for the first time, according to Raghava Iyengar (M) in the inscriptions of the 12th century, as Venattadigal or the lord of the Venadu. The second part of the author's name Adigal denotesthat he was an ascetic like Ilangoadigal of Silappadikaram or Aravana Adigal of Manimekalai.

The North-Western portion of the present South Arcot District was under the sway of Sethirayars during Chola days, also called Malayamars. And these Malayamans in the name of Sethirayars are mentioned in the inscriptions only from the days of Kulottunga I (1070-1118-1120) and not earlier. Probably the Sethirayar of Tiruvisaippa was one of the Sethirayars either of the time of Kulottunga I or later. If this is so his Tiruvisaippa too could not have been codified by Nambiyandar in Raja Raja's time itself.

About the age of the other two authors of Tiruvisaippa, namely, Tiruvaliyamudavar and Purudottama Nambi nothing can be said with any certainty.

Correspondingly, the age of some of the authors of the 11th Tirumurai also may be discussed shortly. There are 12 authors in this book one of whom being Nambiyandar himself. Among the others are Lord Siva, and Karaikkal Ammaiyar, Aiyadikal Kadavar Kon, Seraman Perumal, all the last three being chronicled by Sundarar in his Tirutondaittokai and by Peria Puranam. Nakkirar, Kalladar, Kapilar, Parinar are names that are heard in the third Sangam days and here it is worthwhile from the view point of style, diction and subject matter whether these are one and the same or different authors.

Nakkirar, the famous author of Tirumuru-harruppadai, of the Sangam days, has never anywhere in the Sangam works referred to saint Kannappar. Further while employing metres and kinds of verses and garlands of songs like Antasi, Kalivenba, Mummanikkovai, etc., utterly unknown in Sangam days the Nakkirar of the Tirumurai wields a style and a diction totally different from the Nakkirar of Sangam days. Evidently they are different persons. Kapilar of the Tirumurai likewise wields a style different from that of the Kapilar of Sangam fame and hence both are different. Further Kapilar of Sangam days never talked by Vinayaka and in fact the cult of Vinayaka is totally absent in Sangam literature and perhaps upto the 7th century A.D. before the storming of the Chalukyan capital Vatapi in 642 and perhaps a second time in about 670 by

Siruttondar the commander-in-chief of Narasimha Varman I and Paramesvara Varman I who it is said for the first time brought Vinakaya from there and installed it in his native place in the temple which he built called Ganapaticcuram. Paranaar too likewise of this group must be different from Paranaar of Sangam days and the use of words like, unpal, unnai, Nir-Anal, etc., certainly smacks of an age later than III sangam days.

Pattinattar otherwise popularly known as Pattinattupillaiyar must have lived in the 10th century as he has eulogised Varaguna and Manikkavacakar or at any rate later than 9th century. Since many authors in this group belonged to an age long before the Tevaram Authors, and if any idea of chronological view point is associated with the Tevarattirumurais at least, it cannot be said then that Nambiyandar Nambi himself codified these authors in the 11th book—while Tevaram authors who came after these are included in the first seven books.

Among the theological works belonging to the doctrine of Saiva Siddhanta school of Philosophy of this period, and indeed of any period in Tamil Literature Sivagnabodham of Meykandar written in the first half of the 13th century A.D. is the greatest and the most authoritative. It is the first attempt at a systematic and codified account of the tenets of Tamil Saivism consisting of 12 aphorisms (Nurpas or Sutrams). The Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy is the choicest product of the Dravidian (Tamil) intellect and the most elaborate, influential and undoubtedly the more intrinsically valuable of all religions of India' according to Dr. Pope. The Reverend Mr. Goudie is of opinion that "the system possesses the merits of great antiquity" and that "in the religious world the Saiva System is the heir to all that is most ancient in South India. It is the religion of the Tamil people, by the side of which every other form is of comparatively foreign and recent origin. As a system of religious thought, as an expression of faith and life the Saiva Siddhanta is by far the best that South India possesses'. Equally appreciative is the opinion of Professor Maxmuller, who wrote, "In the South of India there exists a philosophic literature, which, though it shows clear traces of Sanskrit influence, contains also original indigenous elements of great beauty and of importance for historical purposes".

The religious revival of the four great Saiva Acharyas, gave an impetus to the composition of the fourteen Saiva Siddhanta Sastaras containing the tenets of the Siddhanta Philosophy culled out from the Saivite Tirumurais, etc., Sivagnana Bodham bears that name rightly because it deals in a nut-shell with the Philosophy that "Sivam is one, gnanam is knowledge of its nature and bodham is the realisation of that nature". Its leading thought is therefore that the highest love (Para Bakthi) is based on the soul's recognition of the non-duality and of its debt to the Lord and that the Lord,

standing non-dual with the soul enables it not only to know external objects but also know itself and Him. Whether these are translated from a Sanskrit original or whether the Sanskrit version was a translation of the Tamil original as expressed by some Tamil scholars like Maraimalai Adigal and K. Subramaniya Pillai is an interesting and important point to be solved after careful investigation. Those who deny this work as a translation believe that its tenets and teaching have been scattered for ages here and there and unknown to the masses and that they were collected, collated and codified when the author's fellow religionists were sunk in ignorance and troubled by internal schisms and external influences. That there are Sanskrit influences in the Bodham itself is well recognised, and that "the Veda is the cow, its milk is the true Agama, the Tamil sung by the four is the Ghee extracted from it (four denotes the 4 famous Saiva Acharyas, Sambandar, Appar, Sundarar and Manikkavacakar) and the virtue of the Tamil work of the Meykandan of the celebrated city of Vennai is the fine taste of the ghee", is the purport of an old verse in Tamil which alone explains the trend of Sanskrit and Tamil thought of the times influencing each other and the key position held by this work in the Literature of Tamil Saivism. The author has added, Vartikas of his own which explain and illustrate the argument of each of the sutrams and fix their meanings. The famous logician and philosopher, Sivagnana Munivar of the Tiruvaduturai Adhinam, wrote brief and elaborate commentaries on it. The elaborate one is hailed as the "Dravida Maha Bashyam" and the author rightly as the "Dravida Maha Bashya Kartar".

We are fortunately able to know the age of this author from epigraphic sources. An inscription on the northern wall of the first prakara of the Siva temple at Tiruvannamalai of the reign of Raja Raja III (1216-16), records the endowment made for the daily worship of Siva installed by one "Tiruvennainallur Meikanda Deva" in the 16th year of the King's reign, i.e., in 1232. Epigraphists are of opinion that this Meikandar must be the same person as the author of Sivagnana Bodham. Among the Santanacharyas, Umapathi Sivacharya was the fourth in succession after Meikandar and in his work Sankarpana Nirakaranam he refers to the year in which he composed it namely Saka year 1235 (1313 A.D.).

There is an interval of 8 years between the inscription cited above and the year of the composition of this work 4 generations after. It is quite likely that 81 years might have elapsed between these two years within 4 generations and it is therefore quite probable that the Meikandar of the inscription and the author of Sivagnana Bodham are one and the same and that, the Meikandar of Tiruvannainallur of the Nadu Nadu went to Tiruvannamalai nearby and installed a Sivalinga there and made provisions for its daily worship. Meikandar therefore lived in the first half of the 13th century A.D.

The Bhodham was preceded by two short works Tiruvuntiyar and Tirukkalirruppadiyar by two authors, teacher and disciple according to tradition. Both of them are known by the same name, rather title, Uayyavanda Deva Nayanar though their places differ. The author of Tiruvuntiyar hailed from Tiruviyalur while the author of Tirukkalirruppadiyar is known as Tirukkadayur Uyyavanda Deva Nayanar. Both of these works are intended for popularising the main aspects of the doctrine and practice of the Saiva Sidhanta faith in easy style. The Tiruvuntiyar contains 45 triplets each of which gives some truth of the faith. Though not a systematic treatise on the subject, it derives its name from the same concluding feet of each verse name "Unthipara" which means both a girls pastime game as Well (um + ti + para) may your evil nature fly away. The Tirukkalirruppadiyar containing 100 quartrains is remarkable for its beautiful sentiments and expressions.

After Sivagnana Bodham, the next work of importance, in the hierarchy of Saiva Siddhanta works, is the Sivagnanasittiyar of Arul Nandi Sivacharyar, said to be first the reputed guru (teacher) of Meykandar's father, and then the disciple of Meykandar himself. Though written in verse, it is a comprehensive statement of the doctrine (Supakkam) preceded by a critical discussions of rival systems (Para Pakkam) of which no fewer than 14, including 4 schools of Buddhism, and two of Jainism are passed under review. Since Meykandar's work is too cryptic and does not explain the position of Saivism vis-a-vis other systems, Sivagnana Sittiyar is read very widely and has formed the subject of many commentaries.

Irupairupatu owes its name to its twenty verses in alternate use of two metres namely Venpa metre and Asirya metre in the form of a dialogue between the teacher (Meykandar) and the taught (Arulnandi himself). This was composed by Arulnandi in memory of his beloved Guru. The simplest of all works on Saivism is the Unmaivilakkam of Manavasakam Kadantar of Tiruvatikai (South Arcot District).

There are eight other works on the Sidhanta doctrine by Umapatisivacariyar of Korravankudi near Chidambaram, who according to his reference to Saka date of 1235 in his Sankarpa Nirakaranam, Payiram (26th verse) lived at the close of the 13th and the early years of the 14th century, and these eight works with the above discussed 6 form the complete set of 14 Saiva Siddhanta Sastras in Tamil. The eight works are:—

1. Sivaprakasam—an ambitious treatise of 100 verses.
2. Tiruvarutpayan composed on the model of Tirukkural with ten kurals in each division comprising 10 divisions on the whole.
3. Vina Venpa—A short catechism of thirteen Venpas or stanzas of Venpa

metre. 4. Porripahrodai, a small work of 100 lines. 5. Kodikkavi, a very short exposition in 4 verse. 6. Nencuvidu tutu—adopting the messenger form in Kalivenpa metre. 7. Unmai Neri Vilakkam, devoted to the path of truth or realisation and dealing with the ten Karyas. 8. Sankarpanirakaranam, devoted like the Prapakaam of Sittiyar to a critical discussion of rival creeds and it also discusses the minute differences within the very fold of Saivism.

மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டறுப்பது மொழிநூலே

ஞா. தேவநேயன்

திரவிட மொழி நூல் வாசகன், அண்ணாமலைப் பல்கலைக் கழகம்

“எழுத்தறியத் தீரும் இழிதகைமை தீர்ந்தான்
மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டறுப்பா னாகும்—மொழித்திறத்தின்
முட்டறுத்த நல்லோன் முதனூற் பொருளுணர்ந்து
கட்டறுத்து வீடு பெறும்.”

என்னும் பழைய வெண்பா, மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டறுக்கும் வினையையும், அதற்கு வழியையும், அதன் விளைவையும், கூற்றளவிற்குறிக்கின்றதேயன்றி அவற்றைப் பெறும் வகையை எடுத்துக் காட்டவில்லை.

மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டறுக்கத் துணைபுரியும் நூல்கள், அகராதி, இலக்கணம், சொற்பிறப்பியல் என்னும் சொல்லியல், மொழிநூல் என நால்வகை. இவற்றுள், அகராதி பண்டை நிலையில் இலக்கணத்துள் ஒருவாறு அடக்கப் பெற்றது. அதாவது, செய்யுட் சொற்கள் என்னும் அருஞ் சொற்கள் உரிச்சொல் என்னும் பெயரால் தொகுக்கப்பட்டுப் பொருள் கூறப்பெற்றன. அத்தொகுதிகளே பிற்காலத்து நிகண்டு என்னும் வடசொற்பெயரால் வழங்கி வந்திருக்கின்றன. நிகண்டு தொகுதி.

ஆயின், இக்காலத் தகராதிகளோ, முற்காலத்திற் போலாது, ஆங்கில முறையைப் பின்பற்றி, எண்மை அருமை ஆகிய இருபாற் சொற்களையும் அகர வரிசையாய் எடுத்துக் காட்டிப் பொருள் விளக்குவன. ஆதலின், இவை இலக்கணத்துள் அடங்கா. ஓர் அகராதி ஆசிரியர் அல்லது தொகுப்பாளர் எத்துணைப் பெரும் புலவராயிருப்பினும், அவர் மொழிநூல் அறியாக்கால், அவர் குறித்துள்ள சொற்பொருள்கள் பல்லிடத்துத் தவறாயிருப்பதை நாம் கண்கூடாகக் காண்கின்றோம். இதனால், ஓர் அகராதித் தொகுப்பாளர்க்கு மொழிநூலறிவு இன்றியமையாததென்பது புலனாம்.

இலக்கணமென்பது, முதற்கண் மொழியும் அதன் பின் இலக்கியமும் தோன்றிய பின்னரே எழுந்ததாகலானும்; அது சொல்லின் வகைகளையேயன்றிச் சொற்பொருளை எடுத்துக் கூறாமையானும், சொற்பொருள் கூற வந்தவிடத்தும் ஒரு சில சொற்களையே போலிகையாக எடுத்துக் காட்டலானும்,

அதுவும் மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டறுப்பதன்றும். இதுபோது தமிழிலுள்ள இலக்கண நூல்கட்கெல்லாம் அடிமணையான தும், கி. மு. 8-ஆம் அல்லது 9-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டினதுமான ஒல்காப் பெருமைத் தொல்காப்பியத்துங்கூட, சில சொல் சொற்றொடர்களின் இயல்பு வழுவறக் கூறப்பெறவில்லை. அதன் முந்து நூல்களுள் ஒன்றான மகத்தியல் வாய்ந்த அகத்தியத்தும், அவ்வாறே யிருந்திருத்தல்கூடும்.

இனி, சொற்பிறப்பியல் என்னும் சொல்லியல் நூலோ வெனின் அதுவும் மொழிநூலுள் ஒரு கூறாகவே அடங்குதலின், மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டை முற்றும் அறுப்பதன்றும். ஒரு மொழிச்சொல் வேறுமொழியின் கண்ணும், ஒரு சொல்லோ பல சொல்லோ பன்மொழிக்குப் பொதுவாகவும், வழங்குகின்றன. ஒரு தன்சொல் வேற்றுச் சொல் போன்றும், ஒரு வேற்றுச் சொல் தன்சொல் போன்றும், தோன்றுகின்றன. இத்தகை மயக்குக்களையெல்லாம் தீர்த்து வைப்பது மொழிநூலே. ஒரு மொழிக்குட்பட்ட ஒரு சொல்லின் அல்லது பல சொல்லின் வரலாற்றைக் கூறுவது சொல்லியல் என்றும், ஒரு மொழியின் அல்லது மொழிக் குடும்பத்தின் வரலாற்றைக் கூறுவது மொழிநூல் என்றும் வேறுபாடறிதல் வேண்டும். ஒரு மொழிக்கும் அதனையடுத்த அல்லது அதற்கினமான பிறமொழிகட்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பை அறிந்தாலன்றி, அம்மொழியிலுள்ள சொற்களெல்லாவற்றிற்கும் உண்மையான வரலாறு கூறமுடியாது.

உலகிலுள்ள மக்கட்கெல்லாம் கருத்து இயல்பு முதலிய பிறதிறங்களில் தொடர்பிருப்பது போன்றே மொழித்திறத்திலும் உள்ளது. அத்தொடர்பு மொழிகட் கிடைப்பட்ட இன அண்மை சேய்மைக்குத் தக்கவாறு நெருங்கியும், நீங்கியும் இருக்கும். எடுத்துக்காட்டாக, தமிழுக்கும் அதன் அகப்புறமான திரவிடமொழிகட்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பினும், அதற்கும் அதன் புறமான ஆரிய மொழிகட்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பு நீங்கியது. அதனினும் நீங்கியது புறப்புறமான சேமியம் பண்டு முதலிய மொழிக் குடும்பங்களின் தொடர்பு. மொழிகளிடைப்பட்ட இன அண்மை சேய்மைக்குத் தக்கவாறே, சொல்லாக்கமும் இலக்கண அமைதியும் பற்றிய நெறிமுறையொற்றுமை சுருங்கியும் பரந்தும் இருக்கும். எவ்வகையிலேனும் ஒரு சிறிதும் தொடர்பற்ற மொழிகள் உலகில் இல்லவேயில்லை யெனலாம். ஆகவே, ஒருவர் இனமும் அயலுமான எத்துணை மொழிகளைக் கற்கின்றாரோ அத்துணை அவர் மொழியாராய்ச்சி பயன்தரும். திரவிட ஒப்பிய விலக்கணத்தைக் கூற வந்த கால்டுவெல் கண்காணியார் உலகிலுள்ள மொழிக் குடும்பங்களனைத்தையும் துழாவி யாய்ந்தது இங்கே கவனிக்கத்தக்கது.

“ எல்லாச் சொல்லும் பொருள்குறித் தனவே ”
 “ மொழிப்பொருட் காரணம் விழிப்பத் தோன்ற ”
 “ இயற்சொல் திரிசொல் திசைச்சொல் வடசொலென்
 றனைத்தே செய்யு ளீட்டச் சொல்லே ”

என்னும் தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பாக்களில் (640, 877, 880) மொழிநூல் கருக்கொண்டிருப்பினும், அதன் பெயருக் கேற்பக் கலைமுறைப்பட்ட உண்மையான மொழிநூல் தோன்றியது 18-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிலேயே; அதுவும் மேனாட்டிலேயே. கடந்த முந்நூற்றாண்டுகளாக அது வளர்ந்து வந்திருப்பினும், இன்னும் முழு வளர்ச்சியடையவில்லை; குழவி நிலை தாண்டிப் பிள்ளைப் பருவத்திலேயே உள்ளது. இந்நிலைக்கு, உண்மையான ஆராய்ச்சியின்மையையிடத் தவறான ஆராய்ச்சியுண்மையே காரணமாம்.

ஒப்புதற்குக் கழகமும் குற்றங்கூற நக்கீரும் இல்லாத இக்காலத்தில், சொல்லாக்கமும் இலக்கண அமைதியும் பற்றிய நெறிமுறைகளை எட்டுணையும் அறியாதார், சொல்லா ராய்ச்சியில் ஈடுபட்டு மனம்போன போக்கிலும் வாய்க்கு வந்தவாறும் சொல்லியும் எழுதியும் வருவதுபற்றி, சொல்லியலும் மொழிநூலும் பழிப்பிற்கும் இழிப்பிற்கும் இடமாய் விட்டன. இதனால் மொழிநூலே நெறிமுறையற்ற ஒரு பாணிப்புக்கலை என்று பலரார் கருதப்பட்டு வருகின்றது. இது முற்றும் தவறான கருத்தாகும்.

கலைகளெல்லாம், தனித்தும் பிறிதொன்றைச் சார்ந்தும் இருப்பது பற்றி, தற்சார்புக்கலை, மற்றசார்புக்கலை என இரு பாற்படும்; மீண்டும், பிறவற்றைத் தன்னுள் அடக்குவதும் அடக்காமையும் பற்றி, உளப்பாட்டுக்கலை, தனிப்பாட்டுக் கலை என இருதிருப்படும். மொழிநூல் மற்றசார்புக்கலையும் உளப்பாட்டுக்கலையுமாம். ஆதலால், உலகமலையாமை, கலை மலையாமை, நான்மலையாமை ஆகியவற்றை இன்றியமையாத இலக்கணங்களாகப் பெற்றுள்ளதே மொழிநூல் என்க.

இலக்கணநூல் இயல்பாகக் குற்றமற்றதேனும், இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் தவற்றாலும் இலக்கண வுரையாசிரியர் தவற்றாலும், ஒரோவொரு சொல்லையோ சொற்றொடரையோ பற்றி வழுவுற்றதாகியுள்ளது. இதனால், இலக்கணநூற்கு இருமடிக் குற்றம் ஏற்படுகின்றது. அதாவது, மொழித் திறத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் ஏற்கெனவே ஏற்பட்டுள்ள குன்றக்கூறலுடன் வழுப்படக்கூறலும் சேர்ந்து விடுகின்றது. ஆதலால், மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டறுத்தல் மொழிநூற்கே முடிவதொன்றும். இதனால், மொழிநூல் இலக்கணத்திற்கு முரணானதோவென ஐயுறற்க. இலக்கணத்தை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டதே மொழிநூல். இது போது தமிழிலுள்ள இலக்கண நூல்களிலும் அவற்றின் உரைகளிலும் சில வழுக்கள் இருப்பதால், அதுபற்றியே

மொழித்திறத்தின் முட்டறுப்பது மொழிநூலே என்ற தென்க. ஆகவே, மொழிநூல் உண்மையான இலக்கணத் திற்குச் சார்பாகவும், தவறான இலக்கணத்திற்கு மாறாகவும் இருக்கும் என்றறிக. ஆயின், ஒல்காப் பெருமைத் தொல் காப்பியர் நூலின்கண்ணும் குற்றங்காணல் முறையோ வெனின், இறைவன் செய்த நூலின்கண் உளதேனும் குற்றம் குற்றமே என்க. இனி, தொல்காப்பியர் வழுப்பட இலக் கணஞ் செய்திலர்; அதன்கண் உள்ள வழுக்களெல்லாம் பிற்காலத்து இடைச்செருகலெனின், அவை முதலமைப்போ இடைச்செருகலோ என அவை வந்த வழியைப்பற்றியதன்று, அவற்றின் வழுகிலை பற்றியதே ஈண்டையாராய்ச்சியென்க. இலக்கணத்திற்கு மொழிநூல் துணைசெய்வது பற்றியே, ஆங்கிலப் பேரிலக்கணங்களெல்லாம் மொழிநூல் முறையி லேயே ஆய்ந்தெழுதப்பட்டுள்ளன.

இதுபோதுள்ள தமிழிலக்கண நூல்களிலுள்ள வழுக் களிற் பல தொல்காப்பியத்தினின்றே தொடர்ந்து வருகின் றன. அவை பல திறத்தன. அவையாவன:—

(1) எழுத்துநிலை

எ-டு: “சகரக் கிளவியும் அவற்றே ரற்றே
அ ஐ ஔ எனும் முன்றலங் கடையே”

என்னும் தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பா (62),

“சரிசமழ்ப்புச் சட்டி சருகு சவடி
சளிசகடு சட்டை சவளி—சவிசரடு
சந்து சதங்கை சழக்காதி யீரிடத்தும்
வந்தனவாற் சம்முதலும் வை”

என்னும் அக்காலத்து அவிநய நூற்பாவாலேயே அடிபடு கின்றது.

(2) புணர்மொழிச் சொற்கள்

எ-டு: “ஒன்பான் ஓகரமிசைத் தகரம் ஒற்றும்
முந்தை ஒற்றே ணகாரம் இரட்டும்
பஃதென் கிளவி ஆய்தபக ரங்கெட
நிற்றல் வேண்டும் ஊகாரக் கிளவி
ஒற்றிய தகரம் றகர மாகும்”

என்னும் நூற்பாவின் (445) புரைமை வெளிப்படை.

“செய்யுள் மருங்கின் வேட்கை என்னும்
ஐஎன் இறுதி அவாமுன் வரினே
மெய்யொடுங் கெடுதல் என்மனார் புலவர்
டகாரம் ணகார மாதல் வேண்டும்”

என்னும் நூற்பா (288), வேணவா என்னும் புணர் மொழியை வேட்கை+அவா எனப் பிரிக்கும். வேள் என்பதன் திரிபான வேண் என்பதே வேணவா என்னும் புணர் மொழியின் நிலைமொழியாம். ளகர வீறு ணகர வீறய்த் திரிதல் இயல்பு. எ-டு. பெள் - பெண், கோள் - கோண்.

(3) புணர்ச்சித் திரிபு

“ உரிவரு காலை நாழிக் கிளவி
இறுதி இகரம் மெய்யொடுங் கெடுமே
டகரம் ஒற்றும் ஆவயி னுன ”

என்னும் நூற்பா (240), நாழி உரி என்னும் இரு சொற்களும் புணரும்போதே நாடுரி எனத் திரிந்ததாகக் கூறும், நாழரி என்னும் புணர்ச்சியே பிற்காலத்து நாடுரி என மருவிற்று.

(4) பகுசொல்லுறுப்புப் பிரிப்பு

(i) இறந்தகால விடைநிலை

“தடறவொற் றின்னே ஐம்பால் முவிடத்
திறந்த காலந் தருந்தொழி விடைநிலை ”

என்பது நன்னூல் (142).

பாலீறு பெற்ற இறந்தகால வினைமுற்றுக்கள், முதற் காலத்தில், செய்து என்னும் வாய்பாட்டு இறந்தகால வினையெச்ச வடிவிலேயே நின்று பின்னர் அப்பாலீறு பெற்றனவாதலின், இறந்தகால வினைமுற்றுக்களின் அமைப்பை அறிதற்கு முதற்கண் எச்சமும் ஈறுமாகவே பகுத்துக் கோடல் வேண்டும்.

எ-டு. செய்தான் = செய்து + ஆன்
படித்தான் = படித்து + ஆன்
கண்டான் = கண்டு + ஆன்
கொண்டான் = கொண்டு + ஆன்
கேட்டான் = கேட்டு + ஆன்
தின்றான் = தின்று + ஆன்
நின்றான் = நின்று + ஆன்
கற்றான் = கற்று + ஆன்

இங்குக் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ள இறந்தகால வினை யெச்சங்களின் ஈறுகள் துடுறு என மூவேறாயிருப்பினும், உண்மையில் இறந்தகால வினையெச்சவிசுவதி ‘து’ எனும் ஒன்றே. அத் ‘து’வ்விசுவதியே, ணகர ளகர வீற்றொடு புணரும்போது டுவ்வாகவும், ளகர லகர வீற்றொடு புணரும்போது றுவ்வாகவும், திரியும். ஆகவே, மேற்காட்டிய இறந்தகால வினையெச்சங்களைப் பின்வருமாறே பிரித்தல் வேண்டும்.

செய்து = செய் + து
 படித்து = படி + து
 கண்டு = காண் + து
 கொண்டு = கொள் + து
 கேட்டு = கேள் + து
 தின்று = தின் + து
 நின்று = நில் + து
 கற்று = கல் + து

துவ்விசுதி அது என்னும் ஈற்றின் முதற்குறை.

இனி, தூங்கினான் போயினான் முதலிய இன்னிடையிட்ட இறந்தகால வினைமுற்றுக்கள் எங்ஙனம் பாலீறு பெற்றன வெனின், அவையும் துவ்விற்று வினையெச்சங்கள் போல் வினை யெச்சவடிவில் நின்றே யென்க.
 எடுத்துக்காட்டு:

நீங்கி + ஆன் = நீங்கியான் — நீங்கினான்
 ஓடி + ஆன் = ஓடியான் — ஓடினான்
 போயி + ஆன் = போயியான் — போயினான்
 போயி — போய் + ஆன் = போயான் — போனான்
 ஆயி — ஆய் + ஆன் = ஆயான் — ஆனான்.
 போயி + அது = போயியது — போயினது
 போய் + அது = போயது — போனது
 போயி + அ = போயிய — போயின
 போய் + அ = போய — போன

நீங்கி, போயி, போய் என இகர யகர மெய்யீறாக வல்லது, நீங்கின், போயின், போன் என னகரமெய்யீறாக இறந்தகால வினையெச்சம் எதுவும் இல்லாமை காண்க. 'இன்' இடைநிலை 'ன்' எனக் குறைந்ததெனின், ஆகியது, ஆயது, மேயது, மேய முதலியவற்றில், 'இய்' இடைநிலையும் அதன் குறுக்கமான 'ய்' இடைநிலையும் வந்தனவெனக் கோடல் வேண்டும் என்க.

சொல்லாக்கத்திலும் திரிபிலும் யகரம் நகரமாவது இயல்பு. எ-டு. யான்-நான், யமன்-நமன்.

ஆய் போய் முதலிய யகரமெய்யீற்று இறந்தகால வினையெச்சங்கள், முதற்காலத்து இகரவீறாகவே யிருந்து பின்னர் யகர மெய்யாகத் திரிந்துள்ளன. சேர நாட்டுத் தமிழாகிய மலையாளத்தில் இன்றும் அவை இகரவீறாகவே வழங்குகின்றன. அதோடு, கிட்டினால் ஏறினால் முதலிய னகர மிடையிட்ட எதிர்கால வினையெச்சங்கள், கிட்டியால் ஏறியால் என யகர மிடையிட்ட வடிவில் மலையாளத்தில் வழங்குவது கவனிக்கத் தக்கது. செய்தால் என்னும் வாய்பாட்டு எதிர்கால வினையெச்சம், செய்து என்னும் வடிவம் 'ஆல்' ஈற்றொடு புணர்ந்ததே.

இகரவீறு யகரமெய்யாகத் திரிவதை நாஇ-நாயி-நாய் என்னும் திரிபினின்று கண்டு கொள்க.

கெட்டான், பெற்றான், கெட்டு, பெற்று முதலிய இறந்தகால முற்றுக்களும் எச்சங்களும் பகுதியிரட்டித்து இறந்தகாலங் காட்டியவை. இவற்றில் ட், ற் என்னும் இடைநிலை யெழுத்துக்கள் இறந்தகால விடைநிலைகள் அல்ல. இங்ஙனமே மேற்காட்டிய இறந்தகால முற்றுக்களிலும் எச்சங்களிலும் என்க.

ஆகவே, துவ்வீறும் யகரவுடம்படுமெய்யும் பகுதி யீற்று வல்லினமெய் யிரட்டிப்புமே யன்றி, த், ட், ற், இன்னென இறந்தகால இடை நிலைகளே இல்லையெனவுணர்க.

ii ஒன்றன்பாஐறு

“ஒன்றன் படர்க்கை தறட ஊர்ந்த
குன்றிய லுகரத் திறுதி யாகும்”

என்பது தொல்காப்பியம் (702).

ஈண்டும், துவ்விசூதியே மேற்கூறியவாறு திரிந்து டுவீறும் றுவ்வீறுமாகு மென்றறிக.

தாள் + து = தாட்டு
கண் + து = கட்டு
பால் + து = பாற்று

‘தாள்’ முதலிய முப்பகுதியும் ‘அது’ என்னும் முழு விசூதியொடுபுணரின், உடல்மேல் உயிர்வந்தொன்றி இயல்பாய் முடியும்.

எ-டு. தாள் + அது = தாளது
கண் + அது = கண்ணது
பால் + அது = பாலது

இனி, ‘அன்’ ‘இன்’ என்னும் சுட்டடிகளினின்று பிறந்த அனன், அனள் முதலிய ஐம்பாலீறுகளும், இனன், இனள் முதலிய ஐம்பாலீறுகளும், உளவென்றும்; அவை தெரிவினை வினைமுற்றீறுகளாய் வருமென்றும் கொள்க. அனன் என்பது அன்னன் (—அன்னவன், அவன்) என்பதன் குறுக்கம். இங்ஙனமே பிறவும், அன்னது என்பது அன்று (அன் + து) என்று தொகும். இன்னது என்பது இன்று (இன் + து) என்று தொகவும், இற்று என வலிக்கவும், செய்யும். அன்று என்பது உவமையிலல்லது அற்று என வலிக்காது.

வந்து + அனன் = வந்தனன்
வந்து + அன்று = வந்தன்று
ஆய் + இனது = ஆயினது
ஆய் + இற்று = ஆயிற்று

(5) தொகைச் சொல்லியல்பு

தொகு என்னும் சொற்கு, குறைதல் கூடுதல் என்னும் இரு பொருளுமுண்டு. ஆயினும், அறுவகைத் தொகையும் இயல்பாகவே அங்ஙனம் அமைந்தனவன்றி, ஓர் எழுத்தேனும் அசையேனும் சொல்லேனும் இடையில் அல்லது கடையில் குறைந்து நின்று அமைந்தனவல்ல. ஒரு குடத்தில் பாலிருப்பது பற்றி அவ்விரண்டன் பெயரையும் சேர்த்துப் பாற்குடம் என்றனர். அதன் பொருளை விரிக்குங்கால், பாலையுடைய குடம் என நாமே ஓர் உருபையும் சொல்லையும் சேர்க்கின்றோம். இது உருபு ஏற்பட்ட பிற்காலத்தது. இனி, பால் உள்ள குடம் என்றும் விரிக்கலாம். ஒரு பாற்குடத்தைப் பாற்குடம் என்றன்றிப் பாலையுடைய குடம் என்று எவரும் இயல்பாக வழங்காமை காண்க. இங்ஙனமே பிறவும்.

செம்மை சேய்மை முதலிய பண்புப் பெயர்கள் மையீறு பெற்ற பகு சொற்களையன்றிப் பகாச் சொற்களாகா. ஆதலால், செந்தாமரை வெண்டலை என்னும் தொகைச் சொற்களை, செம்+தாமரை, வெள்+தலை என்று பிரித்தல் வேண்டுமேயன்றி, செம்மை+தாமரை, வெண்மை+தலை எனப் பிரித்தல் கூடாது. தொகைச் சொற்கள் அல்லது கூட்டுச் சொற்கள் தோன்றியது இங்ஙனமன்று.

milk-pot என்பது milk-containing-pot என்பதன் தொகை என்றும், red lotus என்பது redness-lotus என்பதன் தொகை என்றும், ஆங்கிலர் கொள்ளாமையை நோக்குக.

(6) சொல் வரலாறு

“அல்லதன் மருங்கிற் சொல்லுங் காலை
உக்கெட நின்ற மெய்வயின் ஈவர
இஇடை நிலைஇ ஈறுகெட ரகரம்
நிற்றல் வேண்டும் புள்ளியொடு புணர்ந்தே”

என்னுந் தொல்காப்பிய நூற்பா (326), நாம் என்னும் சொல் நீயிர் என்று திரிந்ததாகக் கூறுகின்றது. நாம் என்பது நாம் என்பதன் குறுக்கம். நீயிர் என்பது நீன் என்பதன் கடைக் குறையான நீ என்னுஞ்சொல் ‘இர்’, ஈற்றொடு புணர்ந்தது.

(7) சொல்வகை

‘ஒரு பொருள்’ என்பது, பண்புத் தொகை யென்றும், உரிச்சொற்றொடர் என்றும், இரு வேறு வகையிற் கூறப்படுகின்றது. மொழி நூலை யொட்டிய ஆங்கில விலக்கண முறையில் நோக்குங்கால், அது (Adjective என்னும்) குறிப்புப் பெயரெச்சத் தொடராம்.

இதுகாறும் கூறியவற்றால், மொழித் திறத்தின் முட்டறுப்பது மொழிநூலே எனத் தெற்றெனத் தெரிந்துகொள்க.

UNLETTERED LITERATURE

by

SRI C. M. RAMACHANDRA CHETTIYAR, B.A., B.L.

I. There is a considerable quantity of Literature in Tamil which is not being patronised by the learned Pandit nor by the Universities and other learned Institutions. They are produced and nurtured by the unlettered poor, labourer and the mute villager.

But at the same time, it really depicts the life of man in his pristine simplicity. It portrays the thoughts and the sufferings of the man in the street and the hard working farmer.

Such a literature exists not only in our Tamil but throughout the world. It is abundant in the West and the East and learned societies foster them and study them and publish special accounts about them. We in our country had not cared to recognise them until lately.

II. It is a beautiful literature and has grown in itself from time immemorial. We could trace its growth and analyse it to fit the various stages of human life.

- (1) *Childhood*—From birth to 5 years—lullaby songs and nursery rhymes.
- (2) *Urchinhood*—5-10; play songs, indoor games both male and female, plank play (பல்லாங்குழி), street plays of boys and girls. The songs pertaining to them.
- (3) *Boyhood and girlhood*—10-15 years. School play-songs. Kummi-Kolattam.
- (4) *Adolescence*—15-20 regular games—outdoor songs attached to them, festival songs, feast songs.
- (5) *Love period*—20—25 Love songs, village play songs (தெருக்கூத்துப் பாட்டுகள்). False, horse songs, (பொய்க்கால் குதிரை) காவடிச்சிந்துக்கள்.
- (6) *Married life*—25-35 household songs, business songs.
- (7) *Middle age*—35-50 Feasts, fasts, etc., songs, business-songs, labour songs.
- (8) *Old age*—50-65 proverbs, puzzles, riddles etc.

(9) *Retired life*—65-80 Folk songs-tales.

(10) *Death*—after 80 death songs (ஒப்பாரி).

III. *Folk tales*—Each village or countryside has different tales to tell.

1. Family emigration.
2. Tribal emigration tales.
3. Diety transfer tales.
4. Temple establishment and discovery.
5. Heroic deeds of man.
6. Heroic deeds of woman.
7. Deeds of honour.
8. Ethical tales.

IV. *Folk songs*—(a) short songs—Feast, festivals, parodies.

(b) Big songs—different in various districts.

- (1) *Coimbatore district*—Annammar (அண்ணன்மார் கதை) Nalla Tangal (நல்லதங்காள்), Kunrudaiyal (குன்றுடையாள் அம்மாளை).
- (2) *Trichi district*—Kallalagar (கள்ளழகர் அம்மாளை).
- (3) *Madurai*—Alli Arasani (அல்லி அரசாணி, பவழக் கொடி, புரந்தரன் களவு, மதுரைவீரன், காத்தவராயன், காஞ்சாயபு சண்டை).
- (4) *Ramnad district*—Ramappayan Ammanai (இராமபாயார்).
- (5) *Tinnevelly*—Kattabummu, Chinnipur Pagadai (வில்லுப் பாட்டு).
- (6) *Arcot*—Desingarajan (தேசிங்குராஜன்).
- (7) *Pudukottai*—Chettinad washerman songs (வண்ணாத்திப் பாடல்).
- (8) *Madras*—Eniyetram, ship songs (ஏணி ஏற்றம், கப்பல் பாட்டு).
- (9) *Kongu hills*—Tondanur Arekki (தொண்டனூர் அரசுக்கி கதை).

V. *Nature of the Literature.*

1. High thinking even among the cuntryfolk.
2. Clarity of ideas, clothing in simple language, with style and music, one synchronising with the other.
3. Poetic style, simple but deep expounding stimulating verbage.
4. Vocabulary—simple but apt and to the point flowing without effort.
5. Customs and habits of the people—interwoven in the stories.
6. Portions for research—administrative matters, taxes coins, labour figures, industry, facts.

VI. Conclusion—These various bits if properly studied would give much scope for understanding the villager, the streetgoer. The modern scholar devotes much energy and time to know the hill tribes, and the aborigines but not study, the ordinary poor and the country dwelling. There is abundant scope for such a work.

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ERRATA

Page 399	Line 25	Add inverted commas “ in the beginning of the line
Page 401	Line 15	For <i>as</i> read <i>ca</i> ; For <i>Samyuktam</i> read <i>samyuktam</i>
Page 403	Line 5	For <i>Kascit Ksanamapi</i> read <i>kascit ksanamapi</i>
Page 437	Line 32	Add inverted commas ” after the word <i>Brahman</i>
	Line 36	For भूक्तिना read मूक्तिना For तेष्कव read तेष्व
Page 453	Line 37	For <i>grass</i> read <i>gross</i>
Page 460	Line 6	For <i>immeorial</i> read <i>immemorial</i>
	Line 11	delete <i>at</i>
Page 461	Line 30	For <i>comprerehniuse</i> read <i>comprehensive</i>
Page 463	Line 3	delete the comma after <i>Maya</i> and insert fullstop
Page 475	Line 20	For <i>scptures</i> read <i>scriptures</i>
Page 499	Line 19	For <i>attributless</i> read <i>attributeless</i>
Page 501	Line 7	For <i>contemnation</i> read <i>contemplation</i>
Page 504	Line 16	For <i>ony</i> read <i>only</i>
	Line 22	For <i>thPe</i> read <i>the</i>
Page 523	Line 5	For <i>sponteneous</i> read <i>spontaneous</i>
	Line 8	For <i>atask</i> read <i>a task</i>
Page 524	Line 8	For <i>Bharathas</i> read <i>Bharatha's</i>
Page 526	Line 32	At the end add “ it is common knowledge how certain songs are better sung with ”
	Line 33	For <i>is</i> read <i>as</i>
Page 527	Line 12	For <i>gandhrara</i> read <i>gandhara</i>
Page 528	Line 17	For <i>Kaklai</i> read <i>kakali</i> For <i>anatra</i> read <i>antara</i>
Page 532	Line 44	For <i>patu bhaga</i> read <i>parivatra</i>
Page 546	Line 14	Delete comma after <i>breeding</i>
Page 547	Line 17	For <i>papas</i> read <i>palas</i>
Page 548	Line 25	Omit the word <i>and</i> after the word <i>clear</i>
Page 589	Line 21	delete <i>and</i>
